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THE
SAGA
OF
WALTHER OF AQUITAINE

BY
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BALTIMORE:
PUBLISHED BY THE MOD. LANG. ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA
1892.

PREFACE.

THE present edition of the Walther Saga is the first attempt to offer in complete form all the surviving episodes of the Saga. The point of view and method of treatment are historical from first to last. The texts of the versions have been arranged in chronological order so as to present the Saga in its transmitted form. The aim of the treatment is to set forth the historical elements and setting of the Saga, and thus rescue it from vague, mythical interpretations. If order is ever to be brought out of chaos in the interpretation of Saga and Myth, it must be done by keeping in view the historical background, and by close adherence to the historical method. Indeed, both myth and saga express in some form actual events,—the one in the realm of natural phenomena, the other in that of historical occurrences.

In reproducing such a great variety of texts it has been necessary, in some cases, to make typographical substitutions, particularly in the Polish texts. The author, therefore, begs the indulgence of those whose eye may be offended by the liberty taken with the customary Polish characters, which could not be obtained at the time (cf. note on page 110). The few cases in which possible confusion might arise are the following: *genitive feminine forms* (including those used adverbially), which readers of Polish will readily recognize.

The author makes grateful acknowledgement to those who have rendered assistance in the preparation of the work: to Dr. Uhler, of the Peabody Library; Dr. Kiernan, of the Harvard Library; Professor Palmer (now of Yale University) and Dr. Warren, of Adelbert College (Scherer Library); Dr. Hensch, of the University of Michigan, who copied a part of the Old

Norse text; Professor Creiznach, of the University of Cracovia, who kindly furnished a copy of the Polish texts; Dr. Shefloe, of the Woman's College of Baltimore, who read the proof-sheets of the Old Swedish texts.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Hermann Schoenfeld, who has carefully read the Polish proof-sheets; to Dr. James W. Bright, who read the Anglo-Saxon proof-sheets, and offered many helpful suggestions; to Professor A. Marshall Elliott for suggestions touching the typography of the work; and to Dr. Henry Wood, whose interest and judgment in this, as in the earlier work of the author, have been an unfailing source of encouragement and help.

MARION DEXTER LEARNED.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
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No. I.

VERSIONS OF THE WALTHER SAGA.

The Saga of Walther of Aquitaine, or of Walther and Hildegunde, is preserved in a variety of versions: Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Middle High German, Old Norse, Polish, all but one of which (Waltharius) are brief or fragmentary in their present form. The original texts of these various versions are reproduced in the following pages in chronological order, so as to present the Saga in its transmitted form which may serve as a basis for historical treatment.

In reprinting the original texts of the Saga the best established texts have been selected, and only such variant readings given as were deemed necessary for the purpose in hand. Other variants affecting the form of the Saga are referred to in the discussions which follow the texts.

The probable chronological order of the versions is the following:

1. *Waldere*, or the Anglo-Saxon Waldere Fragments, consisting of two leaves, the MS. of which belongs to the ninth century.
2. *Waltharius*, a Latin poem in hexameters composed, in its original form, by Ekkehard I, of St. Gall, about 920-930.
3. *Chronicon Novaliciense*, chapters vii-xiii, of the eleventh century.
4. *Walther und Hildegunde*, a poem by Walther von der Vogelweide, containing an evident reference to the Walther Saga, of the end of the twelfth century.
5. *Nibelungen Lied* (Zarncke 268, 3; 274, 4; 358, 2) of the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century.

6. The *Graz Fragment* of Walther, the remains of a Middle High German poem of the thirteenth century.

7. The *Vienna Fragment* of Walther und Hildegunde, the remains of a Middle High German poem, written in a variation of the Nibelungen strophe, in the thirteenth century.

8. *Biterolf und Dietleib*, a Middle High German Epic of the first half of the thirteenth century.

9. *Alpharts Tod*, a Middle High German epic, of about the middle of the thirteenth century,

10. *Rosengarten*, a Middle High German poem belonging, probably, to the second half of the thirteenth century.

11. *Dietrichs Flucht*, a Middle High German Epic of the second half of the thirteenth century.

12. *Rabenschlacht*, of about the same time. Both of the last-named poems were written, according to Martin, by Heinrich der Vogler, not long after 1282.

13. *Thidrekssaga*, or *Wilkinasaga*, an Old Norse prose Saga of the end of the thirteenth century. This Saga was later translated into Swedish and Latin; compare Peringskiöld's edition of 1715, where the three texts, Old Norse, Swedish and Latin, are printed together.¹

14. *Boguphali Chronicon*, the Latin Chronicle attributed to Bishop Boguphalus († 1253) of Posen. In its revised form it constitutes the Great Polish Chronicle of the fourteenth century. Bielowski, 2, 510ff.

15. *B. Paprocki*, *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*. Krakau, 1584. p. 8 ff.

16. *Joachim Bielski*, *Kronika* of 1597 (cf. Heinzel s. 52). An edition of this chronicle appeared, doubtless, as early as 1550, possibly in 1534 (cf. Heinzel s. 53 An.) Turowski's Edition (1856) 1, 175 ff.

17. *K. Niesiecki* († 1744)). *Korona Polska*. 1743. 4, 365 f.

18. *Procosius*, *Chronicon Slavo-Sarmaticum*, belonging to the eighteenth century. Edition of 1827, p. 109, 128 f.

19. *Wojcicki*, *Klechdy Starożytne Podania i Powiesci Ludowe*. I, 32-42, 1851.

¹ For possible further reminiscence of the Walther Saga in Old Norse, compare Hlod and Angantheow Lay and the Gunlaug Saga. ('Corpus Poeticum Boreale,' i, 348 ff; 565 ff. ii 505 ff.)

I.

WALDERE.*

A.

- (1^a) hyrde hyne georne.
 huru Welandes geworc ne geswiceð
 monna ænigum þara ðe Mimning can
 hearne gehealdan. oft æt hilde gedreas
 5 swatfag and sweordwund sec æfter oðrum.
 Ætlan ordwyga, ne læt þin ellen nu gyt
 gedreosan to dæge, dryhtscipe (feallan)!
 nu is se dæg cumen,
 þæt ðu scealt aninga oðer twega,
 10 lif forleosan oððe lange dom
 agan mid eldum, Ælfheres sunu.
 nalles ic ðe, wine min, wordum cide,
 ðy ic ðe gesawe æt ðæm sweordplegan
 ðurh edwitscype æniges monnes
 15 wig forbugan oððe on weal fleon,
 lice beorgan, ðeah þe laðra fela
 dinne byrn (1^b) homon billum heowun.
 ac ðu synle furðor feohtan sohtest
 mæl ofer mearce: ðy ic ðe metod ondred,
 20 þæt ðu fyrenlice feohtan sohtest
 æt ðam ætstealle, oðres monnes
 wigrædenne. weorða ðe selfne
 godum dædum, ðenden ðin god recce.
 ne murn ðu for ði mece: ðe wearð maðma cyst
 25 gifede to eoce unc. ðy ðu Guðhere scealt
 beot forbigan, ðæs ðe he ðas beaduwe ongan
 mid unryhte ærest secan.
 forsoc he ðam swurde and ðam syncfatum,
 beaga menigo: nu sceal beaga leas

6 Ætla with traces of an n in MS. K.—8 nu B., K., Ac Gr. W.—
 14 eð wit K.—19 mæles B.—21 ætðam K.—25 guð here K.

* The text is reprinted from Wülcker's critical edition of Grein, with emendations and additions from the new collation of Kölbing (*Englische Studien* v, 240 f.; 292 f.). Cf. variants noted below the text.

30 hworfan from ðisse hilde, hlafurd secan
ealdne eðel, oððe her ær swefan,
gif he ða

B.

(2^a) ce bæteran
buton ðam anum, ðe ic eac hafa,
on stanfate stille gehided.
ic wat þæt hit ðohte Deodric Widian
5 selfum onsendon and eac sinc micel
maðma mid ði mece, monig oðres mid him
golde gegirwan, iulean genam,
þæs ðe hine of nearwum Niðhades mæg,
Welandes bearn, Widia ut forlet:
10 ðurh fifela gefeald forð onette.
Waldere maðelode, wiga ellenrof
hæfde him on handa hildefromre
guðbilla gripe, gyddode wordum:
hwæt, ðu huru wendest, wine Burgenda,
15 þæt me Hagenan hand hilde gefremede
and getwæmde feðewigges: feta, gyf ðu dyrre,
aet ðus heaðuwerigan hare byrnan.
standeþ me her on eaxelum Ælfheres laf,
god and geapneb, golde geweorðod,
20 ealles unscende æðelinges reaf
to habbanne, ðonne hand wereþ
feorhhord feondum. he bið fah wiþ me,
þonne . . . unmægas eft ongynnað,
mecum gemetaþ swa ge me dydon.
25 ðeah mæg sige syllan se ðe symle byð
recen and rædfest ryhta gehwilces:
se ðe him to ðam halgan helpe gelifeþ,
to gode gioce, he þær gearo findeþ,
gif ða earnunga ær geðenceþ;
30 þonne moten wlanc welan britnian,
æhtum wealdan, þæt is

1 me *before* ce St.—7 iu lean genam K.—10 *not certain whether* feald or steald K.—12 B, K. *reads a stroke over* o; hildefrofre D., R., Gr. W. hilde frore MS.—19 ge weorðod K.—21 had MS. (Heinzel).—22 he St., K.; ne Gr. W.; heo Heinzel.—24 ge metað K.;—26 recon St.; recen R.; reccend D. Gr.—27 Seðe K.; gē lifeð K.

II.

WALTHARIUS.*

POESIS GERALDI DE GUALTARIO.†

- OMNIPOTENS genitor, summae uirtutis amator,
Iure pari natusque amborum spiritus almus,
Personis trinus, uera deitate sed unus,
Qui uita uiuens cuncta et sine fine tenebis,
5 Pontificem summum tu salua nunc et in aeuum
Claro Erchamboldum fulgentem nomine dignum,
Crescat ut interius sancto spiramine plenus,
Multis infictum quo sit medicamen in aeuum.
Praesul sancte dei nunc accipe munera serui,
10 Quae tibi decreuit de larga promere cura
Peccator fragilis Geraldus nomine uilis,
Qui tibi nam certus corde estque fidelis alumnus.
Quod precibus dominum iugiter precor omnitonantem,
Ut nanciscaris factis, quae promo loquelis,
15 Det pater ex summis caelum terramque gubernans.
Serue dei summi, ne despice uerba libelli,
Non canit alma dei, resonat sed mira tyronis,
Nomine Waltharii, per proelia multa resecti.
Ludendum magis est, dominum quam sit rogitandum ;
20 Perlectus longe uim stringit in ampla diei.
Sis felix sanctus per tempora plura sacerdos,
Sit tibi mente tua Geraldus carus adelphus.

*A thoroughly satisfactory edition of the 'Waltharius' is yet a desideratum. The text given here is that of Scheffel-Holder (1874), and the only liberty taken with it is the printing of * for v and the introduction of slight changes in punctuation. Variants of Peiper's readings compared with those of Scheffel-Holder, are found below the text here presented.

† Icipit poesis geraldi de gualtario B.

- TERTIA pars orbis, fratres, Europa uocatur
 Moribus ac linguis uarias et nomine gentes
 Distinguens cultu, tum relligione sequestrans.
 Inter quas gens Pannoniae residere probatur
 5 Quam tamen et Hunos plerumque uocare solemus.
 Hic populus fortis uirtute uigebat et armis
 Non circum positas solum domitans regiones,
 Litoris oceani sed pertransiuerat oras
 Foedera supplicibus donans sternensque rebelles :
 10 Ultra millenos fertur dominarier annos.
 Attila rex quodam tulit illud tempore regnum
 Impiger antiquos sibimet renouare triumphos.
 Qui sua castra mouens mandauit uisere Francos,
 Quorum rex Gibicho solio pollebat in alto
 15 Prole recens orta gaudens quam postea narro :
 Namque marem genuit quem Guntharium uocitauit.
 Fāma uolāns pāuidi regis trānsuērbērat āures
 Dicens hostilem cuneum transire per Histrum,
 Uincentem numero stellas atque amnis harenas.
 20 Qui non confidens, armis uel robore plebis
 Concilium cogit, quae sint facienda requirit.
 Consensere omnes : foedus debere precari
 Et dextras, si forte darent, coniungere dextris
 Obsidibusque datis censum persolvere iussum.
 25 Hoc melius fore quam uitam simul ac regionem
 Perdiderint natosque suos pariterque maritas.
 Nobilis hoc Hagano fuerat sub tempore tyro
 Indolis egregiae ueniens de germine Troiae.
 Hunc, quia Guntharius nondum peruenit ad aeuum,
 30 Ut sine matre queat uitam retinere tenellam,
 Cum gaza ingenti decernunt mittere regi.
 Nec mora, legati censum iuuenemque ferentes
 Deueniunt pacemque rogant ac foedera firmant.
 Tempore quo ualidis steterat Burgundia sceptris
 35 Cuius primatum Heriricus forte gerebat.
 Filia huic tantum fuit unica nomine Hiltgunt
 Nobilitate quidem pollens ac stemmate formae.
 Debuit haec heres aula residere paterna
 Atque diu congesta frui, si forte liceret.

- 40 Iamque Auares firma cum Francis pace peracta
 Suspendunt a fine quidem regionis eorum.
 Attila sed celeres mox huc deflectit habenas
 Nec tardant reliqui satrapae uestigia adire.
 Ibant aequati numero, sed et agmine longo,
 45 Quadrupedum cursu tellus concussa gemebat,
 — Scutorum sonitu pauidus superintonat aether.
 Ferrea silua micat totos rutilando per agros :
 Haud aliter, primo quam pulsans aequora mane
 Pulcher in extremis renitet sol partibus orbis.
 50 Iamque Ararim Rodanumque amnes transiuerat altos
 Atque ad praedandum cuneus dispergitur omnis.
 Forte Cauilloni sedit Heriricus, et ecce
 Attollens oculos speculator uociferatur :
 ‘ Quae nā cōdenso consurgit puluere nubes?
 55 Uīs inimica uenit, portas iam claudite cunctas.’
 Iam tum quid Franci fecissent ipse sciebat
 Princeps et cunctos conpellat sic seniores :
 ‘ Si gens tam fortis cui nos simile nequimus,
 Cessit Pannoniae, qua nos uirtute putatis
 60 Huic conferre manum et patriam defendere dulcem ?
 Est satius, pactum faciant censumque capessant.
 Unica nata mihi quam tradere pro regione
 Non dubito : tantum pergant qui foedera firment.’
 Ibant legati totis gladiis spoliati,
 65 Hostibus insinuant quod regis iussio mandat :
 Ut cessent uastare, rogant. quos Attila ductor
 Ut solitus fuerat, blande suscepit et inquit :
 ‘ Foedera plus cupio quam proelia mittere uulgo.
 Pace quidem Huni malunt regnare, sed armis
 70 Inuiti feriunt quos cernunt esse rebelles.
 Rex ad nos ueniens pacem det atque resumat.’
 Exiuit princeps asportans innumeratos
 Thesauros pactumque ferit natamque relinquit.
 — Pergit in exilium pulcherrima gemma parentum.
 75 Postquam compleuit pactum statuitque tributum,
 Attila in occiduas promouerat agmina partes.
 Namque Aquitanorum tunc Alphere regna tenebat
 Quem sobolem sexus narrant habuisse uirilis

- Nomine Waltharium primeuo flore nitentem.
 80 Nam iusiurandum Heriricus et Alphere reges
 Inter se dederant, pueros quod consociarent,
 Cum primum tempus nubendi uenerit illis.
 Hic ubi cognouit gentes has esse domatas,
 Coeperat ingenti cordis trepidare pauore. —
 85 Nec iam spes fuerat saeuis defendier armis.
 ‘ Quid cessemus ’ ait, ‘ si bella mouere nequimus?
 Exemplum nobis Burgundia, Francia donant.
 Non incusamur, si talibus aequiperamur.
 Legatus mitto foedusque ferire iubebo
 90 Obsidis inque uicem dilectum porrigo natum
 Et iam nunc Hunis censum persoluo futurum.’
 Sed quid plus remorer? dictum compleuerat actis.
 Tunc Auares gazis onerati denique multis
 Obsidibus sumptis Haganone Hiltgunde puella
 95 Nec non Walthario redierunt pectore laeto.
 Attila Pannonias ingressus et urbe receptus
 Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem
 Ac ueluti proprios nutrire iubebat heredes.
 [Virginis et curam reginam mandat habere.]
 100 Ast adolescentes propriis conspectibus ambos
 Semper adesse iubet, sed et artibus imbuit illos
 Praesertimque iocis belli sub tempore habendis.
 Qui simul ingenio crescentes mentis et aeuo
 Robore uincebant fortes animoque sophistas,
 105 Donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos.
 Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos,
 Sed haud inmerito, quoniam, si quando moueret
 Bella, per insignes isti micuere triumphos.
 Idcircoque nimis princeps dilexerat ambos.
 110 Uirgo etiam captiua deo praestante supremo
 Reginae uultum placauit et auxit amorem
 Moribus eximiis operumque industria habundans.
 Postremum custos thesauris prouida cunctis
 Efficitur modicumque deest, quin regnet et ipsa,
 115 Nam quicquid uoluit, de rebus fecit et actis.
 Interea Gibicho defungitur ipseque regno
 Guntharius successit et ilico Pannoniarum

- Foedera dissoluit censumque subire negauit.
 Hoc ubi iam primum Hagano cognouerat exul,
 120 Nocte fugam molitur et ad dominum properauit.
 Waltharius tamen ad pugnas praecesserat Hunos
 Et quocumque iret. mox prospera sunt comitata.
 Ospirin elapsum Haganonem regia coniunx
 Attendens domino suggestit talia dicta :
 125 ' Prouideat caueatque precor sollertia regis,
 Ne uestri imperii labatur forte columna,
 Hoc est, Waltharius uester discedat amicus
 in quo magne potestatis uis extitit huius :
 Nam uereor, ne fors fugiens Haganonem imitetur.
 130 Idcircoque meam perpendite nunc rationem :
 Cum primum ueniat, haec illi dicite uerba :
 " Seruitio in nostro magnos plerumque labores
 Passus eras ideoque scias, quod gratia nostra
 Prae cunctis temet nimium dilexit amicis.
 135 Quod uolo plus factis te quam cognoscere dictis :
 Elige de satrapis nuptam tibi Pannoniarum
 Et non pauperiem propriam perpendere cures.
 Amplificabo quidem * * te rure domique
 Nec quisquam, qui dat sponsam, post facta pudebit."
 140 Quod si completis, illum stabilire potestis.'
 Complacuit sermo regi coepitque parari.
 Waltharius uenit : cui princeps talia pandit
 Uzorem suadens sibi ducere, sed tamen ipse
 Iam tum praemeditans quod post compleuerat actis,
 145 Inuestiganti his suggestibus obuius infit :
 ' Uestra quidem pietas est, quod modici famulatus
 Causam conspicitis. sed quod mea sergia. mentis
 Intuitu, fertis, numquam meruisse ualerem.
 Sed precor, ut serui capiatu uerba fidelis :
 150 Si nuptam accipiam domini praecepta secundum,
 Uinciar in primis curis et amore puellae
 Atque a seruitio regis plerumque retardor.
 Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris
 Cogor et hoc oculis senioris adesse moratur
 155 Et solitam regno Hunorum impendere curam.
 Namque uoluptatem quisquis gustauerit, exin

- Intolerabilius consuevit ferre labores.
 Nil tam dulce mihi, quam semper inesse fideli
 Obsequio domini : quare precor absque iugali
 160 Me uinclo permitte meam iam ducere uitam.
 Si sero aut medio noctis mihi tempore mandas,
 Ad quaecumque iubes securus et ibo paratus.
 In bellis nullae persuadent cedere curae
 Nec nati aut coniunx retrahentque fugamque mouebunt.
 165 Testor per propriam temet pater optime uitam
 Atque per inuictam nunc gentem Pannoniarum,
 Ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.
 His precibus uictus suasus rex deserit omnes
 Sperans Waltharium fugiendo recedere numquam.
 170 Uenerat interea satrapae certissima fama
 Quandam quae nuper superata resistere gentem
 Ac bellum Hunis confestim inferre paratam.
 Tunc ad Waltharium conuertitur actio rerum :
 Qui mox militiam percensuit ordine totam
 175 Et bellatorum confortat corda suorum
 Hortans praeteritos semper memorare triumphos
 Promittensque istos solita uirtute tyrannos
 Sternere et externis terrorem imponere terris.
 Nec mora, consurgit sequiturque exercitus omnis.
 180 Ecce locum pugnae conspexerat et numeratam
 Per latos aciem campos digessit et agros.
 Iamque infra iactum teli congressus uterque
 Constiterat cuneus : tunc undique clamor ad auras
 Tollitur, horrendam confundunt classica uocem
 185 Continuoque hastae uolitant hinc indeque densae.
 Fraxinus et cornus ludum miscebat in unum
 Fulminis inque modum cuspis uibrata micabat.
 Ac ueluti boreae sub tempore nix glomerata
 Spargitur, haud aliter saeuas iecere sagittas.
 190 Postremum cunctis utroque ex agmine pilis
 Absumptis manus ad mucronem uertitur omnis :
 Fulmineos promunt enses clipeosque reuoluunt,
 Concurrunt acies demum pugnamque restaurant.
 Pectoribus partim rumpuntur pectora equorum
 195 Sternitur et quaedam pars duro umbone uirorum.

- Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello
 Obuia quaeque metens armis ac limite pergens.
 Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages,
 Ac si praesentem metuebant cernere mortem :
 200 Et quemcumque locum seu dextra siue sinistra
 Waltharius peteret, cuncti mox terga dederunt
 Et uersis scutis laxisque feruntur habenis.
 Tunc imitata ducem gens maxima Pannoniarum
 [Saeuior insurgit caedemque audacior auget,]
 205 Deicit obstantes, fugientes proterit, usque
 Dum caperet plenum belli sub sorte triumphum.
 Tum super occisos ruit et spoliauerat omnes
 Et tandem ductor recauo uocat agmina cornu.
 Ac primus frontem festa cum fronde reuinxit
 210 Uictrici lauro cingens sua tempora uulgo,
 Post hunc signiferi sequitur quos cetera pubes.
 Iamque triumphali redierunt stemmate compti
 Et patriam ingressi propria se quisque locauit
 Sede, sed ad solium mox Waltharius properauit.
 215 Ecce palatini decurrunt arce ministri
 Illius aspectu hilares equitemque tenebant,
 Donec uir sella descenderet inclitus alta.
 Si bene res uergant, tum demum forte requirunt.
 Ille aliquid modicum narrans intrauerat aulam,
 220 Lassus enim fuerat regisque cubile petebat.
 Illic Hiltgundem solam offendit residentem.
 Cui post amplexus atque oscula dulcia dixit:
 ‘Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelo.’
 Illa mero tallum conpleuit mox pretiosum
 225 Porrexitque uiro, qui signans accipiebat
 Uirgineamque manum propria constrinxit. at illa
 Astitit et uultum reticens intendit herilem
 Walthariusque bibens uacuum uas porrigit olli,
 Ambo etenim norant de se sponsalia facta.
 230 Prouocat et tali caram sermone puellam :
 ‘Exilium pariter patimur iam tempore tanto
 Non ignorantes, quid nostri forte parentes
 Inter se nostra de re fecere futura.
 Quamne diu tacito premimus haec ipsa palato?’

- 235 Uirgo per hyroniam meditans hec dicere sponsum
 Paulum conticuit, sed postea talia reddit:
 'Quid lingua simulas quod ab imo pectore damnas
 Oreque persuades toto quod corde refutas?
 Sit ueluti talem pudor ingens ducere nuptam.'
- 240 Uir sapiens contra respondit et intulit ista:
 'Absit quod memoras? dextrorsum porrige sensum.
 Noris me nihilum simulata mente locutum
 Nec quicquam nebulae uel falsi interfore crede.
 Nullus adest nobis exceptis namque duobus.
- 245 Si nossem temet mihi promptam impendere mentem
 Atque fidem uotis seruare per omnia cautis,
 Pandere cuncta tibi cordis mysteria uellem.'
- Tandem uirgo uiri genibus curuata profatur:
 'Ad quaecumque uocas, mi domne, sequar studiose
 250 Nec quicquam placitis malim praeponere jussis.'
- Ille dehinc: 'piget exillii me denique nostri
 Et patriae fines reminiscor saepe relictos:
 Idcircoque fugam cupio celerare latentem.
 Quod iam prae multis potuissem forte diebus,
 255 Si non Hiltgundem solam remanere dolerem.'
- Addidit has imo uirguncula corde loquelas:
 ['Uestrum uelle meum, solis his aestuo rebus,]
 Praecipiat dominus, seu prospera siue sinistra,
 Eius amore pati toto sum pectore praesto.'
- 260 Waltharius tandem sic uirginis inquit in aurem:
 'Publica custodem rebus te nempe potestas
 Fecerat, idcirco memor haec mea uerba notato:
 Inprimis galeam regis tunicamque, trilicem
 Assero lorica fabrorum insigne ferentem,
 265 Diripe, bina dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle.
 His armillarum tantum da pannonicarum,
 Donec uix unum releues ad pectoris imum.
 Inde quater binum mihi fac de more coturnum
 Tantundemque tibi patrans inponito uasis:
- 270 Sic fors ad summum conplentur scrinia labrum.
 Insuper a fabris hamos clam posce retortos.
 Nostra uiatica sint pisces simul atque uolucres,
 Ipse ego piscator, sed et auceps esse coartor.

235 haec P.; hec S.-H.; hoc BT.—245 impendere P.—270 complen-
 tur P.

- Haec intra ebdomadem caute per singula comple.
 275 Audisti, quid habere uianti forte necesse est.
 Nunc quo more fugam ualeamus inire recludo :
 Postquam septenos Phoebus remeauerit orbes,
 Regi ac reginae satrapis ducibus famulisque
 Sumptu permagno conuiuia laeta parabo
 280 Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo,
 Donec nullus erit qui sentiat hoc quod agendum est.
 Tu tamen interea mediocriter utere uino,
 Atque sitim uix ad mensam restinguere cura.
 Cum reliqui surgant, ad opuscula nota recurre.
 285 Ast ubi iam cunctos superat uiolentia potus,
 Tum simul occiduas properemus quaerere partes.'
 Uirgo memor praecepta uiri compleuit. et ecce
 Praefinita dies epularum uenit et ipse
 Waltharius magnis instruxit sumptibus escas.
 290 Luxuria in media residebat denique mensa
 Ingrediturque aulam uelis rex undique septam.
 Heros magnanimus solito quem corde salutans
 Duxerat ad solium. quod compsit bissus et ostrum.
 Consedit laterique duces hinc indeque binos
 295 Assedissee iubet. reliquos locat ipse minister.
 Centenos simul accubitus iniere sodales
 Diuersasque dapes libans conuiuia resudat :
 His et sublati aliae referuntur edendae
 Atque exquisitum feruebat migma per aurum.
 300 Aurea bissino tantum stant gausape uasa
 Et pigmentatus crateres Bacchus adornat :
 Illicit ad haustum species dulcedoque potus,
 Waltharius cunctos ad uinum hortatur et escas.
 Postque epulis absumpta quies mensaeque remotae,
 305 Heros iam dictus dominum laetanter adorsus
 Inquit : ' in hoc rogito clarescat gratia uestra,
 Ut uos inprimis reliquos nunc laetificetis.'
 Et simul in uerbo nappam dedit arte peractam
 Ordine sculpturae referentem gesta priorum,
 310 Quam rex accipiens haustu uacuauerat uno
 Confestimque iubet reliquos imitarier omnes.
 Ocius accurrunt pincernae moxque recurrunt,
 293 quem P.—300 bis seno P.—304 postquam P.

- Pocula plena dabant et inania suscipiebant,
 Hospitis ac regis certant hortatibus omnes.
 315 Ebrietas feruens tota dominatur in aula,
 Balbutit madido facundia fusa palato,
 Heroas ualidos plantis titubare uideres.
 Taliter in seram produxit bachica noctem
 Munera Waltharius retrahitque redire uolentes ;
 320 Donec ui potus pressi somnoque grauati
 Passim porticibus sternuntur humotenus omnes.
 Et licet ignicremis uellet dare moenia flammis,
 Nullus qui causam potuisset scire remansit.
 Tandem dilectam uocat ad semet mulierem
 325 Praecipiens causas citius deferre paratas.
 Ipseque de stabulis uictorem duxit equorum :
 Hunc ob uirtutem uocitauerat ille leonem.
 Stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.
 Hunc postquam faleris solito circumdedit, ecce
 330 Scrinia plena gazae lateri suspendit utrique
 Atque iteri longo modicella cibaria ponit
 Loraque uirgineae mandat fluitantia dextrae.
 Ipseque lorica uestitus more gigantis
 Inposuit capiti rubras cum casside cristas
 335 Ingentesque ocreis suras conplectitur aureis,
 Et laeuum femur ancipiti praecinxerat ense
 Atque alio dextrum pro ritu Pannoniarum :
 Is tamen ex una tantum dat uulnera parte.
 Tunc hastam dextra rapiens clipeumque sinistra
 340 Coeperat inuisa trepidus decedere terra.
 Femina duxit equum non nulla talenta gerentem
 In manibusque simul uirgam tenet ipsa columnam,
 In qua piscator hamum transponit in undam,
 Ut cupiens pastum piscis deglutiat uncum.
 345 Namque gravatus erat uir maximus undique telis
 Suspectamque habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam.
 Omni nocte quidem properabant currere, sed cum
 Prima rubens terris ostendit lumina Phoebus,
 In siluis latitare student et opaca requirunt
 350 Sollicitatque metus uel per loca tuta fatigans.
 In tantumque timor muliebria pectora pulsat,

324 indeque P.—331 Atque iterilongo P. ; Atq e iteriluongo S.-H.—
 335 complectitur P.—341 nonnulla P.

- Horreat ut cunctos aurae uentique susurros
 Formidans uolucres collisos siue racemos.
 Hinc odium exilii patriaeque amor incubat inde ;
 355 Uicis defugiunt, speciosa noualia linquunt
 Montibus intonsis cursus ambage recuruos
 Sectantes : tremulos uariant per deuia gressus.
 Ast urbis populus somno uinoque solutus
 Ad medium lucis siluit recubando sequentis.
 360 Sed postquam surgunt, ductorem quique requirunt,
 Ut grates faciant ac festa laude saluent.
 Attila nempe manu caput amplexatus utraque
 Egreditur thalamo rex, Walthariumque dolendo
 Aduocat, ut proprium quereretur forte dolorem.
 365 Respondent ipsi se non potuisse ministri
 Inuenisse uirum, sed princeps sperat eundem
 Hactenus in somno tentum recubare quietum
 Occultumque locum sibi delegisse sopori.
 Ospirin Hiltgundem postquam cognouit abesse
 370 Nec iuxta morem uestes deferre suetum,
 Tristior inmensis satrapae clamoribus inquit :
 ' O detestandas quas heri sumpsimus escas !
 O uinum quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes !
 Quod domino regi iam dudum praescia dixi,
 375 Approbat iste dies quem nos superare nequimus.
 En hodie imperii uestri cecidisse columna
 Noscitur, en robur procul inuit et inclita uirtus :
 Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde,
 Hiltgundem quoque mi caram deduxit alumnam.'
 380 Iam princeps nimia succenditur efferus ira,
 Mutant laetitiam maerentia corda priorem.
 Ex humeris trabeam discindit ad infima totam
 Et nunc huc animum tristem, nunc diuidit illuc.
 Ac uelut aeolicis turbatur arena procellis,
 385 Sic intestinis rex fluctuat undique curis
 Et uarium pectus uario simul ore imitatus
 Prodidit exterius quicquid tolerauerat intus
 Iraque sermonem permisit promere nullum.
 Ipso quippe die potum fastidit et escam
 390 Nec placidam menbris potuit dare cura quietem.

- Namque ubi nox rebus jam dempserat atra colores,
 Decidit in lectum, uerum nec lumina clausit
 Nunc latus in dextrum fultus nunc inque sinistrum
 • Et ueluti iaculo pectus transfixus acuto
 395 Palpitat atque caput huc et mox iactitat illuc
 Et modo subrectus fulcro consederat amens.
 Nec iuuat hoc, demum surgens discurrit in urbem
 Atque thorum ueniens simul attigit atque reliquit.
 Taliter insomnem consumpserat Attila noctem.
 400 At profugi comites per amica silentia euntes
 Suspectam properant post terga relinquere terram.
 Uix tamen erupit cras, rex patribusque uocatis
 Dixerat: 'o si quis mihi Waltharium fugientem
 Afferat euinctum ceu nequam forte liciscam!
 405 Hunc ego mox auro uestirem saepe recocto
 Et tellure quidem stantem hinc inde onerarem
 Atque uiam penitus clausissem uiuo talentis.'
 Sed nullus fuit in tanta regione tyrannus
 Uel dux siue comes seu miles siue minister,
 410 Qui, quamuis cuperet proprias ostendere uires
 Ac uirtute sua laudem captare perennem
 Ambiretque simul gazam infarcire crumenis,
 Waltharium tamen iratum praesumpserit armis
 Insequier strictoque uirum mucrone uidere.
 415 Nota equidem uirtus, experti sunt quoque quantas
 Incolumis dederit strages sine uulnere uictor.
 Nec potis est ullum rex persuadere uirorum
 Qui promissa uelit hac condicione talenta.
 Waltharius fugiens, ut dixi, noctibus iuit
 420 Atque die saltus arbustaque densa requirens
 Arte, accersita pariter capit arte uolucres
 Nunc fallens uisco, nunc fisso denique ligno.
 Ast ubi peruenit qua flumina curua fluebant,
 Inmittens hamum rapuit sub gurgite praedam
 425 Atque famis pestem pepulit tolerando laborem:
 Namque fugae toto se tempore uirginis usu
 Continuit uir Waltharius laudabilis heros.
 Ecce quater denos sol circumflexerat orbem
 Ex quo pannonica fuerat digressus ab urbe.
 430 Ipso quippe die numerum qui clauserat istum,
 416 incolomes P.

- Uenerat ad fluuium iam uespere tum mediante
 Scilicet ad Rhenum, qua cursus tendit ad urbem
 Nomine Wormatiam regali sede nitentem.
 Illic pro naulo pisces dedit antea captos.
- 435 Et mox transpositus graditur properanter anhelus.
 Orta dies postquam tenebras discusserat atras,
 Portitor exurgens praefatam uenit in urbem
 Regalique coco reliquorum quippe magistro
 Detulerat pisces quos uir dedit ille uiator.
- 440 Hos cum pigmentis condisset et apposuisset
 Regi Gunthario, miratus fatur ab alto :
 ' Istius ergo modi pisces mihi Francia numquam
 Ostendit : reor externis a finibus illos.
 Dic mihi quantocius : cuias homo detulit illos ?'
- 445 Ipseque respondens narrat, quod nauta dedisset.
 Accersire hominem princeps praecepit eundem.
 Et, cum uenisset, de re quaesitus eadem
 Talia dicta dedit causamque ex ordine pandit :
 ' Uespere praeterito residebam litore Rheni
- 450 Conspectique uiatorem propere uenientem
 Et ueluti pugnae certum per membra paratum :
 Aere etenim penitus fuerat rex inclite cinctus
 Gesserat et scutum gradiens hastamque coruscam.
 Namque uiro forti similis fuit et licet ingens
- 455 Asportaret onus, gressum tamen extulit acrem.
 Hunc incredibili formae decorata nitore
 Assequitur calcemque terit iam calce puella.
 Ipsaque robustum rexit per lora caballum
 Scrinia bina quidem dorso non parua ferentem,
- 460 Quae, dum ceruicem sonipes discussarit altam,
 Atque superba cupit glomerare uolumina crurum,
 Dant sonitum, ceu quis gemmis illiserit aurum.
 Hic mihi praesentes dederat pro munere pisces.'
- His Hagano auditis, ad mensam quippe resedit,
 465 Laetior in medium prompsit de pectore uerbum :
 ' Congaudete mihi quaeso, quia talia noui :
 Waltharius collega meus remeauit ab Hunis.'
 Uociferatur et omnis ei mox aula reclamat.
 Guntharius princeps ex hac ratione superbus :
- 470 ' Congaudete mihi iubeo, quia talia uixi.

- Gazam quam Gibicho regi transmisit eoo,
 Hanc nunc cunctipotens huc in mea regna remisit.
 Haec ait et mensam pede perculit exiliensque
 Ducere equum iubet et sella componere sculpta
 475 Atque omni de plebè uiros secum duodenos
 Uiribus insignes, animis plerumque probatos
 Legerat. inter quos simul ire Haganona iubebat.
 Qui memor antiquae fidei sociique prioris
 Nititur a coeptis dominum transuertere rebus.
 480 Rex tamen e contra nihilominus instat et infit :
 ' Ne tardata uiri, praecingite corpora ferro
 Fortia, squamosus thorax iam terga recondat.
 Hic tantum gazae Francis deducat ab oris ? '
 Instructi telis, nam iussio regis adurget,
 485 Exhibant portis te Waltharium cupientes
 Sternere et inbellem lucris fraudare putantes.
 Sed tamen omnimodis Hagano prohibere studebat :
 At rex infelix coeptis resipiscere non uult.
 Interea uir magnanimus de flumine pergens
 490 Uenerat in saltum iam tunc Vosagum uocitatum.
 Nam nemus est ingens spatiosum, lustra ferarum
 Plurima habens, suetem canibus resonare tubisque.
 Sunt in secessu bini montesque propinqui,
 Inter quos licet angustum specus extat amenum
 495 Non tellure caua factum sed uertice rupum :
 Aptam quidem statio latronibus illa cruentis.
 Angulus hic uirides ac uescas gesserat herbas.
 Hunc mox ut uidit iuuenis : ' huc ' inquit ' eamus,
 His iuuat in castris fessum componere corpus.
 500 Nam postquam fugiens Auarum discesserat oris,
 Non aliter somni requiem gustauerat idem
 Quam super innixus clipeo : uix clauserat orbes.
 Bellica tum demum deponens pondera dixit
 Uirginis in gremium fusus : ' circumspice caute
 505 Hiltgunt et nebulam si tolli uideris atram,
 Attactu blando me surgere conmonitato;
 Et licet ingentem conspexeris ire cateruam,
 Ne subito excutias somno mi cara caueto,
 Nam procul hinc acies potis es transmittere puras.

- 510 Instanter cunctam circa explora regionem.
 Haec ait atque oculos concluderat ipse nitentes
 Iamque diu satis optata fruitur requiete.
 Ast ubi Guntharius uestigia puluere uidit,
 Cornipedem rapidum saevis calcaribus urget
 515 Exultansque animis frustra sic fatur ad auras :
 'Accelerate uiri, iam nunc capietis eundem :
 Numquam hodie effugiet, furata talenta relinquet.'
 Inclitus at Hagano contra mox reddidit ista :
 'Unum dico tibi regum fortissime tantum :
 520 Si totiens tu Waltharium pugnasse uideres
 Atque noua totiens quotiens ego caede furentem,
 Numquam tam facile spoliandum forte putares.
 Uidi Pannonias, acies cum bella cierent
 Contra aquilonares siue australes regiones :
 525 Illic Waltharius propria uirtute coruscus
 Hostibus inuisus sociis mirandus obibat :
 Quisquis ei congressus erat, mox tartara uidit.
 O rex et comites experto credite, quantus
 In clipeum surgat, quanta ui torqueat hastam.'
 530 Sed dum Guntharius male sana mente grauatus
 Nequaquam flecti posset, castris propiabant.
 At procul aspiciens Hiltgunt de uertice montis
 Puluere sublato uenientes sensit et ipsum
 Waltharium placido tactu uigilare monebat.
 535 Qui caput attollens scrutatur, si quis adiret.
 Eminus illa refert quandam uolitare phalangem.
 Ipse oculos tersos somni glaucomate purgans
 Paulatim rigidos ferro uestiuerat artus
 Atque grauem rursus parman collegit et hastam
 540 Et saliens uacuas ferro transuerberat auras
 Et celer ad pugnam telis prolusit amaram.
 Cominus ecce coruscantes mulier uidet hastas
 Ac stupefacta nimis : 'Hunos hic' inquit 'habemus.'
 In terramque cadens effatur talia tristis :
 545 'Obsecro, mi senior, gladio mea colla recide
 Ut, quae non merui pacto thalamo sociari,
 Nullius ulterius patiar consortia carnis.'
 Tum iuuenis : 'cruor innocuus me tinxerit?' inquit

532 Et P.—534 iubebat P.—545 secentur P.—548 an nocuus P.

- 'Aut quo forte modo gladius potis est inimicos
 550 Sternere, tam fidae si nunc non parcit amicae?
 Absit quod rogitas, mentis depone pauorem.
 Qui me de uariis eduxit saepe periclis,
 Hic ualet hic hostes credo confundere nostros.'
 Haec ait atque oculos tollens effatur ad ipsam:
 555 'Non assunt Auares hic sed Franci nebulones
 Cultores regionis,' et en galeam Haganonis
 Aspicit et noscens iniunxit talia ridens:
 'Et meus hic socius Hagano collega ueternus.
 Hoc heros dicto introitum stationis adibat
 560 Inferius stanti praedicens sic mulieri:
 'Hac coram porta uerbum modo iacto superbum:
 Hinc nullus rediens uxori dicere Francus
 Praesumet se inpune gazae quid tollere tantae.'
 Nec dum sermonem conpleuit, humotenus ecce
 565 Corruit et ueniam petiit, quia talia dixit.
 Postquam surrexit contemplans cautius omnes:
 'Horum quos uideo nullum Haganone remoto
 Suspicio: namque ille meos per proelia mores
 Iam didicit, tenet hic etiam sat callidus artem.
 570 Quam si forte uolente deo intercepero solam,
 Tunc' ait 'ex pugna tibi Hiltgunt sponsa reseruor.'
 Ast ubi Waltharium tali statione receptum
 Conspexit Hagano, satrapae mox ista superbo
 Suggestit: 'o senior desiste lacescere bello
 575 Hunc hominem. pergant primum qui cuncta requirant
 Et genus et patriam nomenque locumque relictum.
 Uel, si forte petat pacem sine sanguine praebens
 Thesaurum, per responsum cognoscere hominem
 Possumus, et si Waltharius remoratur ibidem,
 580 Est sapiens, forsitan uestro concedet honori.'
 Praecipit ire uirum cognomine rex Camelonem,
 Inclita metensi quem Francia miserat urbi
 Praefectum, qui dona ferens deuenerat illo
 Anteriore die quam princeps nouerat ista.
 585 Qui dans frena uola trapidoque simillimus Euro
 Transcurrit spatium campi iuuenique propinquat
 Ac sic obstantem compellat: 'dic homo quisnam

Sis? aut unde uenis * * * quo pergere tendis?’

Heros magnanimus respondit talia dicens :

- 590 ‘Sponte tua uenias an huc te miserit ullus,
Scire uelim.’ Camelo tunc reddidit ore superbo :
‘Noris Guntharium regem tellure potentem
Me misisse tuas quaesitum pergere causas.’

His auscultatis suggesserat hoc adolescens :

- 595 ‘Ignoro penitus, quid opus sit forte uiantis
Scrutari causas : sed promere non trepidamus.
Waltharius uocor, ex Aquitanis sum generatus.
A genitore meo modicus puer obsidis ergo
Sum datus ad Hunos, ibi uixi nuncque recessi
600 Concupiens patriam dulcemque reuisere gentem.’
Missus ad haec ‘tibi iam dictus per me iubet heros,
Ut cum scriniolis equitem des atque puellam :
Quod si promptus agis, uitam concedet et artus.’

Waltharius contra fidenter protulit ista

- 605 ‘Stultius effatum me non audisse sophistam
Arbitror. en memoras, quod princeps nescio uel quis
Promittat, quod non retinet nec fors retinebit.
An deus est, ut iure mihi concedere uitam
Possit? num manibus tetigit? num carcere trusit
610 Uel post terga meas torsit per uincula palmas?
Attamen ausculta : si me certamine laxat,—
Aspicio, ferratus adest, ad proelia uenit—
Armillas centum de rubro quippe metallo
Factas transmittam, quo nomen regis honorem.’

- 615 Tali responso discesserat ille recepto.
Principibus narrat quod protulit atque resumpsit.
Tunc Hagano ad regem : ‘porrectam suscipe gazam,
Hac potis es decorare, pater, tecum comitantes ;
Et modo de pugna palmam reuocare memento.
620 Ignotus tibi Waltharius et maxima uirtus.
Ut mihi praeterita portendit uisio nocte,
Non, si conserimus, nos prospera cuncta sequentur.
Uisum quippe mihi te colluctarier urso,
Qui post conflictus longos tibi mordicus unum
625 Crus cum poblite ad usque femur decerpserat omne

Et mox auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem
Me petit atque oculum cum dentibus eruit unum.'

His animaduersis clamat rex ille superbus :
' Ut uideo, genitorem imitaris Hagathien ipse.
630 Hic quoque perpauidam gelido sub pectore mentem
Gesserat et multis fastidit proelia uerbis.'

Tunc heros magnam iuste conceperat iram,—
Si tamen in dominum licitum est irascier ullum.
' Haec ' ait ' in uestris consistat omnia telis.
635 Est in conspectu quem uultis. dimicet omnis.
Cominus astat nec iam timor impedit ullum ;
Euentum uideam nec consors sim spoliorum ;
Dixerat et collem petiit mox ipse propinquum
Descendensque ab equo consedit et aspicit illo.

640 Post haec Guntharius Cameloni praecipit aiens :
' Perge et thesaurum reddi mihi praecipe totum.
Quodsi cunctetur, scio tu uir fortis et audax,
Congredere et bello deuictum mox spoliato.'

Ibat metensis Camelo metropolitanus,
645 Uertice fulua micat cassis, de pectore torax,
Et procul acclamans : ' heus audi ' dixit ' amice !
Regi Francorum totum trans mitte metallum,
Si uis ulterius uitam uel habere salutem.'

Conticuit paulum uerbo fortissimus heros,
650 Opperiens propius hostem aduentare ferocem.
Aduolitans missus uocem repetiuerat istam.
[' Regi Francorum totum trans mitte metallum !']
Tum iuuenis constans responsum protulit istud :
' Quid quaeris ? uel quid reddi, inportune coartas ?

655 Numquid Gunthario furabar talia regi ?
Aut mihi pro lucro quicquam donauerat ille,
Ut merito usuram me cogat soluere tantam ?
Num pergens ego dampna tuli uestrae regioni,
Ut uel hinc iuste uidear spoliari a te ?
660 Si tantam inuidiam cunctis gens exhibet ista,
[Ut calcare solum nulli concedat eunti,]
Ecce uiam mercor, regi trans mitto ducentas
Armillas. pacem donet modo bella remittens.

Haec postquam Camelo percepit corde ferino :

634 haec P., hec S.-H.—636 impedit P,—654 importune P.

- 665 'Amplificabis' ait 'donum, dum scrinia pandis.
 Consummare etenim sermones nunc uolo cunctos :
 Aut quaesita dabis, aut uitam sanguine fundes.'
 Sic ait et triplicem clipeum collegit in ulnam
 Et crispans hastile micans ui nititur omni.
- 670 Ac iacit. at iuuenis deuitat cautior ictum.
 Hasta uolans casso tellurem uulnere mordit.
 Waltharius tandem : 'si sic placet,' inquit 'agamus.'
 Et simul in dictis hastam transmisit. at illa
 Per laeuum latus umbonis transiuit et ecce
- 675 Palmam qua Camelo mucronem educere cepit
 Confixit femori transpungens terga caballi.
 Nec mora, dum uulnus sensit sonipes, furit atque
 Excutiens dorsum sessorem sternere temptat
 Et forsan faceret, ni lancea fixa teneret.
- 680 Interea parmam Camelo dimisit et hastam
 Complexus leua satagit diuellere dextram.
 Quod mox perspicuens currit celeberrimus heros
 Et pede conpresso capulo tenus ingerit ensem,
 Quem simul educens hastam de uulnere traxit.
- 685 Tunc equus et dominus hora cecidere sub una.
 At dum forte nepos conspexerat hoc Camelonis,
 Filius ipsius Kimø cognomine fratris,
 Quem referunt quidam Scaramundum nomine dictum,
 Ingemit et lacrimis conpellat tristior omnes :
- 690 'Haec me prae cunctis heu respicit actio rerum.
 Nunc aut commoriar uel carum ulciscar amicum.'
 Namque angusta loci solum concurrere soli
 Cogebant nec quisquam alii succurrere quiuit.
 Aduolat infelix Scaramundus iam moriturus
- 695 Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.
 Qui dum Waltharium nullo terrore uideret
 Permotum fixumque loco consistere in ipso,
 Sic ait infrendens et equinam uertice caudam
 Concutiens : 'in quo fidis? uel quae tua spes est?
- 700 Non ego iam gazam uel rerum quidque tuarum
 Appeto, sed uitam cognati quaero perempti.'
 Ille dehinc : 'si conuincar, quod prelia primus

675 coepit P.—676 caualli P.—681 complexus P., laeua P., dextra P.
 682 tum P.—683 conpresso P.—687 Kuno P.—689 compellat P.—691
 commoriar P.—700 quicque P.—702 proelia P.

- Temptarim seu quid merui, quod talia possim
 Jure pati, absque mora tua me transuerberet hasta.
 705 Necdum sermonem concluderat, en Scaramundus
 Unum de binis hastile retorsit in illum
 Confestimque aliud. quorum celeberrimus heros
 Unum deuitat, quatit ex umbone secundum.
 Tunc aciem gladii promens Scaramundus acuti
 710 Proruit in iuuenem cupiens praescindere frontem,
 Effrenique in equo propius deuectus ad illum
 Non ualuit capiti libratum infundere uulnus.
 Sed capulum galeae inpegit: dedit illa resultans
 Tinnitus ignemque simul transfudit ad auras.
 715 Sed non cornipedem potuit girare superbum,
 Donec Waltharius sub mentum cuspidis ictum
 Fixerat et sella moribundum sustulit alta.
 Qui caput orantis proprio mucrone recidens
 Fecit cognatum pariter fluitare cruorem.
 720 Hunc ubi Guntharius conspexit obire superbus,
 Hortatur socios pugnam renouare furentes:
 'Aggrediamur eum nec respirare sinamus,
 Donec deficiens lassescat et inde reuinctus
 Thesauros reddet luet et pro sanguine penas.
 725 Tertias en Wurhardus abit bellumque lacessit,
 Quamlibet ex longa generatus stirpe nepotum
 O uir clare tuus cognatus et artis amator,
 Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus
 In medios telum torsisti primos Achiuos.
 730 Hic spernens hastam pharetram gestauit et arcum,
 Eminus emissis haut aequo Marte sagittis
 Waltharium turbans. contra tamen ille uirilis
 Constitit opponens clipei septemplicis orbem,
 Saepius eludens uenientes prouidus ictus.
 735 Nam modo dissiluit, parmam modo uergit in austrum
 Telaque discussit, nullum tamen attigit illum.
 Postquam Pandarides se consumpsisse sagittas
 Incassum uidet, iratus mox exerit ensem
 Et demum aduolitans has iactitat ore loquelas:
 740 'O si uentosos lusisti callide iactus,
 Forsan uibrantis dextrae iam percipis ictum.'

- Olli Waltharius ridenti pectore adorsus :
 'Iamque diu satis expecto certamina iusto
 Pondere agi. festina, in me mora non erit ulla.'
 745 Dixerat et toto conixus corpore ferrum
 Conicit. hasta uolans pectus reserauit equinum :
 Tollit se arrectum quadrupes et calcibus auras
 Uerberat effundensque equitem cecidit super illum.
 Accurrit iuuenis et ei ui diripit ensem.
- 750 Casside discussa crines conplectitur albos
 Multiplicesque preces nectenti dixerat heros :
 'Talia non dudum iactabas dicta per auras.'
 Haec ait et truncum secta ceruice reliquit.
 Sed non dementem tria uisa cadauera terrent
- 755 Guntharium: iubet ad mortem properare uicissim.
 En a saxonis oris Ekeurid generatus
 Quartus temptauit bellum, qui pro nece facta
 Cuiusdam primatis eo diffugerat exul.
 Quem spadix gestabat equus maculis uariatus.
- 760 Hic ubi Waltharium promptum uidet esse duello :
 'Dic,' ait 'an corpus uegetet tractabile temet
 Siue per aerias fallas maledicte figuras?
 Saltibus assuetus faunus mihi quippe uideris.'
 Illeque sublato dedit haec responsa cachino :
- 765 'Celtica lingua probat te ex illa gente creatum
 Cui natura dedit reliquas ludendo praeire.
 At si te propius uenientem dextera nostra
 Attingat, post Saxonibus memorare ualebis,
 Te nunc in Vosago fauni fantasma uidere.'
- 770 'Attemptabo quidem, quid sis,' Ekeurid ait, ac mox
 Ferratam cornum grauiter iacit. illa retorto
 Enicat ammento: quam duras fregerat umbo.
 Waltharius contra respondit cuspide missa :
 'Haec tibi siluanus transpondet munera faunus.'
- 775 Aspice, num mage sit telum penetrabile nostrum.'
 Lancea taurino contextum tergore lignum
 Diffidit ac tunicam scindens pulmone resedit.
 Uoluitur infelix Ekeurid riuumque cruoris
 Euomit: en mortem fugiens incurrit eandem.
- 780 Cuius equum iuuenis post tergum in gramen abegit.

- Tunc a Gunthario clipeum sibi postulat ipsum
 Quintus ab inflato Hadawartus pectore lusus.
 Qui pergens hastam sociis dimisit habendam
 Audax in solum confusus inaniter ensem.
- 785 Et dum conspiceret deiecta cadauera totam
 Conclusisse uiam nec equum transire ualere,
 Dissiliens parat ire pedes. stetit acer in armis
 Waltharius laudatque uirum, qui praeuit aequam
 Pugnandi sortem. Hadawart tum dixit ad illum :
- 790 ' O uersute dolis et fraudis conscie serpens !
 Occultare artus squamoso tegmine suetus
 Ac ueluti coluber girum collectus in unum,
 Tela tot euitas tenui sine uulneris ictu
 Atque uenenatas ludis sine more sagittas ?
- 795 Nunquid et iste putas astu uitabitur ictus
 Quem propius stantis certo libramine mittit
 Dextra manus ? neque enim is teli seu uulneris auctor.
 Audi consilium, parmam deponito pictam :
 Hanc mea sors quaerit, regis quoque sponsio praestat.
- 800 Nolo quidem laedas, oculis quia conplacet istis.
 Sin alias, licet et lucem mihi dempseris almam,
 Assunt hic plures socii carnisque propinqui,
 Qui, quamuis uolucrum similes pennasque capessas.
 Te tamen immunem nunquam patiantur abire.'
- 805 Belliger at contra nil territus intulit ista :
 ' De reliquis taceo, clipeum defendere curo.
 Pro meritis mihi crede bonis sum debitor illi.
 Hostibus ipse meis se opponere saepe solebat
 Et pro uulneribus suscepit uulnera nostris.
- 810 Quam sit oportunus hodie mihi cernis, et ipse
 Non cum Walthario loquereris forsitan, abesset.
 Uiribus o summis hostem depellere cures,
 Dexterâ ne rapiat tibi propugnacula muri.
 Tu clauum umbonis studeas retinere sinistra,
- 815 Atque ebori digitos circumfer glutine fixos.'
 Istic deponas pondus, quod tanta uiarum
 Portasti spatia ex Auarum nam sedibus altis ?
 Ille dehinc : ' inuitus agis, si sponte recusas.
 Nec solum parmam, sed equum cum uirgine et auro

787 petit P.—789 Pugnandi sortem Hadawartum. dixit at ille P.—
 795 Numquid P.—800 conplacet P., ista P.—808 iste P.

- 820 Reddes: tum demum scelerum cruciamina pendes.
 Haec ait et notum uagina diripit ensem.
 Inter se uariis terrarum partibus orti
 Concurrunt. stupuit Vosagus haec fulmina et ecce
 Ambo sublimes animis ac grandibus armis,
 825 Hic gladio fidens hic acer et arduus hasta
 Inter se multa et ualida ui praelia miscent.
 Non sic nigra sonat percussa securibus ilex,
 Ut dant tinnitus galeae clipeique resultant.
 Mirantur Franci, quod non lassesceret heros
 830 Waltharius cui nulla quies spatiumue dabatur.
 Emicat hic inpune putans iam Wormaciensis
 Alte et sublato consurgit feruidus ense
 Hoc ictu memorans semet finire duellum:
 Prouidus at iuuenis ferientem cuspide adacta
 835 Intercepit et ignauum dimmitere ferrum
 Cogebat. procul in dumis resplenduit ensis.
 Hic ubi se gladio spoliatum uidit amico,
 Accelerare fugam fruticesque uolebat adire.
 Alpharides fretus pedibus uiridique iuuenta
 840 Insequitur dicens: 'quonam fugis? accipe scutum.'
 Sic ait atque hastam manibus leuat ocus ambis
 Et ferit. Ille cadit, clipeus superintonat ingens.
 Nec tardat iuuenis: pede collum pressit et hasta
 Diuellens parmam telluri infixerat illum.
 845 Ipse oculos uertens animam sufflauit in auram.
 Sextus erat Pataurid. soror hunc germana Haganonis
 Protulit ad lucem. quem dum procedere uidit,
 Uocibus et precibus conatur auunculus inde
 Flectere proclamans: 'quonam ruis? aspice mortem,
 850 Qualiter aridet. desiste! en ultima Parcae
 Fila legunt. o care nepos te mens tua fallit.
 Desine. Waltharii tu denique uiribus inpar.'
 Infelix tamen ille means haec omnia spreuit,
 Arsit enim iuuenis laudem captare cupiscens.
 855 Tristatusque Hagano suspiria pectore longa
 Traxit et has imo fudit de corde loquelas:
 'O uortex mundi fames insatiatus habendi,
 Gurges auaritiae, cunctorum fibra malorum!

- O utinam solum glutires dira metallum
 860 Diuitiasque alias homines inpune remittens.
 Sed tu nunc homines peruerso numine perflans
 Incendis nullique suum iam sufficit. ecce
 Non trepidant mortem pro lucro incurrere turpem.
 Quanto plus retinent, tanto sitis ardet habendi.
 865 Externis modo ui modo furtiue potiuntur
 Et quod plus renouat gemitus lacrimasque ciebit,
 Caeligenas animas Erebi fornace retrudunt.
 Ecce ego dilectum nequeo reuocare nepotem,
 Instimulatus enim de te est o saeua cupido.
 870 En caecus mortem properat gustare nefandam
 Et uili pro laude cupit descendere ad umbras.
 Heu mihi care nepos matri quid perditte mandas?
 Quis nuper ductam refouebit care maritam,
 Cui nec rapta spei pueri ludicra dedisti?
 875 Quis tibi nam furor est? unde haec dementia uenit'?
 Sic ait et gremium lacrimis consparsit obortis,
 Et 'longum formose uale' singultibus edit.
 Waltharius licet a longe socium fore maestum
 Attendit clamorque simul peruenit ad aures.
 880 Unde incursantem sic est affatus equestrem:
 'Accipe consilium iuuenis fortissime nostrum
 Et te conseruans melioribus utere fatis.
 Desine, nam tua te feruens fiducia fallit.
 Heroum tot cerne neces et cede duello,
 885 Ne suprema uidens hostes facias mihi plures.'
 'Quid de morte mea curas' ait ille 'tyranne?
 Est modo pugnandum tibimet, non sermocinandum.'
 Dixit et in uerbo nodosam destinat hastam,
 Cuspide quam propria diuertens transtulit heros,
 890 Quae subuecta choris ac uiribus acta furentis
 In castrum uenit atque pedes stetit ante puellae.
 Ipsa metu perculsa sonum prompsit muliebrem.
 At postquam tenuis redit in praecordia uirtus,
 Paulum suspiciens spectat, num uiueret heros.
 895 Tum quoque uir fortis Francum discedere bello
 Iussit. at ille furens gladium nudauit et ipsum
 Incurrrens petiit uulnusque a uertice librat.

- Alpharides parmam demum concusserat aptam
 Et spumantis apri frendens de more tacebat.
 900 Ille ferire uolens se pronior omnis ad ictum
 Exposuit, sed Waltharius sub tegmine flexus
 Delituit corpusque suum contraxit et ecce
 Uulnere delusus iuuenis recidebat ineptus.
 Finis erat, nisi quod genibus tellure refixis
 905 Belliger accubuit calibemque sub orbe cauebat.
 Hic dum consurgit, pariter se subrigit ille
 Ac citius scutum trepidus sibi praetulit atque
 Frustra certamen renouare parabat. at illum
 Alpharides fixa gladio petit ocius hasta
 910 Et mediam clipei dempsit uasto inpete partem
 Amatam resecans loricam atque ilia nudans.
 Labitur infelix Pataurid sua uiscera cernens
 Siluestrique ferae corpus, animam dedit Orco.
 Hunc sese ulturum spondens Gerwicus adiuit,
 915 Qui forti subuectus equo suprauolat omnem
 Stragem quae angustam concluserat obuia callem.
 Et dum bellipotens resecaret colla iacentis,
 Uenit et ancipitem uibrauit in ora bipennem.
 Istius ergo modi Francis tunc arma fuere.
 920 Uir celer obiecit peltam frustra et ictum
 Ac retro saliens hastam rapiebat amicam
 Sanguineumque ulua uiridi dimiserat ensem.
 Hic uero metuenda uirum tum bella uideres.
 Sermo quidem nullus fuit inter martia tella :
 925 Sic erat aduerso mens horum intenta duello
 Is furit, ut caesos mundet uindicta sodales,
 Ille studet uitam toto defendere nisu
 Et, sifors dederit, palmam retinere triumphi.
 Hic ferit, ille cauet, petit ille, reflectitur iste :
 930 Ad studium fors et uirtus miscentur in unum.
 Longa tamen cuspes breuiori depulit hostem
 Armatum telo, girat sed et ille caballo
 Atque fatigatum cupiebat fallere hominem.
 Iam magis atque magis irarum mole grauatus
 935 Waltharius clipeum Gerwici sustulit imum
 Transmissoque femur penetrauerat inguine ferrum.

910 impete P.—914 Gewitus P.—922 demerserat P.—932 cauallo P.—
 935 Gerwiti P.

- Qui post terga ruens clamorem prodidit atrum
 Exiciumque dolens pulsabat calcibus aruum.
 Hunc etiam truncum caesa ceruice reliquit.
 940 Hic in Wormatiae campis comes extitit ante.
 Tunc primum Franci ceperunt forte morari
 Et magnis precibus dominum decedere pugna
 Deposcunt. furit ille miser caecusque profatur :
 ' Quaeso uiri fortes et pectora saepe probata,
 945 Ne fors haec cuicumque metum sed conferat iram.
 Quid mihi, si Vosago sic sic inglorius ibo ?
 Mentem quisque meam sibi uindictet. en ego partus
 Ante mori sum, Wormatiam quam talibus actis
 Ingrediar. petat hic patriam sine sanguine uictor ?
 950 Hactenus arstistis hominem spoliare metallis,
 Nunc ardete uiri fusum mundare cruorem,
 Ut mors abstergat mortem, sanguis quoque sanguem
 Soleturque necem sociorum plaga necantis.'
 His animum dictis demens incendit et omnes
 955 Fecerat inmemores uitae simul atque salutis.
 Ac uelut in ludis alium praecurrere quisque
 Ad mortem studuit, sed semita, ut antea dixi,
 Cogebat binos bello decidere solos.
 Uir tamen illustris dum cunctari uidet illos,
 960 Uertice distractas suspendit in arbore cristas
 Et uentum captans sudorem tersit anhelus.
 Ecce repentino Randolph athleta caballo
 Praeuertens reliquos hunc inportunus adiuit
 Ac mox ferrato petiit sub pectore conto.
 965 Et nisi duratis Welandia fabrica giris
 Obstaret, spisso penetrauerit ilia ligno.
 Ille tamen subito stupefactus corda pauore
 Munimen clipei obiecit mentemque recepit :
 Nec tamen et galeam fuerat sumpsisse facultas.
 970 Francus at emissa gladium nudauerat hasta
 Et feriens binos Aquitani uertice crines
 Abrasit, sed forte cutem praestringere summam
 Non licuit rursumque alium uibrauerat ictum
 Et praeceps animi directo obstamine scuti

937 acrum P.—938 Exitiumque P.—941 coeperunt P.—955 inmemores P.—962 cauallo P.—966 penetrauerat P.

- 975 Inpegit chalibem nec quiuit uiribus ullis
 Elicere. Alpharides retro se fulminis instar
 Excutiens Francum ualida ui fudit ad aruum
 Et super assistens pectus conculcat et inquit :
 ' En pro caluitio capitis te uertice fraudo,
 980 Ne fiat ista tuae de me iactantia sponsae.'
 Uix haec effatus truncauit colla precantis.
 At nonus pugnae Helmnod successit et ipse
 Insertum triplici gestabat fune tridentem,
 Quem post terga quidem socii stantes tenuerunt.
 985 Consiliumque fuit, dum cuspis missa sederet
 In clipeo, cuncti pariter traxisse studerent,
 Ut uel sic hominem deiecissent furibundum :
 Atque sub hac certum sibi spe posuere triumphum.
 Nec mora, dux totas fundens in brachia uires
 990 Misit in aduersum magna cum uoce tridentem
 Edicens : ' ferro tibi finis calue sub isto !'
 Qui uentos penetrat iaculorum more coruscans :
 Quod genus aspidis exalta sese arbore tanto
 Turbine demittit, quo cuncta obstantia uincat.
 995 Quid moror? umbonem sciderat peltaque resedit.
 Clamorem Franci tollunt saltusque resultat
 Obnixique trahunt restim simul atque uicissim
 Nec dubitat princeps tali se aptare labori.
 Manarunt cunctis sudoris flumina menbris.
 1000 Sed tamen haec inter uelut aesculus astitit heros
 Quae non plus petit astra comis quam tartara fibris
 Contempnens omnes uentorum inmota fragores.
 Certabant hostes hortabanturque uiritim,
 Ut si non quirent ipsum detrudere ad aruum,
 1005 Munimen clipei saltem extorquere studerent,
 Quo dempto uiuus facile caperetur ab ipsis.
 Nomina quae restant edicam iamque trahentum :
 Nonus Eleuter erat Helmnod cognomine dictus.
 Argentina quidem decimum dant oppida Trogum,
 1010 Extulit undecimum pollens urbs Spira Tanastum
 Absque Haganone locum rex suppleuit duodenum.

975 calibem P.—982 Et P., Heimnod P.—985 cuspis dum P.—992
 penetrans P., coruscat P.—994 dimittit P.—995 scidit P.—999 menbris
 P.—1000 aescilus P.—1002 immota P.—1006 facile uiuus P.—1008
 Heimnod P.—1009 Trogunt P.—1011 suppleuit rex P.

- Quatuor hi aduersum summis conatibus unum
 Contendunt pariter multo uarioque tumultu.
 Interea Alpharidi uanus labor incutit iram.
 1015 Et qui iam pridem nudarat casside frontem
 In framea tunicaque simul confisus aena
 Omisit parmam primumque inuasit Eleutrim.
 Huic galeam findens cerebrum diffudit et ipsam
 Ceruicem resecans pectus patefecit, at aegrum
 1020 Cor pulsans animam liquit mox atque calorem.
 Inde petit Trogum haerentem in fune nefando.
 Qui subito attonitus recidentis morte sodalis
 Horribilique hostis conspectu ceperat acrem
 Necquicquam temptare fugam uoluitque relictam
 1025 Arma recolligere, ut rursum repararet agonem.
 Nam cuncti funem tracturi deposuerunt
 Hastas cum clipeis, sed quanto maximus heros
 Fortior extiterat, tanto fuit ocior olli
 Et cursu capto suras mucrone recidit
 1030 Ac sic tardatum praeuenit et abstulit ejus
 Scutum. sed Trogus quamuis de uulnere laesus
 Mente tamen feruens saxum circumspicit ingens,
 Quod rapiens subito obnixum contorsit in hostem
 Et proprium a summo clipeum fidit usque deorsum,
 1035 Sed retinet fractum pellis superaddita lignum.
 Moxque genu posito uiridem uacuauerat aedem
 Atque ardens animis uibratu terruit auras
 Et si non quiuit uirtutem ostendere factis.
 Corde tamen habitum patefecit et ore uirilem.
 1040 Nec manes ridere uidens audaciter inquit :
 'O mihi si clipeus uel si modo adesset amicus !
 Fors tibi uictoriam de me, non inclita uirtus
 Contulit. ad scutum mucronem tollito nostrum !'
 Tum quoque subridens : 'uenio iam,' dixerat heros
 1045 Et cursu aduolitans dextram ferientis ademit.
 Sed cum athleta ictum libraret ab aure secundum
 Pergentique animae ualuas aperire studeret,
 Ecce Tanastus adest telis cum rege resumptis
 Et socium obiecta protexit uulnere pelta.

1020 mox liquerat P.—1021 Trogunt P.—1023 coeperat P.—1024 ne-
 quicquam P.—1031 Trogunt P.—1035 scissum P.—1036 enseni P.

- 1050 Hinc indignatus iram conuertit ad ipsum
 Waltharius humerumque eius de cardine uellit,
 Perque latus ducto suffudit uiscera ferro.
 Aue! procumbens submurmurat ore Tanastus.
 Quo recidente preces contempsit promere Trogus
- 1055 Conuiciisque sui uictorem incendit amaris,
 Seu uirtute animi, seu desperauerat. exin
 Alpharides: 'morere' inquit 'et haec sub tartara transfer
 Enarrans sociis, quod tu sis ultus eosdem.'
 His dictis torquem collo circumdedit aureum.
- 1060 Ecce simul caesi uoluuntur puluere amici
 Crebris foedatum ferientes calcibus aruum.
 His rex infelix uisis suspirat et omni
 Aufugiens studio falerati terga caballi
 Scandit et ad mestum citius Haganona uolauit
- 1065 Omnimodisque illum precibus flexisse sategit,
 Ut secum pergens pugnam repararet; at ille:
 'Me genus infandum prohibet bellare parentum
 Et gelidus sanguis mentem mihi dempsit in armis.
 Tabescebat enim genitor, dum tela uideret
- 1070 Et timidus multis renuebat proelia uerbis:
 Haec dum iactasses rex inter te comitantes,
 Extitit indignum nostri tibi quippe iuuamen.'
 Ille recusanti precibus nihilominus instans
 Talibus auersum satagit reuocare loquelis
- 1075 'Deprecor ob superos, conceptum pone furorem.
 Iram de nostra contractam decute culpa,
 Quam uita comitante, domum si uenero tecum,
 Impensis tibimet benefactis diluo multis.
 Nonne pudet sociis tot cognatisque peremptis
- 1080 Dissimulare uirum? magis, ut mihi quippe uidetur,
 Uerba ualent animum quam facta nefanda mouere.
 Iustius in saeuum tumuisses mente tyrannum
 Qui solus hodie caput infamauerat orbis.
 Non modicum patimur dampnum de caede uirorum,
- 1085 Dedecus at tantum superabit Francia numquam.
 Antea quis fuimus sublati sibila dantes:

1053 Salue P.—1054 Trogunt P.—1063 caualli P.—1064 maestum P.
 —1075 Obsecro P., per P.—1078 Impensis P.—1085 a P.—1086 subjecti
 P.

- " Francorum " dicent " exercitus omnis ab uno,
 Pro pudor ignotum vel quo, est inpune necatus !"
 Cunctabatur adhuc Haganon et pectore sponsam
 1090 Waltario plerumque fidem uoluebat et ipsum
 Euentum gestae recolebat in ordine causae.
 Supplicius tamen infelix rex institit illi.
 Cuius subnixae rogitantis acumine motus
 Erubuit, domini uultum replicabat honorem
 1095 Uirtutis propriae qui fors uilesceret inde,
 Si quocumque modo in rebus sibi parceret istis.
 Erupit tandem et clara sic uoce respondit :
 ' Quo me domne uocas ? quo te sequar inclite princeps ?
 Quae nequeunt fieri, spondet fiducia cordi :
 1100 Quis tam desipiens quandoque fuisse probatur,
 Qui saltu baratrum sponte attemptarit apertum ?
 Nam scio Waltharium per campos sic fore acerbum,
 Ut tali castro nec non statione locatus
 Ingentem cuneum uelut unum tempnat homullum.
 1105 Et licet huc cunctos equites simul atque pedestres
 Francia misisset, sic his ceu fecerat istis.
 Sed quia conspicio te plus doluisse pudore
 Quam caedis dampno nec sic discedere uelle,
 Conpatior propriusque dolor succumbit honori
 1110 Regis : et ecce uiam conor reperire salutis,
 Quae tamen aut numquam ostendet se siue coacte.
 Nam propter carum fateor tibi domne nepotem
 Promissam fidei normam corrumpere nollem.
 Ecce in non dubium pro te rex ibo periculum,
 1115 Ast hic me penitus conflictu cedere noris.
 Secedamus eique locum praestemus eundi
 Et positi in speculis tondamus prata caballis,
 Donec iam castrum securus deserat artum
 Nos abiisse ratus. campos ubi calcet apertos,
 1120 Insurgamus et attonitum post terga sequamur :
 Sic aliquod uirtutis opus temptare ualemus.
 Haec mihi in abiguis spes est certissima rebus.
 Tum bellare potes, belli rex si tibi mens est :
 Quippe fugam nobis numquam dabit ille duobus,

1088 Proh P.—1090 Walthario P.—1094 honore P.—1117 cauallis P.
 —1119 ubi campos P.—1121 aliquid P.

- 1125 At nos aut fugere aut acrum bellare necesse est.
 Laudat consilium satrapa et complectitur illum
 Oscilloque uirum demulcet. Et ecce recedunt.
 Insidiisque locum circumspexere sat aptum
 Demissique ligant animalia gramine laeto.
- 1130 Interea occiduas uergebat Phoebus in oras
 Ultima per notam signans uestigia Thilen
 Et cum Scotigenis post terga reliquit Hiberos.
 Hic postquam oceanas sensim calefecerat undas
 Hespera et ausoniis obuertit cornua terris,
- 1135 Tum secum sapiens cepit tractare satelles,
 Utrum sub tuto per densa silentia castro
 Sisteret, an uastis heremi conmitteret aruis.
 Aestuat immensis curarum fluctibus et quid
 Iam faceret, sollers arguta indagine quaerit.
- 1140 Solus enim Hagano fuerat suspectus et illud
 Oscillum regis subter complexibus actum.
 Ambigerat prorsus, quae sit sententia menti
 Hostis et an urbem uellent remeare relictam,
 Pluribus ut sociis per noctem forte coactis
- 1145 Primo mane parent bellum renouare nefandum
 An soli insidias facerent propiusque laterent?
 Terret ad haec triuiis ignoti silua meatus,
 Ne loca fortassis incurreret aspera spinis,
 Immo quippe feris, sponsamque amitteret illis.
- 1150 His ita prouisis exploratisque profatur :
 ‘ En quocumque modo res pergant, hic recubabo,
 Donec circuiens lumen spera reddat amatum !
 Ne patriae fines dicat rex ille superbus
 Euasisse fuga furis de more per umbras.’
- 1155 Dixit et ecce uiam uallo praemuniit artam
 Undique praecisis spinis simul et paliuris.
 Quo facto ad truncos sese conuertit amaro
 Cum gemitu et cuicumque suum caput applicat atque
 Contra orientalem prostratus corpore partem
- 1160 Ac nudum retinens ense has uoce precatur :
 ‘ Rerum factori, sed et omnia facta regenti,

1135 coepit P.—1136 uasta P.—1137 conmitteret P.—1138 immensis
 P.—1141 complexebus P.—1043 uellent urbem P.—1158 genitu P.—1160
 Hac ense nudum retinens cum uoce precatur P.

- Nil sine permissu cuius uel denique iussu
 Constat, ago grates quod me defendit iniquis
 Hostilis turmae telis nec non quoque probris.
 1165 Deprecor at dominum contrita mente benignum,
 Ut qui peccantes non uult sed perdere culpas,
 Hos in caelesti praestet mihi sede uideri.
 Qui postquam orandi finem dedit, ilico surgens
 Sex girauit equos et uirgis rite retortis
 1170 Vinciit: hi tantum remanebant, nempe duobus
 Per tela absumptis ternos rex Gunthere abegit.
 His ita conpositis procinctum soluit et alte
 Ingenti fumans leuiabat pondere corpus.
 Tum maestam laeto solans affamine sponsam
 1175 Moxque cibum capiens aegros recreauerat artus,
 Oppido enim lassus fuerat, clipeoque recumbens
 Primi custodem somni iubet esse puellam,
 Ipse matutinam disponens tollere curam
 Quae fuerat suspecta magis, tandemque quieuit.
 1180 Ad cuius caput illa sedens solito uigilauit
 Et dormitantes cantu patefecit ocellos.
 Ast ubi uir primum iam expergiscendo soporem
 Ruperat, absque mora surgens dormire puellam
 Iussit et arrecta se fulciit impiger hasta.
 1185 Sic reliquum noctis duxit, modo quippe caballos
 Circuit, interdum auscultans uallo propiauit
 Exoptans orbi species ac lumina reddi.
 Lucifer interea praeco scandebat Olympo
 Lucens: Thaprobane clarum uidet insula solem.
 1190 Hora fuit gelidus qua terram irrorat eous.
 Aggreditur iuuenis caesos spoliariet armis
 Armorumque habitu tunicas et cetera linquens:
 Armillas tantum cum bullis, baltea et enses,
 Loricas quoque cum galeis detraxerat ollis.
 1195 Quatuor his onerauit equos sponsamque uocatam
 Inposuit quinto, sextum conscenderat ipse
 Et primus uallo perrexerat ipse reuulso.
 At dum constricti penetratur semita callis,
 Circumquaque oculis explorans omnia puris
 1200 Auribus arrectis uentos captauit et auras,

Si uel mussantes sentiret uel gradientes
 Siue superborum crepitantia frena uirorum,
 Seu saltem ferrata sonum daret ungula equorum.

- Postquam cuncta silere uidet, praeuortit onustas
 1205 Quadrupedes, mulierem etiam praecedere iussit.
 Scrinia gestantem comprehendens ipse caballum
 Audet inire uiam consueto cinctus amictu.
 Mille fere passus transcendit et ecce puella —
 Sexus enim fragilis animo trepidare coegit —
 1210 Respiciens post terga uidet descendere binos
 Quodam colle uiros raptim et sine more meantes
 Exanguisque uirum compellat uoce sequentem :
 ‘ Dilatus iam finis adest : fuge, domne, propinquant ! ’
 Qui mox conuersus uisos cognouit et inquit :
 1215 ‘ Incassum multos mea dextera fuderat hostes.
 Si modo supremis laus desit, dedecus assit.
 Est satius pulchram per uulnera quaerere mortem
 Quam solum amissis palando euadere rebus.
 Uerum non adeo sunt desperanda salutis
 1220 Commoda cernenti quondam maiora pericla.
 Aurum gestantis tute accipe lora leonis
 Et citius pergens luco succede propinquo.
 Ast ego in ascensu montis subsistere malo
 Euentum operiens aduentantesque salutans.’
 1225 Obsequitur dictis uirguncula clara iubentis.
 Ille celer scutum collegit et excutit hastam
 Ignoti mores equitis temptando sub armis.
 Hunc rex incursans comitante satellite demens
 Eminus affatu compellat ualde superbo :
 1230 ‘ Hostis atrox nisu deluderis ! ecce latebrae
 Protenus absistunt, ex quis de more liciscae
 Dentibus infrendens rabidis latrare solebas.
 En in propatulo si vis configito campo
 Experiens, finis si fors queat aequiperari
 1235 Principio. scio fortunam mercede vocasti
 Idcircoque fugam tempnis seu deditionem.’
 Alpharides contra regi non reddidit ulla,

1203 saltim P.—1204 praeuertit P.—1206 comprehendens P., cauallum
 P.—1212 compellat P.—1217 pulcram P.—1223 subsidere P.—1229
 compellat P.—1236 Idcircoque P.

- Sed velut hinc surdus aliô convertitur aiens:
 ' Ad te sermo mihi Hagano, subsiste parumper.
 1240 Quid rogo tam fidum subito mutauit amicum,
 Ut, discessurus nuper uix posse reuelli
 Qui nostris uisus fuerat complexibus ultro,
 Nullis nempe malis laesus nos appetat armis?
 Sperabam fateor de te, sed denique fallor.
 1245 Quod si de exilio redeuntem nosse ualeres,
 Ipse salutatum mihimet mox obuius ires
 Et licet inuitum hospitii requiete foueres
 Pacificaque in regna patris deducere uelles.
 Sollicitusque fui, quorsum tua munera ferrem:
 1250 Namque per ignotas dixi pergens regiones:
 " Francorum uereor Haganone superstite nullum."
 Obsecro per ludos resipiscito iam pueriles,
 Unanimes quibus assueti fuimusque periti
 Et quorum cultu primos attriuimus annos.
 1255 Inclita quonam migravit concordia nobis
 Semper in hoste domique manens nec scandala noscens?
 Quppe tui facies patris obliuiscier egit,
 Tecum degenti mihi patria uiluit ampla.
 Numquid mente fidem abradis saepissime pactam?
 1260 Deprecor hoc abscide nefas neu bella laccessas
 Sitque inconuulsum nobis per tempora foedus.
 Quod si consentis, iam nunc ditatus abibis
 Eulogiis, rutilo umbonem complebo metallo.'
 Contra quae Hagano uultu haec affamina toruo
 1265 Edidit, atque iram sic insinuauit apertam:
 1266^a [' Ne nos incuses, mihi uim quia tu prior inferis.]
 Uim prius exerces Walthari postque sopharis.
 Tute fidem abscideras, cum memet adesse uideres
 Et tot strauisses socios immoque propinquos:
 Excusare nequis, quin me tunc affore nosses.
 1270 Cuius si facies latuit, tamen arma uidebas
 Nota satis habituque uirum rescire ualeres.
 Cetera fors tulerim, si uel dolor unus abesset:
 Unice enim carum, rutilum, blandum, pretiosum
 Carpsisti florem mucronis falce tenellum.

1238 alio P.—1242 complexibus P.—1263 complebo P.—1266^a omitted by S. H.

- 1275 Haec res est pactum qua irritasti prior alium,
Idcircoque gazam cupio pro foedere nullam.
Sitne tibi soli uirtus uolo discere in armis,
Deque tuis manibus caedem perquiro nepotis,
En aut oppeto, siue aliquid memorabile faxo.'
- 1280 Dixit et a tergo saltu se iecit equino,
Hoc et Guntharius nec segnior egerat heros
Waltharius, cuncti pedites bellare parati.
Stabat quisque ac uenturo se prouidus ictu
Praestruxit: trepidant sub peltis martia membra:
- 1285 Hora secunda fuit qua tres hi congregiuntur,
Aduersum solum conspirant arma duorum.
Primus maligenam collectis uiribus hastam
Direxit Hagano dirupta pace. sed illam
Turbine terribilem tanto et stridore uolantem
- 1290 Alpharides semet cernens tolerare nequire
Sollers obliqui delusit tegmine scuti:
Nam ueniens clipeo sic est ceu marmore laeui
Excussa et collem uehementer sauciat usque
Ad clauos infixam solo. Tunc pectore magno
- 1295 Sed modica ui fraxineum hastile superbus
Iecit Guntharius, uolitans quod adhaesit in ima
Waltharii parma, quam mox dum concutit ipse,
Excidit ignauum ligni de uulnere ferrum.
- Omne quo maesti confuso pectore Franci
- 1300 Mox stringunt acies: dolor est conuersus ad iras
Et tecti clipeis Aquitanum inuadere certant.
Strenuus ille tamen ui cuspidis expulit illos
Atque incursantes uultu terrebat et armis.
Hic rex Guntharius ceptum meditatur ineptum,
- 1305 Scilicet ut iactam subito terraeque relapsam
Ante pedes herois enim diuulsa iacebat —
Accedens tacite furtim sustolleret hastam:
Quandoquidem breuib. gladiorum denique telis
Armati nequeunt accedere cominus illi,
- 1310 Qui tam porrectum torquebat cuspidis ictum.
Innuit ergo oculis uassum praecedere suadens
Cuius defensu causam supplere ualeret.

- Nec mora, progreditur Haganon ac provocat hostem.
 Rex quoque gemmatum vaginae condidit ensem
 1315 Expediens dextram furto tutum faciendo.
 Sed quid plura? manum pronus transmisit in hastam
 Et iam comprehensam sensim subtraxerat ipsam
 Fortunae maiora petens. sed maximus heros,
 Utpote qui bello semper sat prouidus esset,
 1320 Praeter et unius punctum cautissimus horae,
 Hunc inclinari cernens persenserat actum,
 Nec tulit obstantem, sed mox Haganona reuellens,
 Denique sublato qui diuertebat ab ictu,
 Insilit et planta direptum hastile retentat
 1325 Ac regem furto captum sic increpitauit,
 Ut iam perculso sub cuspidе genua labarent :
 Quem quoque continuo esurienti porgeret Orco.
 Ni Hagano armipotens citus succuret atque
 Obiecto dominum scuto muniret et hosti
 1330 Nudam aciem saevi mucronis in ora tulisset.
 Sic dum Waltharius uulnus cauet, ille resurgit
 Atque tremens trepidusque stetit uix morte reuersus.
 Nec mora nec requies : bellum instauratur amarum,
 Incurrunt hominem nunc ambo nuncque uicissim :
 1335 Et dum progresso se inpenderet acrius uni,
 En de parte alia subit alter et impedit ictum :
 Haud aliter numidus quam dum uenabitur ursus
 Et canibus circumdatus astat et artubus horret
 Et caput occultans submurmurat ac propiantes
 1340 Amplexans umbros miserum mutire coartat :
 Tum rabidi circum latrant hinc inde molossi
 Cominus ac dirae metuunt accedere beluae.
 Taliter in nonam conflictus fluxerat horam
 Et triplex inerat cunctis maceratio leti :
 1345 Terror et ipse labor bellandi solis et ardor.
 Interea herois cepit subrepere menti
 Quiddam, qui tacito premit has sub corde loquelas :
 ‘ Si fortuna uiam non commutauerit, isti
 Una fatigatum memet per ludicra fallent.’
 1350 Illico et elata Haganoni uoce profatur :
 ‘ O paliure uires foliis, ut pungere possis,

- Tu saltando iocans astu me ludere temptas,
 Sed iam faxo, locum propius ne accedere tardes :
 Ecce tuas scio praegrandes ostendito uires.
 1355 Me piget incassum tantos sufferre labores.
 Dixit et exiliens contum contorsit in illum
 Qui pergens onerat clipeum dirimitque aliquantum
 Loricae ac magno modicum de corpore stringit :
 Denique praecipuis praecinctus fulserat armis.
 1360 At uir Waltharius missa cum cuspidе currens
 Euaginato regem inportunior ense
 Inpetit et scuto dextra de parte reuulso
 Ictum praeualidum ac mirandum fecit eique
 Crus cum poblite ad usque femur decerpserat omne.
 1365 Ille super parmam ante pedes mox concidit huius.
 Palluit exanguis domino recidente satelles.
 Alpharides spatam tollens iterato cruentam
 Ardebat lapso postremum infligere uulnus.
 Inmemor at proprii Hagano uir forte doloris
 1370 Aeratum caput inclinans obiecit ad ictum.
 Extensam cohibere manum non quiuerat heros,
 Sed cassis fabrefacta diu meliusque peracta
 Excipit assultum mox et scintillat in altum,
 Cuius duritia stupefactus dissilit ensis
 1375 Proh dolor et crepitans partim micat aere et herbis.
 Belliger ut frameae murcatae fragmina uidit,
 Indigne tulit ac nimia furit efferus ira
 Inpatiensque sui capulum sine pondere ferri,
 Quamlibet eximio praestaret et arte metallo,
 1380 Protinus abiecit monimentaue tristia spreuit :
 Qui dum forte manum iam enormiter exeruisset,
 Abstulit hanc Hagano sat laetus uulnere prompto.
 In medio iactus recidebat dextera fortis
 Gentibus ac populis multis suspecta tyrannis,
 1385 Innumerabilibus quae fulserat ante tropheis.
 Sed uir praecipuus nec laeuis cedere gnarus,
 Sana mente potens carnis superare dolores
 Non desperauit neque uultus concidit eius,
 Uerum uulnigeram clipeo insertauerat ulnam

1354 in corpore P. 1359 procinctus P.—1378 impatiensque P.—1385 trophaeis P.

- 1390 Incolumique manu mox eripuit semispatam,
 Qua dextrum cinxisse latus memorauimus illum,
 Ilico uindictam capiens ex hoste seueram.
 Nam feriens dextrum Haganoni effodit ocellum
 Ac timpus resecans pariterque labella reuellens
 1395 Olli bis ternos discussit ab ore molares.
 Tali negotio dirimuntur prelia facto.
 Quemque suum uulnus atque aeger anhelitus arma
 Ponere persuasit. quisnam hinc immunis abiret,
 Qua duo magnanimi heroes tam uiribus aequi
 1400 Quam feruore animi steterant in fulmine belli?
 Postquam finis adest, insignia quemque notabant,
 Illic Guntharii regis pes palma iacebat
 Waltharii nec non tremulus Haganonis ocellus.
 Sic sic armillas partiti sunt auarenses.
 1405 Consedere duo, nam tertius ille iacebat,
 Sanguinis undantem tergentis floribus amnem.
 Haec iter timidam reuocat clamore puellam
 Alpharides, ueniens quae saucia quaeque ligauit.
 His ita conpositis sponsus praecepit eidem :
 1410 ‘ Iam misceto merum Haganoni et porrige primum,
 Est athleta bonus fidei si iura reseruet :
 Tum praebeto mihi reliquis qui plus toleraui,
 Postremum uolo Guntharius bibat, utpote segnis
 Inter magnanimum qui paruit arma uirorum
 1415 Et qui Martis opus tepide atque eneruiter egit.’
 Obsequitur cunctis Heririci filia uerbis.
 Francus at oblato licet arens pectore uino :
 ‘ Defer ’ ait ‘ prius Alpharidi sponso ac seniori
 Uirgo tuo, quoniam fateor, me fortior ille est.
 1420 Non solum mihi sed cunctis super eminent ille.
 Hic tandem Hagano spinosus et ipse Aquitanus
 Mentibus inuicti licet omni corpore lassi
 Post uarios pugnae strepitus ictusque tremendos
 Inter pocula scurrili certamine ludunt.
 1425 Francus ait : ‘ iam dehinc ceruos agitabis amice,
 Quorum de corio wantis sine fine fruaris :
 At dextrum moneo tenera lanugine conple,
 Ut causae ignaros palmae sub imagine fallas.

1390 Incolumique P.—1396 proelia P.—1398 immunis P.—1402 pes regis P.

- Wah ! sed quid dicis, quod ritum infringere gentis
 1430 Ac dextro femori gladium agglomerare uideris
 Uxorique tuae, si qua adeo cura subintrat,
 Perverso amplexu circumdabis euge sinistram ?
 Iam quid demoror ? en posthac tibi quicquid agendum est
 Laeua manus faciet.' Cui Walthare talia reddit :
 1435 ' Cur tam prosilias admiror lusce Sicamber :
 Si uenor ceruos, carnem uitabis aprinam.
 Ex hoc iam famulis tu suspectando uidebis
 Heroum turbas transuersa tuendo salutans.
 Sed fidei memor antiquae tibi consiliabor :
 1440 Iam si quando domum uenias laribusque propinques,
 Effice lardatam de multra farreque pultam :
 Hoc pariter uictum tibi confert atque medelam.
 His dictis pactum renouant iterato coactum
 Atque simul regem tollentes ualde dolentem
 1445 Inponunt equiti et sic disiecti redierunt :
 Franci Wormatiam patriamque Aquitanus adiuit.
 Illic gratifice magno susceptus honore
 Publica Hiltgundi fecit sponsalia rite
 Omnibus et carus post mortem obitumque parentis
 1450 Ter denis populum rexit feliciter annis.
 Qualia bella dehinc uel quantos saepe triumphos
 Ceperit, ecce stilus renuit signare retusus.
 Haec quicumque leges stridenti ignosce cicadae
 Raucellam nec adhuc uocem perpende sed aeuum,
 1455 Utpote quae nidis nondum petit alta relictis.
 Haec est Waltharii poesis. uos saluet Ihesus.

1431 amodo P. 1443 cruentum P.—1456 nos, I H C P.

III.
CHRONICON NOVALICIENSE.*
(Lib. II., cap. vii-xiii.)

CAP. vii.

DICITUR autem in hoc monasterio prisco habuisse tempore monachum quendam olitorem, nomine Waltharium,¹ nobili ortum stigmatē ac regali procreatum sanguine. Famosissimus enim valde ubique fuisse adletham,² ac fortis viribus refertur, sicut de eo quidam sapiens versicanorus scripsit :

Waltarius fortis, quem nullus terruit hostis
Colla superba domans, victor ad astra volans.
Vicerat hic totum duplici certamine mundum,
Insignis bellis, clarior ast meritis.
Hunc Boreas rigidus³ tremuit quoque torridus Indus,
Ortus et occasus solis eum metuit.
Cuius fama suis titulis redimita coruscis,
Ultra caesareas scandit ab hinc aquilas.

Hic post multa prelia et bella, quae viriliter in seculo gesserat. cum iam prope corpus eius senio conficeretur, recordans⁴ pondera suorum delictorum, qualiter ad rectam penitentiam⁵ pervenire mereretur. Qui cum in monasterio, ubi districtior norma custodiretur monachorum, explere melius animo de liberasset, continuo baculum queritans perpulchrum, in cuius summitate plurimis configi precepit anulis, qui per singulis⁶ ipsorum anorum⁷ singulis⁸ tintinnabulis appendi fecit; sumensque habitum peregrini, atque cum ipso pene totum peragrans mundum, ut exploraret cum ipso studia vite monachorum atque regulam ipsorum, ad quorumcumque⁹ pervenisset monasteria. Tuncque illam, quam olim ferunt¹⁰ peregrinationem habuisse, aggressus

* The text of the 'Chronicon Novaliciense' is here reprinted from that published by Pertz, 'Mon. Ger. Hist.' Vol. vii, cap. 7-13. The variants in Muratori (M.) are given below the text; those found in Piper (P.), but not in Muratori, are designated by the abbreviation P. (v). Differences of orthography have been omitted in noting the variants.

1 Waltarius.—2 fuisse refertur athleta ac fortis viribus sicut.—3 Hunc Heroa (per) tremuit.—4 recardatus.—5 *not read by M.*—6 singulos.—7 anulorum.—8 singulos.—9 quodcumque.—10 fertur.

est. Qui cum in qualicumque ingrederetur Monasterium tempore,¹¹ quo ipsi monachi ad laudes Deo reddendas intrabant. Hoc enim ipse valde observabat percuciebat siquidem bis vel ter cum ipso baculo pavementum ecclesiae, ut ad sonitum ipsorum tintinnabulorum discerneret illorum disciplinam. Erat enim in eo maxima calliditas, et sollertis¹² exploratio, ut sic monachorum disciplinam agnosceret. Qui cum, ut supra retulimus, prope totum peragrasset cosmum, venit utique ad novaliciensem, tunc in studio sanctitatis famosissimum¹³ monasterium. Ubi cum ingressus esset¹⁴ ecclesiam, percussit more solito, ecclesiae solum. Ad quem sonitum quidam ex pueris retrorsum aspiciens, ut videret, quid hoc esset,¹⁵ protinus magister schole in eum prosiliens, alapa percussit pueram alumpnum. Ubi ergo Waltarius talia vidit, ingemuit illico et ait: "En ergo hic, quod¹⁶ multis diebus nonnulla terrarum spacia quaeritans repperire talia adhuc non valui." Exiens igitur statim ab ecclesia, mandavit siquidem abbati, ut secum colloquium habere dignaretur.¹⁷ Cui cum suam insinuasset voluntatem, in proximo habitum sumens monachorum, efficitur protinus cultor orti, sponti et voluntarie, ipsius monasterii. Ipse vero accipiens duas longissimas funes, extenditque eas per ortum, unam scilicet per longum alteram namque per transversum, tempore¹⁸ estatis omnes noxias in illas¹⁹ suspendebat erbas, videlicet radicibus²⁰ ipsarum desuper expandebat contra solis fervorem, ut ultra non vivificarentur.

CAP. viii.

HIC ergo Waltarius quis vel unde nuperrime fuerit, vel a quo patre genitus sit, non est bonum silencio abscondere. Fuit enim quidam rex in Aquitanie regnum nomine Alferus.²¹ Hic de coniuge propria habuit filium nomine Waltarium,²² quem supra nominavimus. Huius temporibus in Burgundie regnum alius rex extiterat nomine Eriricus,²³ qui similiter habuit filiam valde decoram nomine Ildegundam.²⁴ Hii vere reges iuramentum inter se dederant, ut quando ipse pueri ad legitimam etatem primitus venissent, se invicem sociarent, scilicet cum tempus nubendi illis uenisset. Qui ergo pueri antequam se sociarent,

11 in tempore.—12 solers.—13 florentissimum.—14 foret.—15 erat.—16 qui.—17 dignetur.—18 ac tempore.—19 illis.—20 radices.—21 Alferius.—22 Waltarius.—23 Criricus Mur. and Bethm., Eriricus P.—24 Ildegunde.

subiecta sunt regna patrum suorum atque ipsi obsides dati sub ditione regis Atile Flagellum Dei, qui eos secum duxerat cum Aganone obside regis Francorum nomine Gibico.

CAP. ix.

HII namque pueri Attila causa obsidionis a propriis accipiens patronibus²⁵ cum maxima pecunia, ad sua cum suis repetit²⁶ arva. Sic quidam²⁷ metricanorus de ipsis ait :

Tunc Auares gazis onerati denique multis, 93
 Obsidibus sumptis Haganone, Hilgunde puella
 Necnon Walthario, redierunt pectore laeto. 95
 Attila Pannonias ingressus et urbe receptus,
 Exulibus pueris magnam exhibuit pietatem,
 Hac²⁸ veluti proprios nutrire iubebat alumpnos.
 Virginis²⁹ et curam reginam mandat habere. 99
 Ast adolescentes propriis conspectibus ambos 100
 Semper inesse iubet,³⁰ sed et artibus imbuit illos,
 Presertimque iocis belli sub tempore habentis.
 Qui simul ingenio crescentes³¹ mentis et aevo,
 Robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas,
 Donec iam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos. 105
 Militiae primos tunc Attila fecerat illos;
 Sed non inmerito ; quoniam si quando moverat

bella per insignes regionum illarum, isti ex pugna victoria mica-
 bant, ideoque princeps ille quidni³² dilexerat illos? Virgo
 etiam, quae cum ipsis ducta fuerat captiva, Deo sibi prestante 110
 reginae placavit vultum, et ipsa auxit illi amorem. Ex³³ nobilis
 ergo moribus et operum³⁴ habundans sapientiae, ad ultimum
 vero fit ipsa regis et reginae thesauris custoda³⁵ cunctis

Et modicum deest³⁶ quin regnet et ipsa ;
 Nam quicquid voluit de rebus fecit et actis. 115

Gybichus³⁷ interea rex Francorum defungitur, et regno illo
 Cundharius eius³⁸ successit filius, statimque foedera Pannonia-
 rum dissolvit, atque censum illi deinceps negavit. At vero
 Haganus exul, agnita proprii domini morte, ilico fugam parat.
 Ex cuius discessum³⁹ rex cum regina multum dolentes, Waltha- 120
 rium retinere nitentes, ne forte simili exitu illum ammittentes,⁴⁰

25 patronis.—26 redivit.—27 quidem.—28 Ac.—29 reginae P. (*variants*).—30 For the following verses cf.—Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iii, *Diss.* 44, pp. 965-972.—31 crescentis.—32 quidam.—33 Ea P. *wanting in M.*—34 operibus.—35 custodia.—36 deese.—37 Gybicus.—38 ei.—39 discessu.—40 amitterent.

rogare illum coeperunt, ut filiam alicuius regis satrapis Pannoniarum summeret sibi uxorem, et ipse ampliaret illi rure⁴¹ domosque. Quibus Waltharius talia respondit verba: 136 138

“ Si nuptam,” inquit, “ accipiam secundum domini preceptum, 150

In primis vinciar curis et amore puelle, 151

Aedificare domos cultumque intendere ruris. 153

Nil ergo, mi senior, tam dulce mihi, quam semper tibi ingress⁴² fidelis, teque optime deprecor pater per propriam vitam atque 158 165
per invictam gentem Pannoniarum,

Ut non ulterius me cogas sumere taedas.” 167

Cumque⁴³ haec dixisset, sermones statim deserit omnes.

Sicque rex deceptus, sperans Waltharium recedere numquam. Moxque satrapae illi certissima venerat fama de quandam gentem quondam⁴⁴ ab Hunis devictam⁴⁵ super se iterum hostiliter ruentem.”⁴⁵ 170

Tunc ad Waltharium convertitur actio rerum;

Qui⁴⁶ mox militiam percensuit ordine totam, 174

Et bellatorum confortat corda suorum. 175

Nec mora, consurgit, sequiturque exercitus omnis. 179

Et ecce locum conspexerat pugnae, 180

Et numeratam per latos aciem campos;

Iamque congressus uterque infra teli iactum

Constiterat cuneus. Tunc utique clamor ad auras

Tollitur; horrenda confundit classica voce,

Continuoque hastae volitant hinc indeque densae. 185

Fraxinus et cornus⁴⁷ ludum miscebat in unum,

Fulminis inque modum cuspis vibrata micabat. 187

Fulmineos promunt⁴⁸ henses clipeosque revolvunt. 192

Inde concurrit acies, et postmodum⁴⁹ pugnam restaurant,

Ibique pectora quorum partim rumpuntur pectoribus,

Sternuntur et quasdam partes virorum duro umbone.

Waltharius tamen in medio furit agmine bello,

Obvia⁵⁰ quaeque metens armis, hac limite pergens.

Hunc ubi conspiciunt hostes tantas dare strages,

Acsi presentem metuebant cernere mortem;

Et quemcumque locum seu dextram sive sinistram 200

Waltharius preteret, cuncti mox terga dederunt. 201

Cumque ex victoria coronati lauro Waltharius cum Hunis²¹⁰⁻²¹² reverteretur, mox palatini ministri arcis 215

Ipsius laeti occurrerunt, equitemque tenebant,

41 rura.—42 quum P. (v).—43 quadam gente P. (v).—44 devicta.—45 ruente.—46 Quos.—47 cornua.—48 premunt.—49 per modum.—50 Nunc.—51 coronatus.

Donec vir inclitus ex alta descenderent ⁵² sella.
 Quique ⁵³ demum forte requirunt si bene rés vergant.
 Qui modicum illis narrans intraverat aulam.
 Erat enim oppido lassus, ⁵⁴ regisque cubile petebat. 220
 Illicque in ingressu Hilgundem solam offendit residentem ;
 Cui post amabilem amplexionem atque dulcia oscula dixit :
 " Ocius huc potum ferto, quia fessus anhelō."

Illa mero tallum complevit mox pretiosum,
 Atque ⁵⁵ Walthario ad bibendum obtulit : Qui signans 225
 accepit, ⁵⁶

Virgineamque manum propria constrinxit ; at illa
 Reticens vultum intendit in eum.
 Cumque Waltharius bibisset vacuum vas reddidit illi—
 Ambo enim noverant de se sponsalia facta—
 Provocat et tali caram sermone puellam : ⁵⁷
 " Exilium pariter partimur iam tempore tanto.
 Non ignoramus enim, quod nostri quondam parentes
 Inter sē nostra de rē fecere futura." 233

Quae cum diu talia et alia huiusmodi audisset virgo verba,
 cogitabat hoc illi per hyroniam dicere, sed paululum cum con- 235
 ticuisset, talia illi fatur :

" Quid lingua simulas quod ⁵⁸ ab imo pectore dampnas ?
 Ore mihi fingis, toto quod corde refutas,
 Tamquam si sit tibi magnus pudor ducere nuptam."
 Vir sapiens contra respondit, et intulit ista : 240
 " Absit, quod memoras. Dextrorsum porrige sensum. 241
 Scis enim, nil umquam ⁵⁹ me simulata mente locutum. 242

Adest itaque hic ⁶⁰ nullus, exceptis nobis duobus. Amodo 244
 namque esto mente sollicita, quae extrinsecus es regis reginaeque 261
 thesauris custoda.

In primis galeam regis tunicamque trilicem 263
 Assero ⁶¹ loricam fabrorum insigne ferentem.
 Diripe bina, dehinc mediocria scrinia tolle. 265
 His armillarum tantum da Pannonicarum,
 Donec vix releves unum ad pectoris honum, ⁶²
 Inde quater binum mihi fac de more coturnum. 268
 Insuper a fabris hamos clam posce retortos. 271
 Nostra viatica sint pisces simul atque volucres.
 Ipse ego piscator sed auceps esse cohartor. ⁶³
 Haec intra ebdomede ⁶⁴ caute per singula comple.
 Audisti quod habere vianti forte ⁶⁵ necesse est. 275
 Postquam septenos Phoebus remeaverit orbes 277
 Convivia laeta parabo 279b
 Regi ac reginae, satrapis, ducibus famulisque, 278
 Atque omni ingenio potu sepelire studebo, ⁶⁶ 280

52 descenderet.—53 Quemque.—54 lapsus.—55 Quem.—56 recepit.
 —57 sermone velli.—58 quid.—59 enim numquam.—60 Adest
 heic.—61 Affer.—62 onus.—63 cohortor.—64 hebdomadem.—65 forte
 wanting.—66 potus saepius illinire studebo.

ita ut nullus supersit,⁶⁷ qui⁶⁸ sciat vel recognoscat, cur uel ob
quam causam factum sit tale⁶⁹ convivium. Te tamen pre-
moneo mediocriter vinum⁷⁰ utere, ut vix sitim extinguas ad men-
sam. Reliqui vero cum surrexerint, tu ilico ad nota recurre
opuscula. At ubi potus violentia superaverit cunctos,

285

Tunc simul occiduas properemus querere partes."

Virgo vero dicta viri valde memor praecepta complevit.

Et ecce

Prefinita dies epularum venit, et ipse

Waltharius qui⁷¹ magnis instruxit sumptibus escas.

Luxuria denique in media residebat mensa. Rex itaque ingred- 290
itur aulam, velis undique septam; heros⁷² itaque solito more⁷³
salutans quem magnanimus⁷⁴

Duxerat ad solium, quem bissus compsit⁷⁵ et ostrum.

Consedit, laterique duces hinc indeque binos

Assedere iubet; reliquos locat ipse minister

295

Centenos simul accubitus, et diversas dapes libans

297 a 297

convivia⁷⁶ redundat,

His sublatis alie referuntur edende,

298

Et pigmentatos⁷⁷ crateres Bachus adornat.

301

Waltharius cunctos ad vinum ortatur et escam.

Postquam depulsa fames fuerat⁷⁸ atque sublata mensa,

Waltharius iamdictus dominum letanter adhorsus

305

Dixit: "In hoc rogo gratia vestra⁷⁹ ut clarescat

In primis, atque vos reliquos laetificetis."

Qui simul in verbo nappam dedit arte peractam,⁸⁰

Gestam referentem priorum⁸¹ ordinem sculture ipsius.

Quam rex accipiens uno austu vacuaverat.

310

Et confestim iubet reliquos omnes tali bibitione imitari.⁸²

Tunc citissime accurrunt pincerne atque recurrunt:

Pocula plene dabant et inania suscipiebant.

313

Ebrietas fervens tota dominatur aula.⁸³

315

Balbutit madido facundia fusa palato.

Seniores fortes videres plantis titubare:

Taliter in seram produxit⁸⁴ bacchica noctem.

Nam ire⁸⁵ volentes Waltharius munere retraxit, donec pressi⁸⁶
somno potuque gravati per porticibus sternuntur humo tenus 320
omnes passim. Eciamsi tota civitas igne fuisse⁸⁷ succense, et

67 superius sit.—68 ut.—69 fit.—70 vino.—71 *wanting*.—72 Heroës.
—73 more *wanting*.—74 magnanimitas.—75 composuit.—76 conviva.—
77 pigmentatas P. (v.)—78 fuerat *wanting*.—79 gratiam vestram.—80
paratam.—81 prior ordinem.—82 incitari.—83 in aula.—84 perdux-
it.—85 Nam in re.—86 perfessi.—87 fuisset.

ipse ⁸⁸ flamivoma super ipsos crassari videretur, scilicet minitans mortem,

Nullus remansit, ⁸⁹ qui scire potuisset causam.

Tandem dilectam vocat ad semet ⁹⁰ mulierem,

Precipiens causas citius ⁹¹ deferre paratas.

325

Et ipse de stabulis duxit victorem ⁹² aequorum,

Quem ob virtutem leonem vocitaverat ipse.

Stat sonipes, ac frena ferox spumatia mandit,

Postquam enim hunc caballam ligamentis solito circum-
dederat, ecce

Scrinia plena gazae, quibus utrique suspendit lateri,

330

Atque itinere longo modicella ponit cibaria,

Loraque virgineae mandat fluitantia dextrae.

Ipseque vestit ⁹³ lorica more gygantis,

Atque capiti inposuit suo rubras cum casside cristas,

Ingentesque complectitur aureis ocreis

Et levum femur ancipiti precinxerat hense,

Atque alio dextrum pro ritu Pannoniarum.

His tamen ex una tantum dat vulnera parte. ⁹⁴

Tunc hastam dextra rapiens clipeumque sinistra,

Cooperat invisa terra trepidus decedere.

340

Femina duxit equum, nonnulla talenta gerentem.

Ipsa vero in manibus virgam tenet simul columnam,

In qua piscator ⁹⁵ hamum transponit in undam.

343

Nam idem vir maximus ⁹⁶ gravatus erat undique telis ;

345

Ob hoc suspectam habuit cuncto sibi tempore pugnam.

346

Sed cum prima lumina Phoebus rubens terris ostendit,

348

In silvis latitare student, et opaca requirunt.

349

Ergo ⁹⁷ tantum timor pectora muliebria pulsabat,

351

Ut cunctos susurros, auras vel ventos horrerat, ⁹⁸

Formidans collisos racemos sive volucres.

353

Vicis diffugiunt, speciosa ⁹⁹ novalia linquunt,

355

Montibus intonsis cursus ambage recurvos.

356

Ast urbis populus somno vinoque solutus.

358

Sed postquam surgunt, ductorem quique ¹⁰⁰ requirunt,

360

Ut grates faciant hac ¹⁰¹ festa laude saluent.

361

Attila nempe utraque manu caput amplexatur, ¹⁰² egrediturque thalamo ipse rex ; Waltharium dolendo advocat, ut proprium quereret forte dolorem. Cui respondent ipsi ministri, se non potuisse invenire virum ; sed tamen princeps sperat, eundem Waltharium in somno quietum recubare tentum hactenus, hac

365

88 ipsa.—89 remansisset.—90 ad se mox.—91 quantocius.—92 melio: rem.—93 vestitus.—94 partem.—95 discator.—96 maxime.—97 erga ?—98 Ut ad cunctos s. auras v. venti haereret.—99 Spatiosa.—100 quoque.—101 ac.—102 amplexatus.

occultum locum sibi delegisse sopori. Ospirin vero regina, hoc illi nomen erat, postquam cognovit Hildegunde abess^g nec vestem 370 deferre iuxta su^gtum morem, tristior satrape inmensis strepens clamoribus dixit:

“ O detestandas quas h^gri sumpsimus *g*scas !
 O vinum, quod Pannonias destruxerat omnes !
 Quod domino regi iam dudum prescia dixi,
 Approbat iste dies, quem nos superare nequimus. 375
 Hen ! ¹⁰³ hodie imperii nostri c^gcidisse columpna
 Noscitur ; hen ! ¹⁰⁴ robur procul ivit ¹⁰⁵ et inclita virtus,
 Waltharius lux Pannoniae discesserat inde ;
 Hildgundem quoque mi ¹⁰⁶ karam deduxit alumpnam ! ” 380
 Iam princeps efferus ¹⁰⁷ nimia succenditur ira. 381
 Mutant priorem laetitiam merentia corda. 385
 Sic intestinis rex fluctuatur undique curis, 389
 Atque ipso quippe die fastidit omnino potus ¹⁰⁸ et *g*scam, 390
 Nec placidam curam membris potuit dare quietem.
 At ubi nox supervenit atra,
 Decidit in lectum, ubi nec lumina clausit,
 Vertiturque frequenter de latus ¹⁰⁹ in latere
 Tamquam si iacula ¹¹⁰ transfixus esset acuta. ¹¹¹ 394
 Indequ surgens discurrit in urbem. 397
 Atque thorum veniens, simul attigit atque reliquid.
 Taliter insomnem consumpserat Attila noctem.
 At profugi comites per amica silentia euntes. 400

Tunc rex votum ¹¹² fecerat, ut si quis Waltharium illi vinctum 403
 afferret, 404

Mox illum aurum ¹¹³ vestiret saepe recoctum ¹¹⁴ 405
 Sed nullus in tam magna regione 408

Fuit inventus tyrannus, dux sive comes s^gu miles sive minister, 410
 qui quamvis proprias ostendere cuperet vires, Waltharium 413
 aliquando iratum presumpserit armis insequi. Nota siquidem 415
 virtus eius fuerat facta ¹¹⁵ prope omnibus terrae ¹¹⁶ habitatoribus. 419
 Qui Waltharius, ut dixi, fugiens noctibus ivit, atque die saltus 420
 requirens et arbusta densa. Hic ¹¹⁷ vero arte accersita pariter volu-
 cres arte capit, nunc fallens visca, ¹¹⁸ nunc fisso denique ligno.
 Similiter in flumina inmittens hamum, rapiebat sub gurgitibus
 predam.

Sicque famis pestem pepulit tolerando laborem. 425
 Namque toto tempore fugae se virginis usu

¹⁰³ Heu.—¹⁰⁴ en.—¹⁰⁵ procubuit et.—¹⁰⁶ Hildegunde mihi.—¹⁰⁷ effera.—¹⁰⁸ potum.—¹⁰⁹ latere.—¹¹⁰ iaculis.—¹¹¹ acutis.—¹¹² notum.—¹¹³ auro.—¹¹⁴ recocto.—¹¹⁵ facta fuerat.—¹¹⁶ terrae *wanting*.—¹¹⁷ Heic.—¹¹⁸ visco.

Continuit vir Waltharius, laudabilis heros.

Et ecce quadraginta dies sol per mundum circumflexerat,

Ex quo Pannonia fuerat digressus ab urbe.

430

Ergo eo ¹¹⁹ die, quo numerum clauserat istum,

Venit ad fluvium iam vespere mediante,

Cui nomen est Rgnum, ¹²⁰ qua cursus tendit ad urbem

Nomine Warmatiam, regali sede nitentem.

Illic pro naulo pisces dedit antea captos ;

435

Cumque esset transpositus, graditur properanter anhgus.

Orta vero dies,

Portitor exsurgens ¹²¹ prefatam venit in urbem,

Ubi regali coquo, reliquorum certe magistro,

Detulerat pisces, quos vir ille viator dederat.

440

Hos vero dum pigmentis condisset et apposuisset

Regi Cundhario, miratus fatur ab alto :

“ Ergo istiusmodi pisces mihi ¹²² Francia numquam ostendit.

444

Dic mihi quantotius, cuihas ¹²³ homo detulit illos ? ”

445

At ¹²⁴ ipse respondens narrat, quod nauta dedisset.

Tunc princeps hominem iussit accersire eundem ;

Et cum venisset, de ré quesitus eadem

Talia dicta dedit et causam ¹²⁵ ex ordine pandit :

“ Uespere enim preterito ¹²⁶ residebam ego litore Rhgni.

450

Conspexi, et ecce viatorem vidi festinanter venire,

Tamquam pugne ¹²⁷ per membra paratum.

Aere ¹²⁸ etenim poenitus fuerat, rex inclite cinctus ;

Gerebat namque scutum gradiens, ¹²⁹ et hastam choruscam,

455

Viro certe forti similis fuit, et quamvis ingens

Asportaret honus, gressum tamen extulerat acrem.

Hunc incredibili ¹³⁰ forme puella decorata nitore

457a

Assequebatur, ipsaque caballum per lora rexit robustum,

458

bina quidem scrinia non parva ferentem dorso. Quae scrinia, ¹³² dum cervicem sonipes ille ¹³¹ discutiebat ad altum, voluminaque crurum superba glomerare cupiebat, dabant sonitum quasi quis gemmis illiserit aurum. Hic miles mihi presentes pro munere dederat pisces.”

460

Cumque his ¹³³ Hagano audisset verbis ¹³⁴ — residebat quippe ad mensam—

Laetus ¹³⁵ in medium prompsit de pectore verbum :

465

“ Congaudete mihi, queso, quia talia ¹³⁶ novi.

467

Waltharius collega meus remeavit ab Hunis.”

469

Cundharius vero princeps atque superbus ex hac ratione ¹³⁷

Vociferatur, et omnis ei mox ¹³⁸ aula reclamationat :

468

119 ea.—120 Rhenus.—121 pariter exurgens.—122 mihi *wanting*.—
123 quinam.—124 Et.—125 causamque.—126 per terram.—127 pugnare.
128 qua re.—129 gratiens.—130 incredibilis.—131 scrupes—ille.—132
voluminaque *wanting*.—133 hoc.—134 verbum.—135 cuius.—136 utilia.
—137 oratione.—138 mox ei.

“ Congaudete mihi, iubeo, quia gazam, quam Gybichus rex pater ⁴⁷⁰
meus transmisit Attile regi Hunorum, hanc mihi cunctipotens ¹³⁹
huc in mea regna remisit.”

Qui cum dixisset talia, mensam pede perculit, ¹⁴⁰ et exiliens
ducere ¹⁴¹ aequum iubet et sellam componere ilico sculptam;
atque de omni plebe elegit duodecim viros, viribus insignes et ⁴⁷⁵
plerumque animis probatos, inter quos simul ire Haganone iube-
bat. Qui ¹⁴² Hagano memor antiquae fidei et prioris sotii, ¹⁴³ nite-
batur transvertere rebus. Rex tamen ^ε contra instat et clamat: ⁴⁸⁰

“ Ne tardate, viri! ¹⁴⁴ precingite corpora ferro! ” ¹⁴⁵ 481

Instructi itaque milites ^εlis nam iussio regis urgebat, exiebant ¹⁴⁶ 484
portis, ut Waltharium caperent, sed omnimodis Hagano prohi- ⁴⁸⁵⁻
bere studebat. At infelix rex coepto itinere resipiscere ¹⁴⁷ non
vult. Interea vir inclitus atque magnanimus Waltharius de
flumine pergens venerat in silvam Vosagum ¹⁴⁸ ab antiquis tem- 490
poribus vocitatam; nam nemus est ingens et spatiosum, atque
repleta ferarum plurima habens ibi suetum canibus resonare
tubisque. In ipsa itaque sunt bini ¹⁴⁹ montes in secessu ipsius
atque propinqui, in quorum medium ¹⁵⁰ quamvis angustum sit 494
spatium, tamen specus extat amoenum.

Mox invenis ut vidit, “ Huc ” inquit “ eamus.” 498

Nam postquam fugiens Avarorum arvis ¹⁵¹ discesserat, 500

Non aliter somni requiem gustaverat idem,

Quam super innixus clipeo vix clausurit ¹⁵² oculus.

Tum demum bellica deponens ¹⁵³ arma, dixit virgini, in cuius
gremium fuerat fusus:

“ Circumspice caute, Hildegund, ¹⁵⁴ et nebulam si tolli videris 505
atram, tactu blando me surgere commonitato. ¹⁵⁵ Etiam si mag-
nam conspexeris ire catervam, ne subito me excutias a somno, 508
mi kara, caveto; sed instantem cunctam circa explora regionem.”

Haec ait, statim oculos conclauserat ipse, desiderantes frui 510
iamdiu satis optata requie.

Ast ubi Cundharius vestigia pulvere vidit,

Cornipedem rapidum saevis calcaribus urguet, dicens: ¹⁵⁶ 514

“ Accelerate uiri! iam nunc capietis eundem. 516

Numquam hodie effugiet: furata talenta relinquet.”

Illico inclitus Hagano contra mox reddidit ista:

“ Unum tantum verbum dico tibi, regum fortissime:

139 cuncta potens.—140 percutit.—141 duodecim elegit viros vita in-
signes et animis.—142 quos.—143 sortis.—144 vestra.—145 ferris.—146
exibant.—147 respicere.—148 Vosagum *wanting*.—149 binae.—150
medio.—151 armis.—152 clausurat.—153 depones.—154 Hildegunda.
—155 commune.—156 dicens *wanting*.

Si toties tu Waltharium pugnasse videres, 520
 Quotiens ego nova caede furentem,
 Numquam tam facile spoliandum forte putares.
 Vidi Pannonicas acies, cum bella agerent 157
 Contra aquilonares sive 158 australes regiones.
 Illic Waltharius propria virtute choruscus, 525
 Hostibus invisus, sociis mirandus obibat.
 Quisquis ei congressus erat, mox Tartara vidit,
 O rex et comites, experto credite, quantus 159
 In clipeum surgat, qua turbine 160 torqueat hastam."
 Sed dum Cundharius malesana mente gravatus 530
 Nequaquam flecti posset, castris propiabant. 161
 At Hiltgund de vertice montis procul aspiciens,
 Pulvere sublato 162 venientes sensit; ipsum
 Waltharium placido tactu vigilare monebat. 534
 Eminus illa refert quandam volitare phalangam. 163 536
 Ipse vero oculos tentos summi 164 glaucomate purgans,
 Paulatim rigidos ferro vestiverat artus. 538

Cumque paululum properassent, mulier corusscantes ut vidit 542
 hastas, stupefacta nimis "Hunos hic" 165 inquit "habemus."
 Qui 166 ilico in terram cadens effatur talia tristis:

"Obsecro, mi senior, mea colla seccentur, 545
 Ut que non 167 merui thalamo sociari.
 Nullius iam ulterius paciar consocia 168 carnis." 547

Cui Waltharius:

"Absit quod rogitas; mentis depone pavorem, Ipse Domi- 551
 nus, qui me de variis sepe eduxit 169 periculis, ille 170 valet hic
 hostes, credo, confundere nostros."

Haec ait, oculosque adtollens effatur ad ipsam:

"Non assunt hic Avars, sed Franci nebulones, cultores 555
 regionis."

Aspicit, et gnoscens iniunxit 171 talia ridens:

"En galeam Haganonis! meus collega veternus 172 atque
 socius."

Hoc heros introitum 173 stationis hadibat,
 Inferius stanti predicens sic mulieri: 560

"Coram hac porta verbum modo iacto 174 superbum":

Hinc nullus rediens Francus, quis 175 suae valeat nunciar uxori,
 qui tante 176 presumpserit tollere gazae."

157 egerent.—158 seu.—159 quantum.—160 quam bene.—161 propera-
 bant.—162 pulverem sublato.—163 quasdam phalanges.—164 tonsos
 somno.—165 hinc.—166 et.—167 utque tuo.—168 consortia.—169
 eduxerat.—170 is.—171 adiunxit.—172 veteranus.—173 introitus.—174
 iacta.—175 qui.—176 tantum.

Nec dum sermonem conpleverat, et ecce humo tenus corruit,
et veniam petiit, quod talia dixit. Postquam autem surrexit, 565
contemplans cautius dixit: 177

“Omnes 178 horum quos video nullum timeo, Haganone remoto.
Nam ille meos per prelia scit mores, iamque 179 didicit, tenet et
hic etiam sat calidus artem. Quem si forte volente Deo inter- 570
cepero 180 solum; ex aliis namque formido nulla.”

Ast ubi Waltharius 181 tali statione receptum 572
Conspexit Hagano, satrapae mox ista superbo
Suggerit verba: “O senior, 182 desiste lacescere bello
Hunc hominem! Pergant primum 183 qui cuncta requirant. 575
Et genus 184 et patriam nomenque et locum relictum,
Vel si forte petat pacem prebens 185 sine sanguine.” 577

Qui licet invitus dicta 186 Haganoni acquievisset, misit ilico e
suis, 187 mandans Walthario, ut redderet 188 pecuniam quam
deferebat. Ad quos 189 Waltharius talia fertur dedisse verba:

“Ego patri suo eam non tuli neque sibi. Set si voluerit eam
capere, vi defendo eam fundens 190 alterius sanguinem.”

Cumque hec denunciata essent Cundhario, protinus missit, qui
eum oppugnarent. Vir autem ille fortis ut erat, viriliter se ab
ipsis modicum defendens, ilico interfecit. Rex autem ut vidit,
et ipse protinus feroci animo cum reliquis 191 super eum venit. 192
Waltharius vero nichil formidans, sed magis ut supra viriliter
instabat prelio. Cepit autem et ex illis Waltharius victoriam,
occisis cunctis preter regem et Haganonem. Qui cum eum
nullatenus superare possent, simulaverunt 193 fugam. Sperans
ergo Waltharius eos inde discedere, reversus in statione accep-
taeque omni suppellectili sua, et ipse mox cum Ildegunda 194
ascensis equis cepit iter agere. Cumque Waltharius egressus
esset ab antro quinque vel octo stadia, tunc leti posterga ipsius
recurrentes memorati viri, quasi victum eum iam extra rupe 195
cogitabant. Contra quos ilico Waltharius quasi leo insurgens,
armis protectus 196 fortiter debellabat bellantibus sibi. Qui diu
multumque invicem pugnantes ac pre nimia lassitudine et siti
deficientes, iam non valebant virorum fortissimum superare.

177 dixerat.—178 Omnes *wanting*.—179 atque.—180 valentem dum
intercepero.—181 Waltharium.—182 O rex, mi senior.—183 primo.—
184 gentem.—185 prebens *wanting*.—186 dicto.—187 e suis *wanting*.
—188 Waltharium | reddere.—189 quod.—190 effundens.—191 cum re-
liquis *wanting*.—192 vertitur.—193 simulaverant.—194 Hildegunda.—
195 rupem.—196 pertectus.

Et ecce respicientes viderunt a sagma Waltharii vasculum vini dependere.

CAP. x.

INTEREA in eodem monestario consuetudine ¹⁹⁷ eisdem temporibus dicitur habuisse plaustrum ligneum mire pulchritudinis operatum, in quo nichil aliquando fertur portasse aliquid, preter unam perticam, quae sepissime configebatur in eo, si necessitas cogeretur. ¹⁹⁸ Sin autem tollebatur, et alio in loco recondebatur. In cuius summitate ferunt, qui videre ¹⁹⁹ vel audire a videntibus potuerunt, habuisse tintinnabulum appensum valde resonantem. Cortes vero vel vicos ipsius monasterii, quae erant proximiores monasterio per Italiae tellus ²⁰⁰ in quibus ministri monachorum opportunis temporibus congregabant granum aut vinum. Cum autem necessitas vehendi exigeret ad monasterium, eundem sumptum ²⁰¹ mittebatur plaustrum hoc cum predicta ²⁰² pertica in eo conficta cum skilia ad predictos vicos, in quibus scilicet vicis inveniebantur nonnulla alia plaustra congregata, plerumque centena, aliquando etiam quinquagena, quae deferebant frumenta vel vinum ad antedictum coenobium. Hoc vero plaustrum dominicale nil ob aliud mittebatur, nisi ut agnoscerent universi magnates, quod ex illo inclito essent plaustra monasterio. In quibus erat nullus dux, marchio, comes, presul, vicecomes, aut villicus qui qualicumque violentia ²⁰³ auderet eisdem plaustribus ²⁰⁴ inferre. Nam per foros Italiae annuales, ut tradunt, nullus audebat negotia exercere, donec eundem ²⁰⁵ plaustrum vidissent advenire mercatores cum skilla. Contigit autem quadam die, ut ministri ipsius Ecclesiae cum supradictis plaustribus ²⁰⁶ oneratis solito venirent more ad monasterium. Qui venientes in ipsa valle in quodam prato invenerunt familiam regis . . . pascentes equos regios. Qui statim ut viderunt tanta bona Servis Dei ministrare ²⁰⁷ fastu superbiae inflati insurgunt ²⁰⁸ illico ²⁰⁹ super eisdem hominibus, auferentes ab eis omnia, quae deferebant ; qui defendere volentes se et sua, incurrerunt in maiorem ignominiam, perdentes omnia. Qui statim mittunt legatum ad monasterium, qui ista nunciaret abbati et fratribus.

¹⁹⁷ per consuetudinem.—¹⁹⁸ cogeret.—¹⁹⁹ viderunt.—²⁰⁰ tellures.—
²⁰¹ idem supradictum.—²⁰² plaustrum hoc cum supra dicta.—²⁰³ qualemcumque violentia.—²⁰⁴ plaustribus.—²⁰⁵ idem.—²⁰⁶ plaustribus.—
²⁰⁷ munstrari.—²⁰⁸ insurgant.—²⁰⁹ illic.

CAP. xi.

ABBAS autem mox jussit congregari fratres, quibus insinuavit omnem rei eventum. Erat autem tunc pater congregationis eiusdem monasterii, nomine Asinarius, vir sanctitatis egregius Francicus genere, multis fulgens virtutibus. Cui cum unus nomine Waltarius, cui,²¹⁰ superius memoriam fecimus, respondisset, ut diligeretur illic²¹¹ predictus pater sapientes fratres, ob quorum precacionem tanti sumtui²¹² dimitterent iamdicti predones invasionem. Respondit protinus eidem abbas, et ait :

“Quem prudentiorem et sapientiorem te mittere possimus, omnino ignoramus. Te autem, frater, moneo ac iubeo, utcelerius ad eos pergas, nobisque victum vi raptum quantocius reddere festinent moneto: alioquin citissime in gravi ira incurant Dei.”

At Waltarius cum sciret conscientie sue illorum contumacia²¹³ ferre non posse, respondit: se denudandum ab ipsis tunicam, quam gestabat, Predictus vero pater, cum esset religiosus, ait :

“Si abstraxerint a te tunicam, da illis et cucullam: dicens, preceptum tibi²¹⁴ fuisse a fratribus.”

Cui Waltarius :

“Ergo de pellicia, ac de interula quid facturus sum?”

Respondit venerandus pater et ait :

“Dicito, et ex illis tibi a fratribus aequè a fratribus fuisse imperatum.”

Tunc Waltarius :

Obsecro, mi Domine, ne irascaris, si loqui addero. De femoralia²¹⁵ quid erit, si similiter voluerint facere, ut prius fecerunt?”

Et abbas :

“Iam tibi predicta suffitiat humilitas: nam de femoralibus tibi aliud non precipiam, cum magna nobis videatur fore humilitas priorum vestium exspoliatio.”

Exiens vero Waltarius cum talia audisset a tanto patrono, coepit a familia queritare monasterii, an haberetur ibi caballum,²¹⁶ cui fiducia inesset bellandi, si necessitas cogeretur.²¹⁷ Cui cum famuli ipsius æcclesiae respondissent, bonos et fortes habere pœne se essedos, repente jussit eos sibi adsistere. Quibus

²¹⁰ cujus.—²¹¹ dirigeret illuc.—²¹² sumtus.—²¹³ contumaciam.—²¹⁴ dicito tibi.—²¹⁵ femoralibus.—²¹⁶ caballus.—²¹⁷ cogeret.

visis, ascendit mox cum calcaribus, causa probationis, supra singulorum dorsa; cumque promovisset primos, et secundos, et sibi displicuissent; rennuit eos extemplo narrans illorum vitia. Ille vero recordans secum nuper deduxisse in monasterio illo ²¹⁸ caballum valde bonum, ait illis:

“ Illum ergo caballum, quem ego huc veniens adduxi, vivit, an mortuus est? ”

Responderunt illi:

“ Vivit, Domine,” ²¹⁹ inquiunt “ iam vetulus est. Ceterum ad usum pistorum deputatus est, firens quotidie annonam ad molen-dinum, hac ²²⁰ referens.”

Quibus Waltarius:

Adducatur nobis, et videamus, qualiter se habetur.” ²²¹

Cui cum adductus esset, et ascendisset super eum, ac promo-visset ait:

“ Iste,” ²²² inquit, “ adhuc bene de meo tenens ²²³ nutrimentum, quod in annis iuvenilibus meis illum studui docere.”

Accipiens ergo Waltarius ab abbate, et cunctis fratribus, bene-dictionem, ac valedicens, sumens secum duos vel tres famulos, propere venit ad iam dictos predatore; quos cum humiliter salu-tasset, coepit illos monere, ne iam servis Dei ulterius talem inferrent injuriam, qualem tunc fecissent. Illi autem cum dura Walthario coepissent respondere verba Waltharius *et* contra ²²⁴ sepissime illis duriora referebat. Hii vero indignati hac ²²⁵ superbiae spiritu incitati, coge-bant Waltharium exuere vesti-menta, quibus indutus erat. At Waltharius humiliter ad omnia illos obaudiebat iuxta preceptum abbatis sui, dicens a fratribus hoc sibi fuisse imperatum. Cumque exspoliassent eum, coepe-runt *et* tiam calceamenta et caligas abstrahere. Cum autem venissent ad femoralia, diutius institit Waltarius, dicens sibi a fratribus minime fuisse imperatum, ut foemoralia exueret. Illi vero respondentes nulla sibi fore cura de precepta ²²⁶ Monacho-rum: Waltharius vero e contra semper asserebat nullo modo sibi convenisse ea relinquere. Cumque coepissent illi vehementis-sime vim facere. Waltharius clam abstrahens a sella retinacu-lum, in quo pes eius antea herebat, percussit uni eorum in capite,

218 unum.—219 Domine sed.—220 ac.—221 habeat.—222 Ait “ Iste.”
223 tenet.—224 econtra.—225 ac.—226 nullam sibi fuisse curam de
praeceptis.

qui cadens in terram, velut mortuus factus est, arreptaque ipsius²²⁷ arma, percutiebat ad dexteram, sive ad sinistram. Deinde aspiciens iuxta se vidit vitulum pascentem, quem arripens, abstraxit ab eo humerum, de quo percutiebat hostes, persequens ac dibachans eos per campum. Volunt autem nonnulli, quod uni eorum, qui Waltario plus ceteris importunius insistebat, cum se inclinasset, ut calceamenta Waltharii a pedibus eius extraeret, hisdem²²⁸ Waltharius illico ex pugno in collum eius percutiens, ita ut os ipsius fractum in gulam eius caderet. Ex illis namque plurimis occisis; reliqui vero in fugam versi, reliquerunt omnia. Waltarius autem adepta victoria, accipiens cuncta et sua, et aliena, repedavit continuo ad monasterium cum maxima preda oneratum.

Abbas autem talia, ut ante audierat, vidit, illico ingemuit ac se in lamentum et precibus cum reliquis pro eo dedit fratribus, increpans eum valde acrius. Waltarius vero exin poenitentiam accipiens a predicto patrono, ne de tanto scelere superbiretur²²⁹ in corpore, unde iacturam pateretur in anima. Tradunt autem nonnulli, quod tribus vicibus cum paganis superirruentibus pugnaverit, atque victoriam ex illis capiens, ignominiose ab arva expulerit.

Nam ferunt aliquanti, quod alio tempore, cum de prato reverteretur ipsius monasterii, quod dicitur Mollis de quo eiecerat equos regis Desiderii, quos ibi invenerat pascentes, ac vastantes herbam, qui²³⁰ cum multos ex illis debellans vicisset, ac reverteretur, invenit iusta²³¹ viam columnam marmoream, in qua percussit bis ex pugione, quasi laeto animo ex victoria, qui²³² maximam ex ea incidens parte²³³ deiecit in terram. Unde usque in hodiernum ibi dicitur diem, Percussio vel ferita Waltari.

CAP. xii.

OBIIT interea vir magnanimus atque inclitus comes et aleta²³⁴ Waltharius, senex et plenus dierum, quem asserunt nostri multos vixisse annos, quorum numerum collectum non repperi; sed in actibus vitae suae cognoscitur, quibus exstiterit temporibus. Hic sicut legitur in hoc fuisse aevo prudentiae, corporis ac decore vultu²³⁵ strenuissime adornatus, ita in predicto monasterio post militie conversionem, amoris, obedientiae et regu-

227 ejus.—228 idem.—229 superbiret.—230 quod.—231 juxta.—232 quam.—233 partem.—234 athleta.—235 vultus.

laris disciplinae oppido fervidissimus fuisse cognoscitur. Inter alia etiam, quae ipse in eodem gessit monasterio, fecit siquidem, dum vixit, summitate cuiusdam rupis sepulcrum in eadem petra laboriosissime excisum. Qui post suae carnis obitum in eodem cum quodam nepote suo, nomine Rataldo, cognoscitur fuisse sepultas.

Hic filius fuit filii Waltharii, nomine Ratherii, quem peperit ei Hildegund premonita puella. Horum ergo virorum ossa post multos annos defunctionis suae sepissime visitans, pre manibus habui. Nam huius Rathaldi capitis²³⁶ quedam nobilis matrona, cum illo causa orationis cum aliis convenisset ex Italiae tellus²³⁷ occulte in brachiale supposuit suo, atque ad quendam²³⁸ castrum suum deportavit. Quod cum quadam die igne supposito concremaretur, post multa²³⁹ adustionem, illum²⁴⁰ recordans capite,²⁴¹ foras traxit, atque contra igne²⁴² tenuit, qui mox mirifice extintus est.

CAP. xiii.

POST itaque incursionem paganorum, quae ultima contigerat vice antequam hisdem locus reaedicaretur, ignorabatur omnino supradicta sepultura Waltharii ab incolis loci, sicut ceteras alias.²⁴³ Eratque tunc vidua, nomine Petronilla, in civitate Segusina quae ob nimiam senectutem totam, ut ferunt,²⁴⁴ incedebat curvam,²⁴⁵ cuius quoque oculi iam pene caligaverant. Haec vero mulier habuit filium nomine Maurinum, quem pagani de predicta valle secum, vim facientes, deduxerunt cum ceteris captivis. Cum quibus, ut dicebat, amplius quam triginta in illorum manserat arva annorum.²⁴⁶ Postmodum vero licentia a proprio accepta domino, ad domum remeavit propriam, in qua inveniens²⁴⁷ matrem iam senio confectam, ut supra diximus, quae cotidie²⁴⁸ ad solis residere erat solita tempore supra²⁴⁹ quamdam amplissimam petram, quae proxima erat civitati. In huius ergo femine circuitu veniebant viri cum femine civitatis, scisitantes ab ea de antiquitate ipsius loci, quae referebat illis multa, maxime de Novalicio monasterio. Dicebat enim illis multa et inaudita, quae viderat, vel audierat a progenitoribus, et quantos abbates, quantasve destructiones ipsius loci facte a paganis fuerant. Haec igitur quadam die deduci illic²⁵⁰ se fecerat a

²³⁶ caput.—²³⁷ tellure.—²³⁸ quoddam.—²³⁹ concremaret post multam.—²⁴⁰ illius.—²⁴¹ capitis.—²⁴² ignem.—²⁴³ ceterae aliae.—²⁴⁴ fertur.—²⁴⁵ curva.—²⁴⁶ annorum spatio.—²⁴⁷ invenit.—²⁴⁸ quae ut diximus quotidie.—²⁴⁹ super.—²⁵⁰ illuc.

quibusdam viris, quae ostendit illis sepulturam Waltharii, quae aute ignorabatur, sicut ab antenatis audierat ; quamquam enim nulla foeminarum olim appropinquare illo in loco audebat. Re-
ferebat etiam, quantos puteos nuperrime in illo habebantur loco ;
nam vicini agebant praetaxatae mulieris, ducentos prope vixisse
annos.

IV.

WALTHER UND HILDEGUNDE.*

- 1 **D**IE mir in dem winter fröide hânt benomen,
 sie heizen wîp, si heizen man,
 Disiu sumerzît diu müez in baz bekomen.
 ouwê daz ich niht fluochen kan!
 Leider ich enkan niht mêre
 Wan daz übel wort 'unsælic.' neinâ! daz wær alze sêre.
- 2 Zwêne herzelîche fleüche kan ich ouch:
 die fluochent nâch dem willen mîn.
 Hiure müezens beide 'esel' und 'der' gouch'
 gehoeren ê si enbizzen sîn.
 Wê in denne, den vil armen!
 wess ich obe siz noch gerûwe, ich wolde mich dur got
 erbarmen.
- 3 Wan² sol sîn gedultic wider ungedult:
 daz ist den schamelôsen leit.
 Swen die boesen hazzent âne sîne schult,
 daz kumt von sîner frûmekeit.
 Trœstet³ mich diu guote alleine,
 diu mich wol getrosten mac, sô gæbe ich umbe ir nîden
 kleine.
- 4 Ich wil al der werlte sweren ûf ir lîp:
 den eit den sol si wol vernemen:
 Sî mir ieman lieber, maget oder wîp,
 diu helle müeze mir gezemen.
 Hât si nû deheine triuwe,
 sô getrûwet si dem eide und senftet mînes herzen riuwe.
- 5 Hêrren unde friunt, nû helfent⁴ an der zît:
 daz ist ein ende, ez ist alsô.
 Ich enbiute iu mînen⁵ minneclîchen strîf.

* The text is here reprinted from Wilmanns (Walther von der Vogelweide No. 53, 2. Ausgabe Halle 1883.) Essential variants of Pfeiffer's edition are to be found below the text.

1 den.—2 man.—3 troste.—4 helfet.—5 i'ne behalte mînen.

ja enwirde⁶ ich niemer rehte frô :

Mînes herzen tiefu wunde

diu muoz iemer offen stên, si enküsse mich mit friundes
munde.

mînes herzen tiefu wunde

diu muoz iemer offen stên, si enheiles ûf und ûz von grunde.

mînes herzen tiefu wunde

diu muoz iemer offen stên, sin werde heil von Hiltegunde.

6 so'n wirde.

NIBELUNGENLIED.*

268.3 **D**Â von ich wol erkenne allez Hagenen sint.
 ez wurden mîne gîsel zwei wêtlîchiu¹ kint,
 er und von Spâne Walther: die wuohsen hie zu man.
 Hagenen sande ich widere: Walther mit Hildegunde
 entran.

274.4 Er [Hagen] unt der von Spâne, die traten manegen
 stîc,
 dô si hie bî Ezelen vâhten manegen wîc
 zen êren dem Kûnege. des ist von im vil geschehen:²
 dar umbe muoz man Hagene³ der êren wol von schul-
 den jehen.

358.2 Dô sprach meister Hildebrant⁴ 'zwiu verwîzet ir mir
 daz?
 nu wer was der ûfme schilde vor dem Waschensteine saz,
 dô im von Spâne Walther sô vil friunde⁵ sluoc?
 ouch habt ir noch ze zeigen an in selben genuoc.'

* From the text of Zarncke's fifth edition (1875).

1 wêtlîchiu L., B.—2 vil von im geschehen L; des ist vil geschehen B.—3 Hagenen L; Hagenen der êren pillîche jehen B.—4 Des antwurte Hildebrant B.—5 vil der friunde L., B.

VI.

GRAZ FRAGMENT.*

. michel vn.¹

First page, first column.

1 ie² getan.

Do sprach³ (der starche Hagene: ze w)ev⁴ sold din din lip?

. inne, wem liezst (du daz wip, diu) din mit solhen e(ren⁵ unz her gebiten) hat? si wær⁶ wol (mit krône ein k)eyserinne,⁷ die sold(u minnen:

dêst) min rat

2 Do mte⁸ Walther n⁸

First page, second column.

1 (be) stætet⁹ vnd ir vater¹⁰ lant ich stunt¹¹ da man ivch mæhlt beide, iz ist mir allez wol erkant.

2 O we mich miner leide, sprach Walther¹² sa ze stunt, daz miner gvten dienste min vrou¹³ Hültegvnt. ist also verteilt¹⁴ her vil manigen¹⁵ tac.

*The text is here reprinted from Haupt [*Zeitschrift*, xii 280 f) with Heinzel's additions enclosed in parenthesis, and the variant readings (including those of Schoenbach, *Zeitschrift*, xxv, 181) given below the text. The earlier order of Weinhold and Müllenhoff has been retained. The arrangement of the fragments is discussed in another place.

1 *These two words close a page and verse that are otherwise lost; they, together with three letters ret read by Schönbach (Zeitshrift, xii, 182) yield no sense.*—2 Weinhold *read the remains of a letter before ie.*—3 *spch*, Weinhold; *sprach*, Heinzel.—4 *v*, Weinhold; *ev*, Schöbach.—5 *ren* Müllenhoff, Heinzel.—6 *ir er*, Weinhold.—7 *k*, Müllenhoff, Heinzel.—

Dô sprach [diu kuneginne: 'zw]u solde dir din lip?
[war taete du die s]inne? wem liezest [du din wip,
diu] din mit solhen ê[ren hie gebiten] hat.
si wære wol [ein richiu k]eyserinne; die sold
[. . . . deist min] rât.'

—Bartsch.

8 *read by Schönbach.* Dô [sprach der herre] Walther. Bartsch.—9 Müllenhoff, Heinzel.—10 Heinzel; *vat* MS.—11 Heinzel *.stut* MS.—12 Heinzel; *Walth* MS.—13 Heinzel; *vrð* MS.—14 *verteilet*, Heinzel.—15 Heinzel; *manegē* MS.

swen ich (iemer) mit minne ir ¹⁶ wolde ¹⁷ (swichen), daz
wær den êren mîn ein slac).

Second page, first column.

- I (den kunec und sîn) wip.
dar nach neig er in vil flizichliche vnd hiez
vil sælich sin er lip.
- 2 Die do die næhsten waren ¹⁸ bi im von Hivnen lant
den gab der snelle Hagene div ross vnd ¹⁹ daz gewant
daz silber zv dem golde swaz mans im fvrgetruch ²⁰
er sprach niemen ²¹ sold icht mit mir (vliesen: daz
wær ein michel ungevûch).

Second page, second column.

- I han ich
not v(nde kumber het ich) ie dvrch dich
w(em wilt du mich lazen, troutgeselle (mîn?)
(woltstu) daz ich von hinn(en ²² mit dir scheide)
umb dich diende (ich jâmers pîn)
- 2 (Dô het) der starche Hage(ne ²³ daz mære) wol vernomen
di chet nummer vor ²⁴

16 Heinzel.—17 Schönbach, Heinzel; *lde* Weinhold.—18 Heinzel;
warē MS.—19 *d* Heinzel *vñ* MS.—20 *für getruch*, Heinzel.—21 Hein-
zel; *nemen*, Schönbach.—22 *hinnen*, Müllenhoff, Heinzel.

lazen, troutgeselle [min
und ist] daz ich von hinn[en mûese scheiden, daz wil
ich] umb dich diende [sîn.]
Dô sprach] der starche Hage[ne: 'ich hân daz] wol
vernomen.

—Bartsch.

23 *Hagene*, Müllenhoff, Heinzel.—24 *all of the verse except d deci-
phered by* Schönbach.

VII.

VIENNA FRAGMENT.*

I.—WALTHERS UND HILDEGUNDEN HEIMKEHR.

a

I (n.)

wol gehelfen. si rûhten mînen wîn.
von mîner hende nemen an. (ic)h gan iv destē baz.
daz ir vns leitet nah den iuern siten. daz svle wir dvlden
ane haz.

2 Si enphiengen Volkere. vnd ovch die sine man,
sehzec siner degene. die waren mit im dan.
gevolget von dem Rine. dvrch den wasechen walt.
er lâtte so den gast vnd ovch die sine. daz ers vil wenich
enkalt.

3 Do sprach der ellende. nv helffet mir bewarn.
daz wir die twerhen strazen iht ī den landen varn.
wir svln gen lengr's. da ist d'r vater min.
des antwrt Volk'r der vil kv̄ne. des sol ich hvt'r sin.

4 Swie wir anders rîten. so ist daz div lere min.
daz wir da ze Metzen geste niht ensin.
Ortwin hete drinne / wol tovsent kv̄ner man.
swaz der kv̄nic hernach darvmbē geredete. mit strite wrdē
wir hestan.

5 Er hete wol geraten. si lēzens ane strit.
so er aller beste chv̄nde, so lēft er siv sit.
di di ez sahen daz er da mîte reit.
die mohtē do dem helde noch d'r vrōwen vor ī geratē dehei-
niv lēft.

6 Wa si die nahtselde. næmen dvrch div lant.
mit volkr'e dem heldē. daz enwart mir bechant.

* The text is that of Massmann (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, ii, 216 ff.). The orthography has been retained as found in Massmann's reprint. Variants include the additions of Bartsch (*Germania*, xii, 88-89), and of O. Jänicke (Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, xiv, 448).

1, 3. nâch den iuern êren, Bartsch.—6, 3. sinem gv̄ote, Haupt and Karajan.

- d^r kvnic mit sin^r gvte im schone dīnen hiez
 Volk^r d^r was in also werden m̄vte. daz er sin wenic v^rliez.
 7 Ovz Ortwin^s lande dvrch Bvrgonde dan.
 braht si do volk^r d^r vil k̄vne man.
 ob mā daz sin geleite. so starch niht het geschen.
 so m̄vs in ouf der selben straze dikche sīn michel arbeit
 geschehen.
- 8 Nv hōrt ovch wīe der reke frvt ī(n sime) lant.
 die boten die er hete dem kunīge gesant.
 die rīten rōss div gvten. v̄n f̄vrtē spæhiv kleit
 die sagten indem lande. daz er kōme v̄n ōch vrō Hildeg^rt
 div meit.
- 9 Do der khvnic alker. gehorte diese sage.
 do entweich im vngem̄vte. vnd ovch sin langiv klage.
 die boten er vl̄zichliche enphie. vnd ovch. sīn wīp.
 si wrden harte grozer vrevden riche. dvrch den waltheres
 lip.
- 10 Do sprach d^r vogt von Spanyge so wol mich iwer sage.
 ich hete sorge manige. lang mine tage.
 daz sin s(in in der) fremde. was mir wol t̄vsent iar/
 ich sih īn gern. swen ī got send^r div red ist entlichen war/

b

- 11 **D**O ez div kvniginne. het mit im vernomen.
 ir was von līeben mæren. vil de træh^ren komen.
 von herzen indiv ovgen. weinde si do saz.
 si riet wie man si bede wolde solde enphahen. vnde tet vil
 willechlichen daz.
- 12 Do sprach aber der rekche fr svlt mich hōren lan.
 wie Etzele vnd frō Helche zv zin haben getan.
 do sprach der boten eīner daz wil ich iu sagē
 walth^r ist vō dem kvnige so gescheiden. daz ez die Hivnen
 īmmer mvzen klagen. .
- 13 Ir ettelich^r drvnder. daz si ī wæren holt.
 er hat an svmelichen. vil wol daz versolt.
 daz si īm īmmer flvchen. wand er hat īn erslagen.
 an siner verte vil ir liebēn mage. ich kan īv and^rs niht ge-
 sagē.

8, 1. in siniu lant, Haupt; ūz sime lant, Bartsch; fröute . . lant
 Wackernagel.—10, 3. daz sīn s]tān in der] fremde, Bartsch.

- 14 Do sprach der kvnic edele. ich sol mich vrewen sîn.
 er mîz wesen herre. inden landen mîn.
 er wirt der Hîvnē purgetôr.
 swes Ezele vnd sine rechen ie begvnden. da was er ze
 allen zîten vor.
- 15 Den chvnic sprach zv den reken. wol ôf alle mine man.
 vnd rîtet îm begegene. er hat mir lieb getan.
 swer î nv gerne dîenet. des vrîvt (wi)l ich wesen.
 div lant svlt ir mit vns beiden bowen. ir mîgt bi walthr
 wol genesē.
- 16 Man sagt im daz in leite. dʳch Gvnthʳs lant.
 Volkʳ der vil kîne. dʳ was im wol erkāt.
 vnd ovch des kvniges reken. driv hvndert odʳ baz.
 do bat er sîn gesinde zv im gahen. di tatē willechlichen daz.
- 17 Do hiez ovch sich bereîten des edeln kvniges wîp.
 ia wolde si beleiten. dʳ Hildʳgde lîp.
 so si aller beste kvnde. ze Lengʳes îndie stat.
 ir vrowen si do wol kleiden begvnde. des si der kunich
 selbe bat.
- 18 Sin warten sine lîvte. mit gʳzer vngebite.
 dar nach î chvrzen stvnden. man sagt im daz da rîte.
 daz Gvnthʳs gesinde. mit î indaz lant.
 do kom dʳ wirt mit stolzʳ massenye. da er vrôn Hildʳ. vant.
- 19 Div kvniginne fvrte. wol sehzec megedin.
 die aller schōnisten. die dʳ mohten sîn.
 vñ ovch dʳ hohsten mage. di mā do bi î vant.
 do fvrten och des alten kvniges helde. Vil harte herlich
 gewant.
- 20 E si vol drîe mîle komen waren dan.
 von der stat ze Lengʳes. î volgen tîsent man.
 odʳ dannoch mere. die zv den gesten riten.
 wand si dʳ kvniginne here. heten.

2.—HILDEGVNDE BRVTE.

- 1 **N**V was ze hove nîemen. wan di da solden sîn.
 het gesehen îemen. ein schōner magedin.
 denne wær Hildegv̄t do si da helme saz.

20, 4. Wande si der kûnigiune hêre heten vil müelîche erbiten,
 Jānicke.

- da fr des ivngen kvniges reken dieten, ich gelovb mvlich
daz.
- 2 Swaz man wesse vnpilde. di temen het getan.
er wære denne wilde zereht mvse^r stan.
da walther d^r vil kvene sines vater lant besaz.
er phlach des landes nach der krone rehte. wande im riet .
div ivnchfröwe daz.
- 3 Die Walthers mvter. zahte wol die meit.
daz sach der degn gvter. iz was im niht leit.
si schvf ir hovegesinde. vil schöniv magedîn.
die bî Hildegvnde. ze allen ziten mit grozē zvhtē mvseⁿ sin.
- 4 Do div magt edele in ir heinliche saz.
so getet ir chvrzwîle/nie dekeine baz.
wa so si des gedahte waz ir d^r chvne degen.
ê daz er si vo den Hîvnen bræhte. het gedîenet ovf den
wegen.
- 5 Dar zv sach er si diche. vrô was in d^r m^ovt.
ir trivtlich^r bliche siv beide dovhte gṽt
er liebte swie er kvnde. daz *minnechliche kint*.
daz man lobes mvse iehen *Hildegvnde. der*
ivncvrowen sint.
- 6 Swa te des fvrsten *botē riten*. dvrch daz lant
ez wart den livten allen. mit *sime* tûn bechant
er wolde *hohzite*. mit Hildegvnde *han*.
der riche kvnich *mitte mit* sînen vrevnden, dar *zû* bereiten
sich began.
- 7 Gestvle hiez do wrchen *der herre* alpker.
ahzec hêr *gesellen*. vnt wæn dannoch *înder mer*.
. . . . der ieslichen wol *zwei hundert* man.
die mit de sche chomen solden. *des werches* gahen
man began.
- 8 Er schvf ovch allenthalben. iâget inden walt.
vf *manic* tÿer wilde. der he enkalt.
ouch mvsen *vischære*. ovf wage vnmvzic *wesen*.

6,2. er hiez den liuten allen mit vilze tuon bekant, Haupt.—6, 4. mit den sînen vriunden, Haupt.—7, 2. ahzec hêrgesidele (*oder* hergesidele) unt wæn donnoch mêr Jânicke; inder *omitted by* Haupt.—7, 3, 4. [und mit] der ieslîchen (= ieslîchen) wol tzwei hundert man, die mit de[n ze ti]sche chomen solden. Bartsch.—8, 2. vil manic tier wilde der hêrschaft enkalt, Haupt. v[il ma]nic tÿer wilde der he[ldē dô] enkalt, Bartsch.

- si fynden ir vil in den vnden. die *von in enkvnden*
genesen.
- 9 Die sinen valchnære. *der furste* peizen hiez.
wie *vil* man der nezze. *mûzichlichen* liez.
. . . hiez(e)n a snelle a
. in s
- 10 E
wie icher de e^r daz.
. gesniten.
di(e) da *lieber* rôss gewinnē der *kom* vil manig^r dar geritē.
- 11 *Die hohzite* walther d^rge *do* der walt gelovbet *was*
. vnd daz die blûmē *vnd daz gras*
stûnden allenthalben *ôf den* wisen breit.
daz im *d^r* sine geste kômen. so *was* allez da bere(it.)
- 12 vnmûzic waren hîe. *ze Spanîe* lant.
da h nv . . . Hildegvnt. kom heîm . . . *gesant*.
ze Arrogôn dem lant *div* mære hiez si sagen.
daz si in chvrzen ziten wolde *krone*. bi dem kvninge *walt-*
here tragen.
- 13 *Wol was* iz in allen. (de)n si / *den grûz* enbôt.
ovch mûs in wol *gefallen*. daz si von mang^r *nôt*.
zen Hîvnen was *gesceiden*. vnd daz si brahte *dan*.
der h^r walthere so rehte lobliche. *da vō* er erē vil gewan.
- 14 *Des kuniges* ingesinde. be(rei)te *sich zer* vart.
wol . . . sa(z)te *er di* reken. wol geziret *ôf rôssen* vn(ge-
sp)art.
. vrowen vo [^]her.
.

8, 4. die vor in, Haupt.—9, 2. wie wênic oder wie lûtzel, Haupt.—9, 4. [si] hiezen a[lle destē] snelle[r gâhen], Bartsch.—10, 1. 4. Ê daz der fûrste rîche mit in ze tische saz die da [guot]er rosse gewonnen, Bartsch.—11, 4. sô waere, Haupt. 11, 1–4.

[Sine hûc]hzihte Walther dō geb[ot],
Sô]der walt geloubet [wære] und daz die bluomen [rot
st]ûenden allenthalben [ôf de]n wisen breit,
daz im [danne] sine geste kômen : sô[wære]allez dâ bereit.

—Bartsch.

12, 1. dō h[et ouch] nu [vrou] Hildegunt boten heim [gesant], Bartsch.—12, 2. ze Arr. dem lande mære (*oder* diu mære), Haupt.—13, 1. Liep was, Haupt.—14, 2 wol [ge]sach [man] recken ziere [ôf r]ossen un[gesp]art, Bartsch.—14, 4. her W., Haupt.—15, 1. ze Engellande rîten man ouch die boten hiez, Jänicke.

- 15 Ze Engellant. man riten òch die boten hiez.
 die wege *man vil witen. gar vnmṽzic* (lie)z.
 zNauarren vn Chærlīngen. da wart ez ovch bechant.
 do rihten si sich gen der hohzite. ī daz waltheres lant.
- 16 Walthere gie zerate. ob si daz devhte gvt.
 sine man vn sine mage. ob niht vbele gemvt.
 Ezel da vo w̃rde. ob er die boten sin.
 im vnd der kvniginne Helch'n sande. vn ouch daz schon
 magdin.
- 17 Daz wider riet im niemen, da von wart ez sit getan.
 sine brieve schriben. man dar zṽ began.
 die er da wolde senden in Ezelen lant.
 den selben boten l̃e man niht gebresten. man gab in rosse
 vnd òch gewant.
- 18 Mit den hiez man do ritē. di da solten an den Rin.
 Gvnth̃r wol gedahte. vnd ovch die vrevnde s̃n.
 wie er siniv mære. hete dar gesant.
 bi volkere dem stolzen videlære. in der Bvrgōnde lant.
- 19 Do sprach der vogt von Rine. vnd wær iz niht schande *min.*
het ich nv tovsent miner helden. so wold ich gerne sin.
 ze siner hohzitē. wær ez d̃r Hagne rat.
 so wold ich dar

15. 2. allenthalben, Jänicke.—19, 2. mit tûsent mīner helde, Jänicke.
 —19, 4. sô wold ich dar [mit mīnen recken riten, als ez mir lobellche
 stât,] Bartsch.

VIII.

BITEROLF UND DIETLEIB.*

573-8

WALTHÊR sô was er genant:
er was der künec von
Spanjelant.
der was von Hiunen her be-
komen,
als ir wol habt ê vernomen.

581-798

Dem jungen helde was geseit
daz hie mit zwelf gesellen reit
in rehter mâze ein alter man.
im wart ouch kunt daz getân
daz si âne helme niht enriten.

586 einen garzûn hiez er si des
biten,

daz si im enbuten mære
war ir geverte wære.

dô sprach Biterolf der degen
'der mich frâget, wie ich ûf
den wegen

591 rîte und die gesellen mîn.
dem saget daz wir geste sîn
und wellen rîten durch diu
lant,
ich tuon im anders niht be-
kant.'

Der garzûn sagte dem kûnege
daz

596 'herre, ich weiz niht umbe waz
er iu anders niht enbôt :
âne ertwungenlîche nôt
rîte er swar in dunket guot.
er hât sô hêrlîchen muot

601 unde ouch die gebære,
sam ez im zorn wære,
daz ich in gefrâget hân.'

dô sprach der künic 'daz lât
stân.

ich wil in gerne selbe sehen,
606 in swelher fuoge ez mac ges-
chehen,

sît im mîn name ist unbekant.
und füere er alsô durch diu
lant,

des müese ich immer laster
hân.

nu wil ich in daz sehen lân :

612 wirt noch nâch mæren zim
gesant,

er enbiut mirs heim in mîniu
lant.'

Sine man er dâ bellben hiez.
der fürste dô daz niht enliez,
er hielt gên im ûf den wegen.

616 dô sach ouch Biterolf de degen
an dem schilde guot genuoc
bî dem * wâpen daz er truoc,
daz er was von Spanjelant.
dô gedâhte er sâ zehant

621 daz wider komen wære
Walthêr der degen mære
ûz hiunischen rîchen,
im selben angestlîchen
und den sînen niht ze guote.

626 in bêden in ir muote.

herter wille was gestalt :
des wurden ûf daz gras gevalt
sît ir mære beider.

den gesten wart nie leider

631 und ouch den Walthêres man.
der alte sît dâ von gewan

* The text is from 'Deutsches Heldenbuch' (i. Theil, S. Jänicke, Berlin, 1866.) Only the important variants are given.

1 waffen.

einen grimmigen muot :
 dô spranc er an den helt guot,
 an Walthêrn den jungen.
 636 dô sluoc er Welsungen,²
 durch einen helmen rîchen
 harte krefticlîchen
 unz ûf ein hlubel guldîn.
 daz im genas der lîp sîn,
 641 daz hât man noch für wunder.
 dô truoc ouch dâ besunder
 Walthêr ein wâfen an derhant,
 daz vil wîten was erkant
 646 zeinem dem aller besten
 daz si dô inder westen.
 ze strîte kunde er als ein
 degen :
 er hete senfte sich bewegen.
 den kûnec von Bergen³ er dô
 sluoc
 651 daz ûz der sarwæte truoc
 diu ecke heiz fiuwer rôt.
 dem fûrsten witze daz gebôt
 unde ouch sîn bescheidenheit:
 dô er sô hêrlîchen streit,
 656 dô bat den zorn lân
 der alte disen jungen man :
 'Waz hulfe, ob ich slûege dich
 ode ob du houbetlôsen mich
 tætest mit der dînen kraft ?
 661 unser bêder meisterschaft
 wære ringe hie gelegen.
 bist duz Walthêr der degen,
 sô hou ûf mich niht mêre.
 ez ist ein kleiniu êre,
 666 der den andern sô bestât,
 daz der schulde niht enhât.'
 ersprach 'ir habt mich rehte
 erkant :
 ich bin Walthêr genant.'
 dô sprach Biterolf der degen
 671 'sô sol man senfte mir gewe-
 gen :
 mîn swester was diu muoter
 dîn,
 und ob du vor den handen mîn
 alsô ze tôde wærst erslagen,

sô möhte ich nimmer dich
 verklagen.'
 676 Dô sprach der kindische man
 'sô ist mir liep daz niht gewan
 iuwer lîp dervon diu meil,
 und ist ouch unser beider heil:
 wan habt ir Welsungen hie,
 681 so genas als zeichenlîchen nie
 in der werlt nehein man,
 dann ich vor iuwer hân getân.
 œheim, slt mir willekomen.
 mir ist liep daz ich hân verno-
 men
 686 daz ir noch slt sô wol gesunt.'
 ir liuten winkten si zestunt,
 den vil liebe dâ geschach,
 dô man die stæten suone sach.
 dô si heten daz vernomen
 691 wie diu suone was bekommen,
 dem fûrsten nigen al zehant
 die guoten helde ûz Spanje-
 lant.
 Walthêr dô Biterolfen bat
 daz er ze Pârls in die stat
 696 wider rite hinder sich ;
 dô sprach der degen 'nein ich.
 ze Pârls ich nu niht enwil :
 ich hân ze reden mit iu vil,
 des sult ir mich niht verdagen
 701 er sprach 'ich wil iu gesagen
 swes ir mich hie gefrâget,
 wan mich des niht betrâget.'
 Si szâen nider ûf den plân.
 den recken frâgen er began
 706 von hiunischen rîchen.
 vil bescheidenlîchen
 sagt er im daz im was erkant,
 der heiden site und wie daz
 lant
 berihtet mit ir herren was,
 711 und daz vil lûtzel der genas
 die er in sîne æhte nam,
 und wie der kûniginne zam
 ir leben in hiunischen rîchen,
 und wie rehte wûnniclîchen
 716 die recken lebten dar enlant,

² Welfungen, H.—³ von den Pergen.

und wie sich des heldes hant
hete ervohten an dem Rîn.
des smielte sâ der neve sîn.

Walthêr dô herbergen hiez,
721 diegeste er von im niht enliez,
man enschüefe in ruowe unde
gemach.

der junge helt zem alten
sprach

‘friunt und lieber œheim mîn,
ir sult durch kurzwîle sîn

726 bî uns hie doch drîzic tage,
unz ich iu allez daz gesage
daz ich mit iu ze reden hân ;
daz kan sô gâhes niht ergân,
alsô ir des habt gedâht.

731 mich hât mîn ellende brâht
ûf sô grôzen ungewin
daz ich im immer vîent bin.’

Die hütten hiez er ûf daz velt
spannen unde diu gezelt

736 dâ si under solden ligen.

diu sunne diu was nu gesigen
den bergen alsô nâhen,
dô si gerihtet sâhen
gesidele ûf einem anger wît.

741 der mit liebem gaste slt
ze tische wirdichlichen saz,
die koste gap er âne haz :
vor dem er kûme ernerte den
lîp,

der bevalch im lant und ouch
sîn wîp.

746 die helde sliefen desten min,
diu naht gienc in alsô hin :
ê daz si sâhen aber den tac,
der helt mit frâge bî im lac
wie stüende Rüedegêres le-
ben

751 ode waz im hete der künec
gegeben

Wider Arâbî daz lant,
er sprach ‘dâ stêt in sîner hant
allez daz der künic hât.

er hât urlüeges rât

756 nâch sînem erbe an sînen tût.

daz Etzelen golt rôt
mac er geben swem er wil.
er hæet mir ouch wol alsô vil
gegeben unde mêre ;

761 Helche diu hêre,
diu bôt mir tugentlîche
krône und lant rîche.

sô bedâhte ich mich baz :
ich wiste âne zwîvel daz,

766 daz ich selbe hete lant.

Etzelen unde Helchen hant
heten mir und Hildegunde
verlihen in der stunde
swes wir heten dâ gegert

771 von Etzelen wir nâmen swert,
bêde ich unde Hagene.

umb uns ellende degene
liez sichz der künic hêre
kosten michels mêre,

776 ze tûsent marken⁴ oder baz,
und tete vil willichlichen daz.’

Dô sprach Bitrolf der wi-
gant

‘ich wil ouch hiunischiu lant
und die recken schouwen

781 und Helchen die frouwen
von der ich wunder hêre sa-
gen,

wie si in ir hōhen tagen
lebe und in ir zîten,
daz si âne widerstrîten

786 sî daz miltiste küneges wîp,
diu noch ie gewan den lîp.

nu solt du, Walthêr, neve mîn,
frîde meister mînes landes sîn.
lâ dir bevolhen sîn mîn guot,

791 sô friunt dem andern dicke
tuot.

ich wil bevelhen dir mîn wîp
und lâz ouch mîner recken lîp,
vil lieber friunt der guote,
sîn in dîner huote.’

796 er sprach ‘got müeze iuch
dort bewarn,

ir sult hie heime wol gevarn :
an aller hande dîngen

⁴ ze dreissig tausend march.

sô sol iu wol gelingen.'

799-808

Urloup nam er von im dan.
dô sâhen wol des fürsten man
daz vil friuntlich scheiden
geschach dô von in beiden.
Biterolf der kêrte dan,
804 Walthêr und die sîne man
ze Pârls kêrten in die stat.
wol leiste er des er in gebat :
ez hete der degen guote
sîn lant in friundes huote.

2104-8

der frumen lützel wære ge-
nesen,
wær der von Kärlingen niht :
swaz ie den liuten dîn ge-
schiht,
Walthêr ez heizet widertuon.
der ist dîner basen 5 suon.

2038-42

her künec, daz irs gewarnet
sît :
sol Bitrolf inder erben hân,
sô sippet der vil junge man
an Walthêr den wîgant,
den recken ûzer Spanjelant.'

5082-98

sô kumet iu ouch mit sîner
kraft
der fürste dâ von Spanjelant,
Walthêr der wîgant ;
der lobte, ob daz geschæhe
swenn man in gerne sæhe
5087 ze Wormez bî dem Rîne,
daz er und al die sîne
iu ze dienste wolden komen :
daz habet ir selbe wol verno-
men.

wer mac iuch danne twingen?

5092 her bringet 6 von Kärlingen
der künec alle 7 sîne man,
di sint im dienstes undertân :
Arragûn und Nâvarren lant,
daz stêt gar in sîner hant ;
5097 dâ von er bringet helde

her in iuwer selde.

6219-24

dar nâch hiez er springen
und Walthêren bringen,
den helt ûzer Spanjelant.
mit dem kômen al zehant
siner undertânen dri
künege die im stuonden bl.

6273-6306

her Walthêr lachende gie
dâ er den marcman enphie :
er gedâhte an diu mære
wie er gescheiden wære
von hiunischem rîche :

6278 si redeten schimphliche.

er frâgte an der stunde
nâch der schœnen Hilde-
gunde.

dô sprach Walthêr der degen
'diu ist hie in Gunthêres phle-
gen.

6283 welt ir, daz mac vil wol ge-
schehen,

daz ich iuch lâze die gesehen.'

Den boten wunderte sêre
wie Hildegunt diu hêre
zuo dem Rîne was bekommen :

6288 der helt hete noch niht verno-
men

der unglouplichen mære
daz ir dâ mære wære.

im sagte der helt von Spanje-
lant

'Gunthêr hât nâch uns gesant:

6293 die dâ heizent küneges kint,
daz unser vierzehen sint,
der habent siben hie ir wîp :
des ist der Hildegunde 8 lîp
bî den andern hie gesehen.

6298 wir hôrten sîne boten jehen,
wir solden zefner hôchzit.
nu riuwet mich daz immer sît
daz ich sô smâhe her gereit,
und ist mir doch ze mâzen leit.

6303 sul wir wern im sîn lant,

5 deines vaters.—6 der bringen.—7 den kunig und.—8 Hildepurgen
H.

sô sol dienen hie mîn hant
sô wol sîn brôt und ouch den
wîn
daz si mir holt müezen sîn.'

6423-34

dô sprach ûzer Spanjelant
Walthêr der wigant
'her kûnec, hæet ir mich wiz-
zen lân,

dô ich mit juncfrouwen dan
von Spanje her zem Rîne reit,
6428 wie sêre iu sî hie widerseit,
sîn möhte dannoch werden
rât.

ob man iuch mit strîte bestât,
ich bræhte niun tûsent man :
die wîle und ich der einen hân
6433 und ouch ich selbe lebendic
bin,

ûf iuwer helfe stêt mîn sîn.'

6774-77

Walthêr sprach 'sô ist niht rât
ern kûsse ouch Hildegunde
diu in in vil langer stunde
mit mir zen Hiunen hât er-
kant.'

7644-50

sô sol daz Etzeln golt rôt
dienen der helt Rüedegêr :
von Spanjelant den kûnec hêr
sol er mit sîner hant bestân.
daz er froun Hildegunden dan
enphuorte Helchen der richen
er richet ez ouch billichen.'

7655-59

'waz wîzet ir mir, Hildebrant?
wær iu Walthêr alsô wol be-
kant

als mir ist der küene degên,
ir hæet mich nimmer im gewe-
gen

ze einem widerstrîten.

7660-63

Jâ lieze ich in noch rîten,
und næme er mir tochter mîn,
sô solde er ungevungen sîn
immer von der mînen hant.

7664-68

er rûmte mînes herren lant

gar âne alle schande
daz ich sô rehte erkande
sîne site, des jungen man :
des muoste ich in dô rîten lân.'

8436-41

'sô wil ich lâzen schînen,'
sprach Walthêr von Spanje-
lant,

'daz uns turnieren ist bekant:
ich wil ouch lâzen hundert
dar.

si werdent schiere wol gewar
wie wir turnierens kunnen
phlegen.'

8770-79

gên den sach man dô wenden
hundert Walthêres man.

dô begunde enstete stân
dâ daz ritterliche spil
für diu hâmt 9 an ir zil.

8775 Vil schiere komen wâren
die von Bechelâren
gegen den von Spanjelant,
den ze helfe man dô vant
die von Arragûne lande.

8958-60

Walthêres 10 wîgande,
sibene fuorten sie sît
der Rüedgêres durch diu hâ-
mt. 11

9075-82

Sîfriden frâgen man began
und ouch den Hildegunde 12
man,

Walthêren von Spanjelant.
dô sprach der recke sâ zehant
'wes frâget ir mich eine' ?

9080 dô sprâchens al gemeine
'wir lâzen alsô hine gân.
nu si niht frides wellen hân.'

9570-96

Walthêr der wigant
sprach 'lat iur sorge under
wegen.

hie sol ein ieslîcher degên
wane mir volgen mite.

ich wil daz man si lîhte erbite

9581 daz si den vinden sîn ze wer.

und gesiget hie der Hiunen
 her,
 ich weiz die helde als ð gemuot,
 wir hætenz alle gelliche guot.
 dā von sol ein ieslich man
 9586 hie striten als er beste kan.'
 Walthêr redete mære sider
 'ê si mich zen Hiunen wider
 fuorten āne mīnen danc,
 ich lieze se zehen lande lanc
 9591 noch herverten furbaz;
 wan Etzel wolde sīnen haz
 allen rechen ane mir.
 edel künec, ich rāte dir
 daz wir mit gelichen scharn
 9596 āne sorgen zuo in varn.'
 9904-92
 'hie kumet daz Alpkêres kint.'
 sprach der marcgrāve rīche,
 'mit spangen snēgelliche,
 im volget her von Spanjelant.
 die êrsten tjost sol mīn hant
 9909 tuon vor der Hiunen her:
 dar nāch rihten sich ze wer
 die Hiunen, swie man hie ge-
 tuo,
 sô muoz ich Walthêre zuo,
 sīt mich des wolde niht erlān
 9914 des fūrsten Dietriches man.'
 Dô sprach der recke Diet-
 leip 13
 'mir ist doch lange her geseit,
 und hōrte in selbe des verje-
 hen,
 dō ich in nēhste hān gesehen
 9919 dō ich reit zuo der Hiunen
 lant,
 daz Walthêr der wigant
 wære mīner basen kint.'
 der mære verjach im sint
 Biterolf der vater sīn
 9924 'sīn muoter was diu swester
 mīn.
 wie sich daz verkêret hāt
 daz er nu Gunthêre gestāt!
 er fūert ein kreftige schar.

wir solden einen boten dar
 9929 senden der im kunde gesagen
 daz wir im holden willen tra-
 gen,
 swie halt uns der helt getuo.'
 Rüedegêr der gap duo
 eines lōrboumes zwī
 9934 einem garzūn der stuont dā bī
 und hōrte gar diu mære
 waz hin enboten wære:
 der lief dō balde vor in dar.
 Walthêr hielt vor sīne schar
 9939 sam er nu strītes wolde phle-
 gen
 der Hiunen, unde sach der
 degen
 den boten tragen an der hant.
 daz er im wære dar gesant,
 des verdāhte er sich duo:
 9944 er sprach dem boten balde zuo
 'saget an, waz mære bringet
 ir' ?
 er sprach 'herre, zeiget mir
 hie den künec von Spanje-
 lant.
 dem habent die zwêne mich
 gesant,
 9949 Bitrolf und Dietleip der de-
 gen,
 durch wen er welle sich bewe-
 gen
 sô guoter friunde sô si sint.'
 dō sprach daz Alpkêres kint
 'ich bin Walthêr genant.'
 9954 'sô sī iu daz bekant
 daz si bēde klagent daz,
 daz ir in alsô sīt gehaz
 daz ir durch ieman si bestāt
 und die verchshippe lāt
 9959 zwischen iu und sīnem kinde.
 die helde und ir gesinde,
 die wāren iu vil gerne bī:
 daz ir si liezet schaden frī,
 daz wolden si ze liebe hān.'
 9964 dō sprach der tugenthafte man
 'so bræche ich mīn sicherheit.

wurde ez nimmer in⁴ geseit,
 mīnem œheim und dem sune
 sīn,
 sô leiste ich in die triuwe mīn
 9969 die wīle ichz leben mac ge-
 hān.

wie wolde er sīnen wirt verlān
 der im schankte sīnen wīn?
 ich hete die nahtselde sīn
 vil undegenlīche genomen,
 9974 wold ich im niht ze helfe ko-
 men.'

Zuo dem boten er dô sprach
 'ich leiste des ich im verjach,
 dô ich nu jungest von im reit.
 im sol daz niht wesen leit
 9979 swa er hœere von iemannes
 sage
 daz ich lop unde krōne trage.
 geselle, got gesegene dich,
 und bite daz niht zürnen mich
 mīn neve und ouch der vater
 sīn.

9984 dar under si suln hūeten mīn
 swā wir uns samenen in den
 scharn:
 sô sol ouch ich daz wol be-
 warn
 daz in mīn kraft iht widerste;
 ja bestüende ich einen Krie-
 chen ê,'

9989 der bote brāht diu mære dan,
 als er im hete kunt getān.
 dô dûhte dise helde guot
 Walthêres sīn und ouch sīn
 muot.

10112-32

dô sach daz Alpkêres kint
 der marcgrāve Rüedegêr:
 die Etzeln helde liez er
 unde reit Walthêren an.
 dô hete ouch sīn der junge
 man

10117 vorden Hiunen war genomen,
 si mousten zuo einander ko-
 men

als ez den helden wol gezam.

daz dā den tōt niht ennam
 der marcgrāve hêre,
 10122 des wundert mich vil sêre.
 ouch kom im ze heile daz,
 daz ūf dem rosse gesaz
 der marcgrāve rīche.
 ze helfe im snelliclīche
 10127 kōmen dô die sīne man:
 hæt er den niderwanc getān,
 sô kunde er nimmer sīn gene-
 sen.

wie mohte ez grimmer gewe-
 sen,
 dô ez diu Rüedegêres hant
 versuochte an den von Span-
 jelant.

10396-494

dô heten die von Spanje-
 lant,

als wir diu mære hoeren sagen,
 baz danne tûsent erslagen
 der hiunischen schützen.
 swie wol si kunden nützen
 10401 ir hornbogen bī der schar,
 ir kocher wāren lære gar:
 der was geschozzen von ir
 hant

sô vil daz der von Spanjelant
 vil maneger tōt was beliben.
 10406 des heten si sô vil getriben
 daz von den wunden rossen
 sider

muose vil manic helt nider
 ūf die fūeze in die schar.

des hete wol genomen war
 10411 der marcgrāve Rüedegêr,
 daz Walthêr der deggen hêr
 mit den sīnen ūfez gras
 von den rossen kumen was.

Swaz dô der edel wīgant
 10416 der kūenen Hiunen bī im vant,
 die mante er wol ze strīte.
 siben schar vil wīte,
 die volgeten Rüedegêre.

Blædelīn der hêre,
 10421 der erbeizte nider neben sīn.
 dô truobte der sunnen schīn

der nebel von der helde hant.
 dô kam der helt von Hiunen
 lant
 dâ er Walthêren sach.
 10426 der guote marcgrâve sprach
 'nâher alle die ich hân.
 kumet der Hildegunde man
 ûz der Gunthêres schar,
 sô müezens die andern gar
 10431 bieten hiute ir sicherheit.'
 dô Rüedegêr der helt ges-
 treit
 daz er wart Walthêre bekant,
 dô sprach der herre ûz Span-
 jelant
 'hie kumet der Gotelinde
 man:
 10436 möhte ich mich¹⁵ mit êren dan
 von dem helde gescheiden,
 man gesæhe von uns beiden
 tâlanc deheinen¹⁶ swertes
 swanc.
 Hildebrant der habe undanc
 10441 der mîch zuo im gemezzen
 hât:
 wir¹⁷ hetens bêde gerne rât.
 ich schiet alsô von Hiunen
 lant
 daz mir der mære wîgant
 nie beswêrte mînen muot:
 10446 nu muoz ich den helt guot
 under mînen danc bestân.
 swaz er mir liebes hât getan,
 des wolde ich im nu lônên,
 und kunde er mîngeschonen,
 10451 sô wurde schaden desten min.
 er lât mich nu niht komen hin,
 sît mich der küene hât gese-
 hen,
 sô muoz under uns geschehen
 des ich vil gerne enbære
 10456 ob ez mir êre wære.'
 Nu was ouch komen Rüede-
 ger.
 dô sprach der marcgrâve hêr

'got weiz, her küene von
 Spanjelant,
 hie muoz unser eines hant
 10461 bejagen schaden oder fru-
 men.'
 vil manic swert sach man dru-
 men
 und bî in beiden bresten,
 dô man die nôtvesten
 sach zuo einander springen.
 10466 dô hêrt man lûte erklingen
 ir beider wâfen an der hant.
 dô wurden die von Spanjelant
 umbe gekêret mit ir schar.
 ez was vil degenlîche dar
 10471 komen der guote Rüedegêr.
 do versûmte sich der künic hêr
 daz diu Rüedegêres hant
 den helt erreichte über rant.
 er sluoc in durch den helm
 guot
 10476 daz im gezwîvelt der muot,
 und sich wunden dâ versan
 von dem Etzelen man.
 Walthêr der küene wîgant
 huop dô hôher an der hant
 10481 ein schœnez swert daz er
 truoc:
 dem marcgrâven er daz sluoc
 durch schilt und durch sar-
 wât,
 do er des niht mohte haben
 rât,
 daz sêre sweizen began
 10486 des künic Etzelen man.
 ouch was Walthêr worden
 wunt.
 dô kam in vil gâher stunt
 der herzoge Râmunc
 und ander manic helt junc,
 10491 die drungen Rüedegêre
 von dem küenege hêre:
 dô weich der Hildegunde man
 von Etzelen schar dan.

10780-88

ouch kam von Francrîche slt
vil manic tiurlîcher degen :
dâ was in Waltheres phlegen
von Arragûn manec helt guot.

11001-42

Gunthêr nam es vil wol war,
Witege wiste sie dar.
dô wânde des der wîgant,
wand er den helt von Spanje-
lant

11006

hie vor Dietrîche sach,
daz durch sinen ungemach
alle wolden komen dar.
er hiez der Burgonde schar
alle kêren zuo in hin :

11011

'nu helft Walthêren von in,
sô rehte lieb ich iu sl :
wan ¹⁸ gestüende wir im niht
bî,

11016

sô slüegen in die geste.
seht wie der sturmveste
vor den andern allen stât,
daz er des lützel sin hât
daz er wîche von in dan.'
alle Gunthêres man
huoben schilde in henden.
wer möhte daz verenden?

11021

si kômen in den herten strît :
zesamene brâhten sie slt
vierzehener kûnege hervanen.
dô mohte man si lîhte erman-
en

11026

daz grimmer strît von in ge-
schach,

11031

dâ iegellîch den sînen sach
zuo deme er was gezalt.
si wæren junc oder alt,
si kâmen zuo einander gar :
sô dôz ¹⁹ ez über al die schar,
sam ez nâch doners blicke
tuot.

wie dicke sich die recken
guot
mit slegen underliefen!
genuoge 'wê, wê' riefen :

die andern sprâchen 'nâher
dar'!

11036

sich heten alle die schar
gesamenet dâ daz swert lac :
vil maneges jungester tac
was im unz dar gespart.
daz velt über al dô wart

11041

geverwet mit dem bluote :
dâ sturben helde guote.

11080-707

Gunthêr der sprach sint
'der wæn wir inder drizich hân.'
dô sprach der Hildegunde
man,

11091

Walthêr von Spanjelant
'nu bin ich eine doch genant
über zehen kûnege rîche :
ich wil iu sicherlîche
bî mir zeigen zweinzic man
die lant und fürsten namen
hân.'

11096

Dô sprach der herre Sîfrit
in einem hôchvertigen sit
'ich boute ê eine grâfschaft,
ê wir des wurden lûgehaft,
wirn ²⁰ gewonnen sam mane-
gen man.

11701

driu kûnicrîche diu ich hân
mûezen ²¹ werden zwelf her-
zentuom,
ê daz si hæten den ruom
daz wir gestrîten möhten ²²
niht.

11706

swaz halt anders hie geschiht,
man sol uns bî einander se-
hen.

11706

hoert wes ²³ iu die andern je-
hen,
die ouch fürsten sint genant.'

11922-38

Walthêr der wîgant,
der sach Rüedegêren an :
dô sprach der Hildegunde
man
'des weiz got wol die wârheit,

18 und.—19 daz.—20 wir.—21 ez müezen.—22 mohten gestaten.—23

mir ist innichtchen leit
 11927 daz ich dem helde gewegen
 bin.

führt er nu den prîs hin,
 des hân ich lützel êre :
 slah aber ich Rüedegêre,
 sô hât der alte friunt mîn
 11932 übel bestatet den sinen wîn
 den ich ze Bechelaren tranc :
 sô habe diu wîle undanc
 daz des spils ie wart gedâht.
 sîn tugent hât mich dar zuo
 brâht

11937 daz ich ofte den lîp mîn
 wâgte durch den willen sîn.'

12200-6

Walthêr von Spanjelant
 unde ouch Herbort der degen,
 mit den aller meisten slegen
 der ie gephlâgen küneges
 kint,
 dâ mit si von der porten sint
 12205 drungen Dietrichen
 daz er in muoste entwichen.

12285-7

Walthêr von Spanjelant
 der truoc Wasgen an der hant,
 der kam dar gesprungen.

12647-58

Dô sprach der guote Rüede-
 gêr
 'ob ir, küniginne hêr,
 mich überhîebet der scham,
 mich hât gemachet im 24 sô
 zam

der degen ûz Spanjelant :
 12652 hæet ir hie twalm an der hant,
 den trunke ich, unde gebûte
 er daz.

ez was nôt daz âne haz
 'uns der wirt sô hât gelabet.
 mich hât alsô ze hûse gehabet
 12657 derschoenen Hildegunde man
 daz ichs vergezzen niene kan.'

12801-17

Dô sprach diu schoene Hilde-
 gunt

'wiste wir nu hie zestunt
 waz wir Rüedegêre
 möhten bieten êre
 nâch friuntlicher minne,
 12806 er und diu marcgrâvinne
 hânt uns sô dicke liep getân,
 wir kunden night sô guotes
 hân
 wir enteiltten ez im gerne
 mite.'

dô sprach er 'frouwe, des ich
 bite,

12811 des gewært mich, vil edel wîp.
 swie mir verhouwen si der lîp
 von des kûenen recken hant,
 sô wil ich von iu beiden sant
 in friuntscheft urloup hân.'

12816 dô sprach Hildegunde man
 'got phlege iuwer, Rüedegêr.'

12998-13000

dô kam für den künec gegân
 Walthêr und frou Hildegunt :
 urloup si nâmen an der stunt.

IX.

ALPHARTS TOD.*

77. 1-3 **D**Â saz Amelolt und Nêre, die zwêne küene man,
Walthêr von Kerlingen, Helmnôt von Tuscân,
als der vogt von Amelungen, si hete ûz erkorn.
- 307 Walthêr von Kerlingen in engegene gie,
dâ man die recken harte wol enphie,
und Hûc von Tenemarke, ein ûz erwelter degen.
vünfhundert burcmanne enphie¹ die recken ûz
erwegen.
317. 1-2 Dô sprach von Kerlingen Walthêr der degen
'hilfe ich im, des² keisers hulde hân ich mich
erwegen.'
334. 1-2 Dô sprach von Kerlingen Walthêr der degen,
'ich und der münich Ilsam weln schiltwahte phlegen.'
356. 3-4 Walthêr von Kerlingen und der müenech Ilsam
die kômen mit gewalte anderhalben hîn dan.
- 372-373 Dô streit vermezzentlîchen Walthêr der degen.
sîn swert hôrt man erclingen. dô vaht er sô eben
und streit ouch gar sêre âne allen wanc.
mit lîbe und mit guote seite mans im sider danc.
Daz tete der vogt von Berne, der küene wîgant.
- Walthêr von Kerlingen vuorte an sîner hant
ein swert daz in dem sturme als ein glocke erdôz,
Walthêres ellen³ was ûzermâzen grôz.
380. 4 dô tete wol daz beste Walthêr und Hûc von Tenemarc.
- 400 'Wis got wilkomen, Hildebrant, lieber meister mîn,
und der herzoge Nîtgêr, der sol mîn ôheim sîn:

* From the text of 'Deutsches Heldenbuch' (ii Theil, E. Martin, Berlin, 1866).

1 entphingen.—2 dîn ich jm no holffe des.—3 elende.

Walthêr von Kerlingen und Hûc der küene man,
dar nâch die recken alle, die ich niht genennen kan.

426 Dô sprach von Kerlingen Walthêr der degen
'ich wil des vorstrîtes noch hiute hie phlegen
durch hêrn Dietrîches willen, des vürsten, sâ ze hant.
ich tuon ez wol mit êren : ich bin geborn ûz Diutsch-
lant.'

434 Walthêr von Kerlingen und Hûc von Tenemarc,
die zwêne ritter junge, ez wâren helde starc :
si hiewen durch die ringe daz vliezende bluot,
ez lac von ir handen manic ritter guot.

448 Walthêr von Kerlingen und Hûc von Tenemarc,
die zwêne ritter junge (ez wâren helde starc),
Hildebrant der alde und der münic Ilsam,
die kêrten alle viere gein den zwein küenen man.

X.

DER GRÖZE RÔSENGARTE.*

- 32-33 **D**ER zehende heizet Walther von dem Wasgen-
stein,
er ist an dem Rîne der kûensten fürsten ein.
- 235-36 der zehende daz ist Walther von dem Wasgenstein,
er ist an dam Rîne der kûensten recken ein.
- 407-14 'Noch weiz ich einen vor dem ich¹ sorge hân,
wer sol uns in den rôsen den zwelften helt bestân?
der ist geheizen Walther von dem Wasgenstein,
und ist an dem Rîne der kûensten recken ein.'
- 412 'Dem ich sînen kempen, weizgot, niht finden kan,
ez sî dan Dietleip von Stîre, der ist ein starker man.
hulf uns der junge herzoge, vil lieber herre mîn,
sô möhten wir mit freuden wol rîten an den Rîn.'
- 1402-57 Dô sprach der kûneg Gibeche 'waz sal nû mîn leben,
daz ich unser keime den prîs al hie mag geben!
wan ich weiz einen recken, der ist ein starker man,
der mag uns wol gerechen, als ich gesagen kan.'
Dô sprach der kûneg Gibeche 'nu rich mich, edeler
Walther,
- 1407 ein herre von Wasgensteine, setze dich ze wer.'
'vil gerne', sprach dô Walther, einen buckelære nam
er in die hant
mit vil zornegem muote, sîn güete im gar verswant.
Hiltebrant hielt bî dem ringe, dô rief er al zehant
'wâ bistu nû, Dietleip, ein herre von Stîrer lant'?
- 1412 er hielt bî kûneg Etzel under einer banier rôt:
daz fuorte der von Stîre als im diu schult gebôt.

* The passages from 'Der Gröze Rôsengarte' are reprinted from W. Grimm's edition (1836). The variant passages from the "Rosengarten Fragments" are taken from the texts published by Bartsch in *Germania* (No. 1, from 'Der Rosengarte,' *Germania* iv, 1-33; No. 2, from "Bruchstücke aus dem Rosengarten," *Germania* viii, 196-208).

1 sich C.

- 'Ich wil mit ime strîten,' sprach der junge man,
 'swie er bî sînen zîten sô vil grozer dinge habe getân.'
 Des danket ime der von Berne und er Hiltebrant.
 1417 den schilt begund er fazzen, den helm er ûf gebant:
 er sprang in den garten, als wir ez hân vernomen:
 wol gar schierere Walther was gegen ime komen.
 Dô sprach *der* von Wasgenstein, 'bistu Bitterolfes
 barn?
 wer hât dich ze strîte her gein mir erkorn?
 1422 du bist niht gewahsen noch zuo einem man:
 wie wiltu eime recken mit strîte vor gestân'?
 'Des breng ich iuch wol innen,' sprach der junge man,
 'nu schônet mînes lîbes niht, sô tuon ich iu daz sam.'
 Er sprach 'guotiu triuwe an tôren lûtzel helfen kan.'
 1427 dô sprungen si ze samen die mortgrimmegen man,
 sie striten mit ein ander, als ich iu sagen wil:
 manheit unde sterke sie beide hâten vil.
 Ir hêlm und ire brünne dô liezen iren schîn,
 dar durch ran ir beider bluot, des lachte diu künegîn.
 1432 ir goltvaren schilden schrieten sie von der hant,
 daz sie mit kleinen stücken von in stuben ûf daz lant.
 sie liezen von irme schirmen diê zwêne kûenen man:
 helm und ouch ir schilde zerhiuwen sie ûf den plân.
 Dô sprach meister Hiltebrant 'sehent ir, frou künegîn,
 1437 wie dise recken strîten? ez muoz ir ende sîn.
 ir einer mag dem andern niht gesigen an:
 sie slahent tiefe wunden: von schirmen hânt sie gelân.'
 Dô sprach diu küneginne 'nu sage mir, du wîser man,
 wie sal ich sie nu scheiden die recken lobesan?
 1442 'jehent in siges beiden, wol edele künegîn,
 unt gebent ir ieglichem ein rôsen krenzeln.'
 Krîmhilt diu küneginne langer dô niht beitetete,
 mit zwein krenzeln sie sich dô bereitete.
 sie sprach 'ir beide habent danc, ir sît zwên biderman,
 1447 ir hânt in den rôsen daz beste beide wol getân.
 nu lânt von iuwerme strîte, ir sulnt gesellen sîn,
 sô geben ich iuwer ieglichem ein rôsen krenzeln.'
 Sie bunden abe die helme, unt nigen der künegîn,
 ûf saste sie ir ieglichem ein rôsen krenzeln:
 1452 ein helsen und ein küssen gab sie dô ie dem man.

- dô wurden eitgesellen die stolzen recken wol getân.
 Dô sprach der von Berne, 'ir hânt beide wol gestriten
 in deme rôsengarten nâch ritterlîchen siten.
 der anger ist bekleidet mit iuwer beider bluot :
 1457 Krimhilt diu kûneginne ist vil diu baz gemuot.'

ROSENGATEN FRAGMENTS.

1.

- 65 DAZ vîrde daz ist Hagene, Alriânis kint,
 daz vunfte daz ist Walthêr, geborn von Kerlinc.
- 290 Orlob nam dô Hildebrant umm einen mitten tac,
 her gâcht zum rôsingarten dâ manic recke lac.
 do enphingen in Walthêr [und] Sîfrit von Niderlant,
 do enphingens in gemeine, den alden Hildebrant.
- 625 Dô sprach der konic Gibeche 'dir sî gecleit, Walthêr,
 und beite hî niht lenger und richte dich zu wer.'
 Walthêr drabt in den garten
 'wâ ist nû von Berne der alde Hildebrant?
 Wer sal mit mir vechten? der ist mir unbekant.'
- 630 [mit] 'Hertinc von Rûzen, den ich ûch habe genant.'
 Hertinc der kûne drabete vast dort her,
 her fûrte an sîner hende ein armdickez sper.
 Her dâcht 'nû sal ich vechtens hûte werden sat,'
 her fûrte ûf sîme helme von golde ein michel rat.
- 635 ir strîten wart michel und starc
 daz ir iclîcher mit den rossen belac.
 Do di forsten ûf sprungen zusammen in daz gras,
 mich wundert daz ir keiner vorm andern ie genas.
 si striten mit heldes handen, di swert si hôch zogen,
- 640 daz des fûres flammen kein den luften flogen.
 Si slûgen durch di schilde, daz iz lûte irclanc
 und daz si beide strîten mit ellenthafter hant.
 si vâchten mit ein ander ein vil lange stunt,
 daz si zu beiden sîten worden sêre wunt.
- 645 Ir kein konde dem andern mît strîte ane gesegen,

si hatten sich mit strîte alsô sêre irwegen :
 ûf stûnt di schône Krîmhilt und schît di zwêne man.
 dô mûste ir iclîcher von der heide zu sîm frûnde dan.

2.

- (1^a) DER eine schilt vil rîcher den der ander was.
 von edelme gesteine swas man dar ane vant,
 di wêrn al um und umme geleit ûf des schildes rant.
- Walter sprach zu Witgen 'nu nim du einen schilt
 5 under disen beidin swelhin sô du wilt.'
 'vorslûg ich daz' sprach Witige, 'des mohtich mich
 schemen.
 nemt ir den armen, ich wil den rîchen nemen.'
- Sich hûb ein nûwez vechtin, di schilde gar zuclobin
 die steine gein dem vrouwen hôch in di venster stobin.
 10 Walter der stunt ebene Witige wart gewunt :
 ir hende slûc zusamene di schône Hiltegunt.
- 'Waz sal des dâ ni
 Wal(ter)

 15 (1^b) und habt ûch desten baz.'
- 'Wî lobis' sprach her Dîterîch.
 Witige sprach 'mîn vechtin ist gein im ungelîch.
 ichn rîte nimmer mêre nâch rôsin in diz lant.'
- 94-101 'waz ist ûch, hêre mûter sprach ver Crêmilt.
 dar umme hîz ich her kumen vil mangeln nûwen schilt.
 Daz ich wolde schouwen wer vrowen dînen kan.
 dar um hân ich gesamnet vil mangeln werden man.'
 'diz mûz sîn,' sprach Walter, 'man râte vorbaz.
 99 si mûzen baz vorsûchin, vor wâr sô wizzet daz.
- 'Wer sal mit Ectwart vechtin? der schaffe sînen rât.
 er wil zum êrstin vechtin, her mir enboten hât.'

XI.

DIETRICH'S FLUCHT.*

- 5902-3 **I**U kumet von Lengers Walther
und Hagen der vil starke,
- 7359-64 her Gotel und her Helphrîch,
Walther der ellens rîch,
si sint reht alle wol gesunt.'
'sælic müeze sîn dîn munt'!
sprach vrou Helch diu guote
mit tugentlichem muote.
- 8589-8602 Hie bî im beleip her Paltram,
Nuodunc unde Sintram,
Îrinc unde Blœdelîn,
Helphrîch unde Erewîn,
und Hornboge von Pôlân,
8594 her Îsolt und her Îmlân,
Hûnolt unde Sigebant,
Walther der wîgant,
Gotel der marcman,
von Ôstervranken Herman,
8599 Dancwart unde Hagene,
von den¹ wol zimt ze sagene,
si wâren zwêne degene
in strîte vil bewegene.
- 8629-64 daz was der starke Liudegast,
dem an sterke niht gebrast,
und Liudegêr der unverzagt,
von dem man grôze manheit sagt.
dâ was Rûmolt der starke
8634 und Diezolt von Tenemarke,

* From the text of 'Deutsches Heldenbuch' (ii Theil, E. Martin, Berlin, 1866).
1 dem, A.

- von Norwæge Hiuzolt,
 von Gruonlande Diepolt,
 Fridunc von Zæringen,
 Walther von Kerlingen,²
 8639 Sturmgêr von Engellant,
 Sigemâr von Brâbant,
 Tûsunc von Normandie
 und sîner bruoder drîe,
 Marchunc von Hessen,
 8644 die ouch ze strîte wol wessen,
 and von den Bergen Ladiner,³
 der hete dâ ein starkez her,
 Râmunc von Îslande,⁴
 des ellen man wol bekande,
 8649 Môrolt von Arle⁵
 und sîn bruoder Karle⁶
 (den guoten Karle mein ich niht,
 von dem man saget manec geschiht)
 Gunthêre von Rîne,
 8654 Gernôt der bruoder sîne,
 Tîwalt von Westevâle,
 Marholt von Gurnewâle,
 von Dietmarse Môrunc,⁷
 der manheit ein ursprunc :
 8659 Heime und Witegouwe,
 als ich der mære getrouwe,
 Witege und Witegîsen.
 noch wil ich iuch bewîsen,
 Madelolt unde Madelgêr
 8664 daz wâren zwêne recken hêr.

 9244-7 von Lengers⁸ Walther
 der bestuont den starken Hiuzolt.
 si arnten⁹ alsô daz golt,
 daz ez si sûre muoste an komen.

9870 Walthêr unde Erewin.

2 Baltheir von Chedingen, A.—3 Ladimer, W.—4 unnd Yslande, A.
 —5 Albarle, W.—6 Barle, A.—7 Maysunck, A.—8 Lennges, A.—9
 ordneten, A.

XII.

RABENSCHLACHT.*

- 47-48 **W**ALTHER der Lengesære¹
 sprach dô al zehant
 'dêswâr,² her Bernære,
 und wæren nâher mîniu lant,
 ich bræhte iu helde guote.
 die hulfen iu mit unverzagtem muote.
- 48 Doch wil ich daz niht lâzen,
 ich welle mit iu dar.
 ob ez iu kumt ze mâzen,
 so geleiste ich noch wol, daz ist wâr,
 aht hundert werder recken.
 jâ helfent iu vil gerne die kecken.'
- 551-574 Hinevûr trat mit gewalde
 her Walther zehant.
 der küene und der balde
 sprach wider den kûnec von Rœmisch lant
 'vil edeler Bernære,
 dû solt ouch hoeren mîniu mære.
- 552 Vrou Helche diu milde
 hât dir gesendet her
 vûmfzec tûsent schilde,
 (ich wæn aber wol, ir sî mêr)
 und als manic ors verdecket.
 Ermrîch wirt mit riuwen erwecket.
- 553 Der houbetman sol ich sîn,
 si wartent mîner hant.
 Etzel der herre mîn
 hât den vanen her gesant,
 der ze Hiunisch lant gehoeret.
 die vînde werdent noch hiute gestœret

* From the text of 'Deutsches Heldenbuch' (ii Theil, E. Martin, Berlin, 1866).

1 Lennges here, A.—2 dêswas, A.

- 554 Mit jâmer und mit leide,
dazz muoter kint beweinen muoz.
• noch hiute ûf dirre heide
mache wir lebens mit tôte buoz
und manegen satel lære.'
'daz vüege got!' sprach der Bernære.
- 712 Nû hoeret starkiu mære,
die ich iu tuon bekant.
Walther der Lengesære
der bestuont mit ellens hant
Heimen³ den vil starken.
si sâzen bêde ûf zwein guoten marken.

³ Hevnen, R.

XIII.

THIDHREKSAGA OR WILKINASAGA.*

P. Ch. 84. U. Ch. 241.

ATTILA konungr af Susa var bæði ríkr [oc feolmennr.¹ oc vann morg ríki. Hann leggr vingan við Erminrík konung. er þa² reð Puli. þessir .ii. konungar leggja vingan sín a mæðal. sua at Attila konungr sendir Erminrík konung(i) sinn frænda Osið með .xii. riddara. Erminrík(r) konungr sendir í gegn³ Valltara af Uaskasteini sinn systurson með .xii. riddorum. þa var Valltari .xii.⁴ uetra.⁵ þar dualdiz hann .vii. uetr. Tveim uetrum síðarr kom þar. [en Valtari com til Susa.⁶ Hilldigundr⁷ dottir Jlias íarls af Greca. oc var send at gísling Attila konungi. þa var hon .vii.⁸ vetra gomul. [þessir enir ungu menn⁹ unnuz mikit. oc veit þat þo æigi Attila konungr.

P. 85. U. 242

þat er .i. dag at veizla rík er í grasgarði¹⁰ Attila konungs oc [danz ríkr.¹¹ oc þa hellt Valltari í hond Hilldigundi. þau talaz við marga luti. oc þat grunar ængi maðr. Nu mællti Valltari. Hve lengi skaltu vera ambatt [Erca drottningar.¹² oc væri bætr fallit. attu fœrir heim með oss til minna¹³ frænda. Hon mællti Herra æigi skaltu spotta mic. þo at ec se æigi hia¹⁴ minum frændum. Nu suarar Valltari. Fru. þu ertt dottir Jlias íarls [af Greca. oc þinn er fauðurbroðir Osangtrix konungr Villcinamanna oc annar í mikcla Ruzi.¹⁵ en ec em systurson Ærminríx konungs af Romaborg. oc annar er minn frændi þiðrekr konungr af Bern. oc hvi skal ec þiona Attila konungi. Ger sua uel. far heim með

* In this reprint from Unger's text of the Thidreksaga (Saga Didrik Konungs af Bern 1853) variants are given below the text. The abbreviations MSS. and the [have been retained as employed by Unger. In the numbering of chapters P. refers to Peringskiöld (whose designation is followed by v. d. Hagens translation) and U. to Unger.

1 [af fiolmenni, A.—2 í þann tíma, A, B.—3 Attila konungi *add.* A, B.—4 cf. A, B; .iiii., Mmb.—5 gamall *add.* A, B.—6 [*want.* A, B,—7 Hilldigunn, A.—8 .xii., A.—9 þau Valltari, A.—10 garði, A.—11 [danz-bringr, A, B.—12 [Attila konungs, B.—13 varra, A, B.—14 með, A, B.—15 [*want.* A, B.

mer. oc ¹⁶ sem ec em þer holtr. sua se guð mer holtr. þa suarar hon. þægar ec ueit þinn vilia at soennu. þa skalltu oc vita [mic oc ¹⁷ minn uilia. [þa var ec .iiii. uetra gomul. er ec sa þic et fyrsta sinni. oc unna ec þer þægar sua mikit at cengum lut i ver-
olldu ¹⁸ meira ¹⁹ oc fara vil ec með þer þangat er þu villt. þa suarar Valltari. Ef sua er sem þu sægir. þa kom þu a morgin er sol rennr vpp til ens yzta borgarliðs. oc haf sua mikit gull með þer. sem þu mat mest bera a ²⁰ annarri henndi þinni. firir þui at þu ueiz allar fehirzlur Erka drottningar frænkonu þinnar. Oc hon sægir sua vera skulu. Oc nu verðr Attila konungr æcki varr við þetta rað. fyrr en Valltari hæuir ut riðit af Susam. oc með honum Hilldigundr. oc hofu nu mikit fe i gulli. ²¹ Oc .ii. riðu ²² ut af borginni oc [ængi var þeirra sua goðr vinr. at þau tryði til þessa at vita sina færð. ²³

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Oc nu verðr við varr ²⁴ Attila konungr. at Valltari er brot riðinn oc Hilldigundr. oc nu biðr hann sina menn .xii. riða æptir þeim [Hilldigundi oc Valltara oc skulut ²⁵ aptr hua fe þat allt er brot er tecit. oc sua hofuð ²⁶ Valltara. Oc af þessum ²⁷ var .i. maðr Haugni. son Alldrian konungs. Oc nu riða þessir .xii. riddarar æptir þeim skyndilega. ²⁸ oc sea nu huarir annarra reið. Nu lœypr Valltari af sinum hæsti með mikilli [kurteisi oc rœysti. oc tekr ofan sina fru Hilldigundi oc þeirra gersimar. Nu lœypr hann a sinn hest [oc setr sinn hialm a hœfuð ser. oc snyr fram sinum gladil. ²⁹ Nu mællti Hilldigundr [við sinn soeta ³⁰ lafarð. ³¹ Herra harmr er þat. er þv. skallt .i. beriaz við .xii. riddara. Rið hælðr aptr ³² oc forða ³³ þinu liui. Fru sægir hann. grat æigi. set hævi ec fyrr hialma klofna. skiolldu skipta. ³⁴ bryniur sundraðar. ³⁵ oc menn stoëypaz af sinum hæstum haufuðlausa. [oc allt þetta hæui ec gort minni hendi. ³⁶ oc æcki er mer þetta ofrefli. ³⁷ Oc nv riðr hann i moti þeim. Verðr nv mikill ³⁸ bardagi. oc fyrr er myrct af nott en lokit se viginu.

16 sua *add.* A, B.—17 [*want.* A, B.—18 ann ek *add.* B.—19 [at þegar fyrsta tima er ek sa þik .iiii. vetra gomul. unna ek þer, A.—20 i, B; *want.* A.—21 ok oðru *add.* B.—22 þau *add.* A, B.—23 [engum truðu þau her til, A.—24 cf. A, B; varar, Mmb.—25 skulu þeir, A, B.—26 cf. A, B; hafit, Mmb.—27 .xii. *add.* A, B.—28 sem hvatligast, B.—29 sinu gladieli, B; [vel herklæddr, A.—30 liufa, B.—31 [*want.* A.—32 undan, A, B.—33 hialp, A; hallt, B.—34 skyfða, A; styfða, B.—35 sundrrifnar, A; rifnar, B.—36 [*want.* A, B.—37 at heriaz við þessa .xii. riddara *add.* A, B.—38 hinn harðasti, A, B.

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En Valltari er nu sarr mioc. oc drepit hævir hann nu .xi. riddara. en Høegni komz undan [oc komz i skog. En [Valltari hittir nu sina fru. oc buaz þar³⁹ um við skoginn.⁴⁰ Valltari slær þa ælld við tinnu oc gerir þar [mikinn ælld.⁴¹ oc þar við steikir hann .i. bœysti villigalltar. Oc nu mataz þau síðan. oc [luka æigi fyrr en allt er⁴² af beinunum. Nu snyr Høegni or skoginum oc [til ællzens.⁴³ er Valltari sat hia. oc hyggr at hann skal drepa hann. oc bregðr nu suerði. Hilldigunnr mælti til Valltara. Vara þic. her ferr nu .i. af [þinum ovinum. er þu barðiz við i dag.⁴⁴ Oc nu tecr hann vpp bœystið uilligalltarens. er af uar etit. oc kastar at Høegna. oc lustr sua mikit hogg. at þægar fellr hann til iarðar. oc kom a hans kinn. sua at þægar rifnaði holl-dit⁴⁵ oc ut sprac augat. Oc nu stendr⁴⁶ hann upp [skiott a fœtr oc læypr a sinn hæst. oc riðr við þetta heim til Susam [oc sægir Attila konungi vm sina ferð. Valltari stigr nu a bac. oc riða þau suðr um feall a fund Ærminrix konungs [oc sægir honum nu allt af sinum ferðum. Oc þo fa þeir [Attila konungr⁴⁷ halldit sinu vinfengi með⁴⁸ fegiofum. er Ærminrikr konungr gaf Attila konungi.

P. 104. U. 128.

[Nv. mælti einn riddari. sa het Valtari af Vaskasteini. hann er systorsvnr Erminrics konungs oc þetmars oc allra kappa mestr i konungs hirð at afli oc atgorvi.⁴⁹ Hvat kann þessi maðr fleira at gera [segir Valtari. en eyða fe eða eta oc drecca. kanntv noccot skapti⁵⁰ skiota eða steini varpa. þetleifr svarar. þat vænti ec. at ec gera hvartveggia við hvern yðarn er vill. þa sagði Valtari af miklu cappi. þa scaltv þessa leika við mic fremia. En ef þv leikr betr.⁵¹ þa scaltv firir raða mino hofði. en ef þv kant eigi⁵² sem þv lætr. þa scaltv⁵³ [at visv her⁵⁴ lata lif þitt með oscemð. oc aldrigi síðan scaltv [eyða iammiclv fe sem nv logaþir (þv). oc engvm hofðingia síðan gera þvilica neisv. sem nv hevir þv konongenom gort. er þat segir maðr manni. at þin veizla var

39 þau, A.—40 [*want*. B.—41 [mikit bal, A.—42 [aðr letti var allt holld, A, B.—43 [at elldinum, A.—44 [af þeim er þu laust til iarðar, A.—45 [*want*. A, B.—46 spratt, A.—47 [cf. B; konungar, A; þiðr. konungr, Mmb.—48 storum *add.* A, B.—49 [cf. B; þa tok V. af V. sva til orðz, A.—50 spiotskapti, B.—51 en ec *ad.* B.—52 þessa leika *add.* B.—53 *cf.* Mmb.—54 [ekki i (við B) dyliaz at þu skalt, A, B.

halv(u) ríkvlegar veitt at allvm lvtvm en konongsens sialfs. oc er slict díorfvng mikil at gera manni eigi meira firir ser en mer syniz þv vera. þetleifr⁵⁵ svaraði. Miskvnnar mvn hverr a sinv mali þvrva. En albvinn em ec at fremia þessa leika oc freista hversv at ferr. hvat man þa meirr ef ec kann ecki. at þa lata ec lif mitt. enda er oeren soc til at sv se. mvn oc frændom minvm þyckia litill sacnaðr eptir mic vera. ef ec em ecki at manna. ef noccorir ero þeir er dvgandi menn se. en ec ætla at vist engi se.⁵⁹

P. 105. N. 129.

Ganga⁵⁷ þeir nv vt a [voll noccorn⁵⁸ oc taca stein einn. er eigi stoð minna en .ii. scippvnd. þann stein toc Valtari oc kastaði fra ser .ix. fet. en þetleifr kastar .x. fet. Nv kastar Valtari .xiii. fet. þa kastar þetleifr .xviii. fet. Nv vill Valtari eigi optarr til ganga. oc hevir þetleifr nv vnnit þenna leic. oc finnz allvm mannvum mikít vm. Nv taca þeir [eina merkistong. en þa atti Atila konongr. er Ærminríkr konongr hafði þingat boðit til sinnar veizlv. firir því at þar var goð vinatta milli þeirra. En sv merkistong var allra þeirra skapta þvngast⁵⁹ er þar varo þa komin. Nv skytr Valtari þesso scapti ivir konongsholl sva at annarr endir koemr niðr a hallarveginvm.⁶⁰ Nv mæltv allir þeir menn er þetta sa. at fvrðv sterklega er scotið. þetleifr tecr nv scaptit oc skytr aftr ivir hollena. oc er hann hevir scotit. þa rennr hann i gegnvum hollina [er tvidyr var.⁶¹ oc toc a lopti spiotscaptit. oc gengr nv i brot við sva bvít. Nv mæltó þat allir er sa. at þetleifr hevir vnnit þessa tva leica. oc at hann hevir oðrlaz havuð Valtara. Konongrenn⁶² Erminríkr mælti. þv goðr drengr. ec vil leysa havuð frænda mins með gvlli oc silfri oc goðom gripvm. [sva dyrt sem þv villt⁶³ þa mælti þetleifr. Hvat scal mer havuð frænda þins. hann er goðr drengr. oc vill ec geva þer hera havuð hans. en lavna þv sem sialfr villtv. en æ verðr þv at leysa vapn herra mins oc hans lagsmanna. en ecki scaltv her meira firir gialda en [sialfr villtv.⁶⁴ þa mælti konongrenn. þenna

55 þetleifr vill fremia þessa leika. *Supps.* Mmb.—56 [glutra sua miklu fe sem nu fortu (með *add.* B). Nu lezt hann (þetleifr B) albuinn at reyna þessa leika, A. B.—57 Nv reyna þeir afl sitt Valtari oc þetleifr. *Supps.* Mmb.—58 [viðan voll, A, B.—59 [merkistong (Ermenríks *add.* B) konungs, firir því at þat var þyngst skapt þeira, A, B.—60 hallarvegginn, A, B.—61 [*want.* A, B.—62 Ærminríkr konongr leysir havuð Valtara. *Supps.* Mmb.—63 [ef þu villt þat þeckiaz, B; *want.* A.—64 [sialfum þer þikir vel, B.

kost vil ec giarna þeckiaz. oc haf firir micla gvðs þocc oc mina. þetta scal ec þer vel lavna. Nv lætr konongr taka sva mikit fe sem mest hafði [hann neytt⁶⁵ oc leysir vt vapn oc hesta⁶⁶ þeirra felaga. er at veði lagv. oc þar a ovan gefr hann hanom hinn gavglegsta bvnað. oc [sva mikit fe gefr hann hanom siðan sem hann kostaði af sialfs sins.⁶⁷ oc eptir þat dvbbar konongrinn hann til riddara. Nv segir þetleifr nafn sitt oc alla ætt sina. oc verðr hann [viðfrægr vm oll⁶⁸ lond af reysti sinni. Ov tegr þiðricr hann ser til felaga [oc kallar hann sinn iafningia. Oc skiliaz þeir nv at veizlvnni. oc heitr þar hverr aðrom sinni vinattv.⁶⁹ Riðr nv þiðicr konongs svn heim til Bernar oc með hanom þetleifer oc allir hans menn er þangat fylgðv hanom [oc Jsvngr havuðloddari með þeim.

P. 130. U. 151.

Oc nv er morna tegr. þa lætr þiðricr konongr segia frænda sinvm Erminric kononge fall iarlens. Oc þegar er hann verðr sannfroðr at því. þa lætr hann blasa allvm lvörvm sinvm oc vapna alla riddara sina. oc siðan [veita þeir atgangv at borginni⁷⁰ með valslöngom oc með lasbogom oc skoteldi⁷¹ oc allzconar velvm. Nv sia borgarmenn engan sinn cost vænna. en a hond at ganga oc leggja sitt mal a konongs vald oc geva vp borgena. En konongrenn [gefr þeim lifsgrið oc fear sins.⁷² en hann eignaz sialfr staðinn oc setr þar ivir hofðingia Valtara af Vascannsteini⁷³ frænda sinn. Nv riða þeir heim konongarnir [oc gætir nv hvarr sins rikis. Ærminricr konongr i Romaborg en þiðricr konongr i Bærn með sina kappa. Oc liðr nv sva vm rið noccora. at þiðricr konongr er heima oc sitr vm kyrt. en því a hann sialdan at rosa a sinvm aldri. þotti hanom oc þa at eins vel eða hvgr sinn ror. er hann skyldi i storæðvm lvt eiga. i orrastvm eða i einvigom þeim sem allan aldr mætti vppi vera.⁷⁴

P. 307. U. 330.

Ok⁷⁵ nu er mornar oc alliost er orðit. stendr þiðrekr konungr upp oc lætr blasa [sin bosun.⁷⁶ oc þægar i stað lætr við kvæða

65 [þetleifr eytt (neytt B) þessa stund, A, B.—66 ross, A, B.—67 [aptr lætr hann giallda .xxx. marka (er þetleifr atti *want*. B) A, B.—68 [frægr við a um, A, B.—69 [*want*. A, B.—70 [gera þeir mikla atgongu til borgarinnar, A, B.—71 elldi, A, B.—72 [lætr þa halda lifi sinu ok fe, A, B.—73 Vaskasteini, A, B.—74 [Erminrekr ok þiðrekr, A, B.—75 fra þiðreci konungi oc Erminriki konungi. *Sup*s. Mmb.—76 [ollum sinum luðrum, A, B.

iunkherra þether sina luðra. oc slict sama margræifi Roðingæirr. oc standa nu upp allir oc vapna sik. Oc er þær koma a sina hæsta. þa riðr firir mæistari Hilddibrandr ok bærr i sinni hændi merkistong þiðreks konungs. oc þægar eptir honom riðr þiðrekr konungr. oc hverr eptir aðrom allir hans menn. oc riða til þessa vaðs. er aðr um nottina hafði yfir riðit Hilddibrandr. Oc er þat sia Aumlungar, letr Sifka blasa [basun Erminriks konungs.⁷⁷ Oc er þetta hæyrir Viðga oc Ræinalld. þa lata þær blasa ollom sinom mannom⁷⁸ til at vapnaz oc bua sik til orrosto. Oc nu læypr Viðga a sinn hest Skemming með allum sinum vopnom oc er albuinn at bæriaz. slict sama Reinalld með sinn hær. Valltari af Vaskastæini er nu kominn a sinn hæst oc bærr i hendi ser mærkistong Erminriks konungs. þat mærki er a þa lund gert. at hinn [ytri lutr⁷⁹ mærkisins er [suart silki⁸⁰ sem ramn. en annarr lutr er silki litt sem gull. en hinn þriði lutr mærkissins er grænn sem gras. oc utan við þat mærki er saumat [siautigir dynbiollor af gulli.⁸¹ sua ringir þetta merki oc glymr. at hæyrir um allan hærinn. þegar [er riðit er merkit⁸² eða vindr bærr þat. Oc her eptir riðr Sifka með alla sina fylking .vi.⁸³ þusundrat riddara oc mikinn fiol a sargenta.⁸⁴ Oc er þiðrekr konungr ser merki Erminriks konungs oc hann væit at þar fylkir⁸⁵ Sifka. þa kallar hann at⁸⁶ mæistari Hilddibrandr skyldi bera þar i mot hans merki. þat er gort af huito silki. þar stendr i leo af gulli með korono. oc þar fylgia dynbiollor [af gulli⁸⁷ æigi færi en [.vii. tigur.⁸⁸ þetta merki hæfir Erka drotning latið gera oc gaf þiðreki konungi. Nu riða saman þessar tvær fylkingar. Ræinalld riðr [með sinom⁸⁹ flokk. hans mærki er a þessa lund buit. þat er raut silki sem bloð. oc firir ofan [a millom oc⁹⁰ spiotzins ero þrir knappar af gulli. oc hann stæfnir sinom hær i gegn margræifa Roðingæir. Oc þa riðr Viðga með sinn hær. hans mærki bar hinn sterki Runga. er engi risi feks [sa er honom væri iamsterkr.⁹¹ þetta mærki er suart oc af [hvitom stæini⁹² hamar ok tong ok stæði. Her i gegn riðr hærtogi Nauðung oc bærr i sinni hændi mærki huit oc a [markat leo⁹³ af gulli. ok þat merki gaf Erka drotning þether. Oc þar eptir riðr iunkhærra þether oc tvær synir Attila

77 *want*. A.—78 [luðrum, A, B.—79 [yzti litr, A.—80 [suart, A : svartr, B.—81 [dynbiollur, A ; .lxx. dynbiollur, B.—82 [at er riðit með merkit, A ; riðit er, B.—83 .vii., B.—84 skardiant, A ; annars liðs, B.—85 fylgir, A, B.—86 *add*. A, B.—87 [*want*. A, B.—88 [.lx., A ; lxxx., B.—89 [við sinn, A, B.—90 [milli ok, A ; milli, B.—91 [honum sterkari, A.—92 [hvitu silki, A.—93 [markaðr leo, A, B.

konungs Erpr oc Ortvin. ok hinn goði riddare Hialprik er allra riddara er kurtæisaztr oc vaskastr.⁹⁴ Þæirra [skor er buin allt⁹⁵ með rauðo gulli sua⁹⁶ at liominn stendr af sem a loga sei.

P. 308. U. 331.

Nú⁹⁷ riða þessar .vi.⁹⁸ fylkingar saman. Þiðrekr konungr af Bern riðr nú fram [með sinn hæst Falka oc sitt goða sverð Ækkisax.⁹⁹ oc hoggr a tvær hliðar ser menn oc hæsta. oc fællir hvern yfir annan. allt þar sem hann fær. Ok fyr honom riðr mæistari Hilddibrandr með hans merki ok drepr margan mann annarri sinni hændi. ok þæirra goði felagi Vildifer fylgir þeim alldrengiliga. ok er þessi orrosta en harðasta. oc falla nú miok Aumlungar af lidi Sifka. Ok nú kallar þiðrekr konungr hatt ok eggjar sina menn ok mælti. Fram hart varir menn ok bæriz nú af kappi miklu ok drengskap. Þer hafit optlega bariz við Ruzimenn eða Vilcinamenn oc fengum ver þa optaz¹⁰⁰ sigr. en nú i þessi orrosto sökium ver vart land oc ríki. ok her af megom ver hæita miklir¹⁰¹ menn. ef ver sam vart æiginland. Oc heðan af verðr þessi [væizla miklu¹⁰² akavare. Oc nú riðr þiðrekr konungr i miðja fylking Sifka oc drepr menn ok hæsta ok alt þat sem firir honom verðr. oc sua fram i gegnom þæirra fylking oc aptr aðra læið. Hann hræðaz nú allir ok engi þorir firir honom at standa hvar sem hann riðr. ok þa hæfir hann drepit utal manna. A annan veg i miðri fylking Aumlunga riðr Villdifer oc firir honom falla Aumlungar. oc hvar sem hann kom i hærinn. þa hælldr ængi maðr sinom hesti ok sinom vopnom firir honom, ok nú hæfir hann drepit marga ríka hofðingia. ok er hann enn æigi [sárr drava.¹⁰³ Þætta ser hærtogi Valltari af Vaskastæini. hversu mikinn skaða Villdifer gerir a Aumlungum. oc firir honom flyia Aumlungar hvar sem hann kemr fram. ok riðr i gegn honom allkapsamlega¹⁰⁴ ok leggr merkispiotino firir hans briost. ok spiotið gengr i gegnom hann oc út um hærðarnar. Ok nú hoggr Villdifer af ser spiotskaptið oc riðr at Valtara oc hoggr a hans lær við sauðlinom. ok sundr tækr bryniuna sua at i sauðlinom nam staðar. ok sinn væg fell huarr af sinom hæsti dauðr a iorð. Oc nú er Sifka ser at hans merki er fallit oc drepinn er

⁹⁴ traustastr, A; hraustastr, B.—⁹⁵ [skari er buinn allr, A.—⁹⁶ *add.* A, B.—⁹⁷ Er þiðrekr konungr bersk við Sifka. *Supps.* Mmb.—⁹⁸ .iii., A.—⁹⁹ [a sinum hesti Falka, A.—¹⁰⁰ iafnan, A, B.—¹⁰¹ mestir, A; meistara, B.—¹⁰² [orrosta halfu, A, B.—¹⁰³ [saardrafa, A; sar, B.—¹⁰⁴ allakaflega, A, B.

hinn matki¹⁰⁵ kappi Valtari. snyr hann sinom hæsti undan ok flyr. oc þar eptir allt hans lið. En þiðrekr konungr oc allir hans menn ræka flottann oc drepa þa¹⁰⁶ oc fylgia þæim allan þann dag langa læið.¹⁰⁷ ok skiliaz æigi við fyrr en dræpinn er mæstr luti þæssa hærs. oc er þat [langa rið at¹⁰⁸ þiðrekr konungr riðr¹⁰⁹ aðr hann skiliz við oc hann snyr aptr.¹¹⁰

1.

OLD SWEDISH VERSION.*

KAP. 222.

Om konung Aktilius' vänskap med konung Ermentrik.

Koning Atilia war en riker konung. han haffde mykin winskap mz ermentrik. koning / han satte sin frende till ermentrik konung. som osid het. mz xij riddara. konung Ermentrik fik hanum sin frende igen som walter het aff waldsken han war tha ekki mesta gamall. En
5 iomfrw war mz Attilia konung. hon het hildegulla. jarlens dotter aff greken. hon war tit sat till gisl¹. walter haffde henna ganzke ka'r.

KAP. 223.

Walter af Wasekensten rider bort med Hildegunna, jarlens dotter af Grekland.

Et sinne haffde Aktilia konung manga ga'ster. oc mykin gla'di mz dans oc alskýns² lek. walter hiolt i jomfruna hand. hildegunna. oc sagde till henne. hwat heller wiltw fylgia mik. eller wara konung attilia frilla. Hon swarade / war^e thz ether alffwara tha will iak engen
5 heller haffua a'n ider / han swarade / gud warde mik sa hwll som iak skall wara ider hull. Jomfrwn sagdis wilia gerna göre hans wilia / han sagde. kom i morgon som [thz] 3 dagas vtan for löna porten / oc haff mz tik gull oc silff oc tina cla'der. hon sagdis thz göra wilia. Ey
10 wiste konungen för a'n the bada borte wore. Tha kom portaneren oc sagde hanum thz.

KAP. 224.

Huru Walter drap konung Aktilius' riddare.

hagen war tha mz attilia konung. oc war tha ganske vnger. konungen sagde till hanum. rid effter iomfrvna'. oc walter. han fik

* The text is reprinted from the edition of Hyllén-Cavallius ('Sagan om Didrik af Bern.' Stockholm 1850-1854), chapters 222-225, 128-129, 147, 280-281. Substitutions for Hyllén-Cavallius signs, are: ü for o with inclined stroke, z for ȝ (=Old Swedish composite sign). The variants are those of B.

105 mesti, A; mikli, B.—106 margan mann, A.—107 hrið, A, B.—108 [long leið (er add. B), A, B.—109 rekr, B.—110 fra hernum add. A. 1 gelss.—2 helsköns.—3 Bl. 101.

hanum xj riddara mz sik . the rido skýndeliga' effter wolter/ tha
 wolter fik them atsee . tha steg han aff sin ha'st . oc tog nid iomfrwna .
 5 Sidan sprang han a sin ha'st igen/ oc bant fast hielmen a sit huffuod .
 Jomfrwn sagde/ thzte a'r stor harm . at tw skallt allene slass mot
 xij . / fly hellre vndan oc redde tit liiff/ walter swarade gra't ekki
 jomfrw . iak hauer för seet hielma . brýnior oc skiolde kloffne . oc
 mongen en huffuodlöss aff hesten stöerte offta haffuer iak warit ther
 10 mz . tý grwffuar mik encte for thesse xij . sidan red han hardeliga mot
 them . oc slogos ganzze lenge . walter slog the xj i ha'll . oc hagen
 rýmde vndan i en skog . ther na'r lag.

KAP. 225.

*Huru Walter af Wasekensten slog ut ögat på Hagen, och red till
 konung Ermentrik.*

walter kom i sama skog . oc iomfrwn mz hanum/ han giorde eld oc
 redde matt . som walter sat oc att . aff et willegals böste . tha kom
 hagen mz et dragit swerd oc liop at walter . jomfrwn ropade ware tik
 herre . her . komber en aff tina owener walter sprang op oc tog böstet
 5 oc slog hagen wid hans öga . sa at wtgik annat ögat/ oc han fioll om
 kull . hagen sprang snart op oc steg vppa sin ha'st oc red hem till
 attilia konung oc sagde hanum tidende/ oc haffde tha mist sit ena
 öga . walter red till Ermentrik konung . oc war hanum welkomen oc
 dwaldis ther om langa stund.

KAP. 128.

*Detzleffs måltid. Walter af Wasekensten manar Detzleff till
 kamp i att skjuta stång och kasta sten.*

Detzleff swarade hwar iak haffuer warit i androm landom . for stora
 herra/ tha wiste the alla stadz then hedher . at biwda fra'mede man
 till bords oc giffua hanum matt om han wara' fastande/ för a'n the
 sporde hanum tidende . konungen lot giffua hanum matt/ tha aat han
 5 mer a'n iij the starkaste men/ sidan bar skenken fram ena gwll skaall
 som han störst orkade ba'ra fulla mz starkasta wiin / then drak han
 wt at enom dryk/ konungen oc alla höffdingia talade oc vndrade ther
 vpa . thz skötte detzleff encte . Sidan sagde walter aff wasekensten⁴ .
 konung ermentrixx oc konung thitmars systerson . han war starkiste
 10 ka'mpe i konungens gard . kan thenne man enchte annat . vtan mykit
 a'ta oc dricka oc forta'ra gots⁵ . oc kantw skiwta stong . eller kasta
 sten . Detzleff swarade jak tror jak kan bada' a' mz hwilkom idrom
 som torss mz mik pröffwa . walter swara de Jak will thz mz tik öffwa' .
 om thens wor huffuod . som tapar/ oc⁶ winner iak tha skaltw aldre
 15 forta'ra sa mykit mer . eller⁷ göra nokrom första' tylke nesa som tw

⁴ volter aff vode vasekensten.—⁵ inte anath göre vtan a'ta och
 mökedh fforta're.—⁶ om ba'ggas vaare huffuodh.—⁷ Bl. 72.

hauer nw giort min herre/ ⁸ tȳ folkit siger tit ga'stabud hauer warit kosteligare a'n hans . Detleff swarade lekar iak a'y som mik bör/ haut skadar thz tha nier . a'n iak mīster mit liiff . litit monna' mȳna fra'nder mik sakna . a'n alt skall iak röna' om tw tor nīz mik leka.

KAP. 129.

*Detzleff segrar i leken. Konung Ermentrik löser Walters lif.
Detzleff säger sitt rätta namn, och blir upptagan till
Didriks jämnung.*

The gingo wt vppa wallen tha tog walter en sten som wog ij skipprind oc kastade ix föter . Sidan kastade detzleff x föter Sa kastade walter xiiij föter . Detzleff kastade xviiij föter/ ⁹ tha wilde walter a'y mer then lek . / Tha gingo the till konung attilius bannera stang .
5 hon war störst oc tyngst aff all the spiwt som ther wore . tha sköt walter stangena twert wtoffuer konungens sall . thz sagde alla konungxmen at thz war wa'll skutit ¹⁰ . Tha tog detzleff stongena oc sköt langx at salen i gömon two dörrer oc löp sa snart effter anthær tog stongena för a'n hon nokorstadz mötte . eller rörde/ oc gik sa jn
10 i salen . tha sagde alla' at detzleff haffde wunnet . the two leka . oc walters huffuod . tha sagde konung erentrik . tw goder drenger vn mik lösa huffuod fra'nda mȳns iak will giffua tik ther fore gwll oc klenodie sa mȳkit som tw bedis . Detzleff swarade mik a'r encte om thin fra'nda huffuod . tȳ han a'r en goder drenger . iak will giffua thik
15 hans huffuod . oc lön mik ¹¹ haut tik ta'kkis . tog warder tw lösa mȳn herris wapn oc ha'sta' oc hans tia'nare ¹² . thu skalt mik ekki aunat atbetale a'n som tw sialffuer wilt . konungen agde haff ther thak fore thz skall jak tik wa'll löna' . konungen tog gwll oc silff oc löste theris ha'sta oc harnisk igen oc betalede alt thz detzleff fortarit haffde aff sit
20 egit . Sidan gaff han detzleff kosteliga cla'der . oc slog hanum till riddare . oc fik hanum xxx mark guls som ¹³ han forta'rit haffde aff sit egit/ her didrik tok hanum till sin iampnunger ¹⁴ . detzleff wartha bekender hwat hans naffn war / oc athan war biterwlff jarls son aff twmmathorp . sidan wart han prjsat offuer alla land.

KAP. 147.

*Widikes och Heyms träta och förlikning. Konung Ermentrik
vinner slottet Gerimshem.*

Tha wreddis wideke ok sprang at heym oc grep mimmingx handfang . oc rȳkte swerdit fra heym / Nagelring kastade han for hans föter . oc bød hanum strax till kamp . heim tog nagellring op .

8 gōre naagen fforste tolken neese och skam ssaa ssom tu haffuer giorth.—9 Sa ... xviii föter *omitted in B.*—10 alla men vell vare kastadh och manneliga skuthz.—11 och giff meg.—12 min herres vapn och hans tia'nares vapn och ha'sta.—13 Bl. 72, Verso.—14 her didrek tog hanum till stalbroder och kallade honum sin iempnunge.

oc sagde/ iak a'r rede at kampa mz tik . konung tidrik sprang i
 5 mellom . oc flere gode men . oc wilde thz a'y till sta'dia . wideke
 sagde Aldrey skall mimming komma i sina skida . för a'n han haffuer
 skilt ¹⁵ hans huffuod . fra hans bwk/ ¹⁶ tÿ athan hauer mik ofta hwgmod
 giort/ som han oc gjorde tha iak lag om kull slagen i wilcina land .
 tha matte han mik wa'll hulpit haffua . sa/ at iak ikke haffde grepin
 10 wordin/ han lot som han ¹⁷ myn fiende ¹⁸ war/ oc röffuade mik mit swerd
 wi aff/ tÿ wetiak athan skall sin lön haffua . ther fore sa got a'r nw som
 annat sin ¹⁹ . her tidrik talade till heim/ oc straffade hanum ther fore
 . oc bad hanum forbidia wideke/ sidan swor heim en ed . at thz war
 hans snak . oc gaman som han till widike talade . oc encte spot eller
 15 hat ²⁰ . oc ther mz bliffuo the forlikte/ konung tidrik sporde widike/
 wolte tw jarlaens död . ja sagde wideke . han kom mot mik ²¹ sielff vjte
 oc sidan han war slagin tha rymde the . v./ konung tidrik sagde . tw
 skalt haffua ther god lön fore . oc myn kerleek . tw a'ft en rask man .
 oc fultage ka'mpe/ konung tidrik sende et bud till Ermentrik
 20 konung . oc lot hanum sigia ²² at iarlen war död . tha han thz sporde /
 tha lot han bla'sa i alla sina ludra . oc wapna alt sit folk . oc stormade
 strax till slottit . sa lenge at jarlans men gaffuo slottit . sa at the aff
 gingo mz harnisk oc haffuor./ konung Ermentrik annamede slottit oc
 satte ther till höffuisman . wolter aff waskensten ²³ . sin systerson./
 25 Sidan redo konungana bade hem i thera egit land igen.

KAP. 280.

Konung Didrik och Seveke föro sina baner emot hvarandra.

Om morgonen arla stodh ha'r didrik op ok vapnadhe sik ok loth
 bla'sa j piper ok basunar . tetmar hans brodher giordhe ok samaledis
 ok tesslighchis margreffuen rödgher ok stigha pa sina ha'stha /
 mesther hyllebrandh redh fram mz her didriks baner All ha'ren
 5 földhe a'ffther . han ridh öffuer thz sama vadh som han hadhe om
 natten Ridhith/ tha seueke var thess var/ ok vidheke velanson/ tha
 bla'sthe the j alla thera ludha/ ok badh thera folk/ vapna sik .
 vidhekhe stegh pa sin hesth skimplingh teslikis gjorde renaldh ok
 valther aff waskensten han förde konung Ermentriks baner thz var
 10 badhe storth ok lantth ok manga gulklocchor/ oppa . thz baner
 rykker [? rynger] saa fasth ath thz h'ra magh offuer all hera'n/ ther
 vndher redh seueke mz vi ²⁴ riddare . tha didrik saa konung
 Ermentriks baner/ ok viste ath seueke var ther vndher / ta badh han
 hyllebrandh föra sith baner ther j moth thz var giorth aff slwth
 15 [? hwith] silke och lxx gul klokkor oppa / thz hafde a'rcha .
 drotningh giorth ther stod eth förgylth leon oppo/ tho kom renaldh
 mz eth röth baner som blodh / moth honum ridher margreffue

15 slitidh.—16 bak.—17 Bl. 77.—18 ffende.—19 paa en annan tidh.
 —20 och icke hans alffuare som han till videke talade.—21 han mötte
 meg.—22 fförstaa.—23 vollter van vaskinsten.—24 Bl. 121, Verso.

rōdgher . tha redh videke fram hans baner war swarth / ok stodh
 hamber ok tongh vti / thz fōrdhe en ka'mpe som rwnghē heth han
 20 var stor ok stark som en rese / moth honum ridher hertogh nordungh
 mz ma'rkar thetmarssons baner ther stodh paa eth leon aff gul thz
 gaff honum Ercha drotning . ther a'pther foldhe tetmar / ok hina vnge
 herrer ok godhe riddare hia'lprik / han var alla riddare raskasth .
 thera vapen glimadhe som solen.

KAP. 281.

*Slaget vid Grans-port. Wildefers och Walters af Wasekensten död.
 Sevekes flykt.*

The drogo til saman mz tesse vi baner . her didrik sath pa syn
 hesth falke ok hugher mz sith godha swa'rdh ekki sax / fōr honum
 stōrthe mangan man . fōr honum ridher hyllebrandh han drap ok
 mangan man ok godhe riddere vildefa'r / tho fiōl mykit aff seuekis
 5 folk . her didrik ropadhe hōcth ok badh sina men goo hardeliga fram /
 ok sagde vi haffua optha slagis mz rysserna / ok vynnit ther mykit
 sigher / nw vilia vi ok vinna vort eghit landh j gen / ok her aff hetho
 vi mycla men . konung didrik ridh mith j seuekis her / han dra'par
 badhe ma'n ok ha'stha ok alth thz fōr honum var / han for badhe
 10 twa'rth ok a'ndelanth gynom thera her ok alla ra'ddis fōr honum / ok
 haffueras dra'pit otalighit folk / ok annan vegh ridher vildhefer / ok
 huggher manneligha hwaske vapen eller ha's tha ha'ctha fōr honum /
 han drap mongha rika hōfdingha / thz saa valther aff vaskensten / hwru
 mykin skadha vildhefer giordhe / ok ath alle flyddhe fōr honum .
 15 valther slogh sin ha'sth mz sporona / ok satte sith spywth fōr vildhefers
 brýsth saa ath wth gik gynom ha'rdener / vildefer hugh spwth skapthit
 syndher / ok sydhan hugh han oppa valthers lar ok brynian syndher
 ok larith aff saa ath swa'rdit stod j sadelen / sydhen stōrthe the bodhe
 dōde ok ther fiōl konung Ermentriks baner nidher som valther
 20 fōrdhe / tha seueke thz sagh ath valther var slaghen / ok baneret lagh
 nidhre a jordena tha flydde han alth thz han kundhe / ok alla hans
 ma'n sa monge som vndher thz baneret var / her didrik ja'gadhe
 a'pther them ok slogh mesta delin j ha'l aff them / Sydhan va'ndhe
 her didrik om.

2.

HLOD AND ANGANTHEOW'S LAY.*

Ár Kvóðo Humla Húnom ráða,
 Gitzor Grýtingom, Gotom Angantý,
 Valdar Dáðnom,¹ enn Væðlom Kiár,
 Alrekr inn frœkni Enskri þjóðo.

* The text is that of Vigfusson-Powell ('Corp. Poet. Boreale' i, 349), verses 1-4.

25 Bl. 122.

1 Vigfusson amends the line thus:

Valdarr Vöskom enn Vplom Kiarr.

XIV.

BOGUPHALI CHRONICON.*

ERAT enim temporibus illis urbs famosissima in regno Lechitarum, murorum altitudine circumsepta, nomine Wyslicia, cujus olim princeps, tempore paganismi, fuerat Wyslaus decorus, qui et ipse de stirpe regis Pompilii¹ duxerat originem. Hunc quidam comes, etiam stirpis ejusdem, ut fertur, fortis viribus nomine Walterus² robustus, qui in polonico vocabatur wdały Walter,³ habens castrum Tynecz prope Cracoviam, ubi nunc abbatia Sancti Benedicti per Casimirum Monachum regem Polonorum seu Lechitarum fundata consistit, in quodam seditioso conflictu captivaverat, captumque in vincula coniecit ac in profundo turris Tynecensis mirae custodiae deputaverat tenendum. Hic Walterus quandam nobilem, nomine Helgundam, sponsam cujusdam regis (Almanorum filii, et regis) Francorum filiam, habuit in uxorem, quam, ut ajunt, clam versus Poloniam non sine magnis corporis sui periculis abduxit. (Quum enim) cujusdam Almaniae regis filius in curia regis Francorum, patris Helgundae praedictae foveretur, gratia morum capessendorum, Walterus prout erat animo perspicax ac industrius, considerans filiam regis Helgundam⁴ in regis Almaniae filium amoris affectum avertisse, quadam nocte, moenia castri ascendens, vigilem castri pretio convenit, ne ipsum quovis modo detegere praesumat, et sic dulci melodia perstrepuat, quod ad hujus dulcem vocis sonitum regis filia e somnio excitata, de lecto saliens, cum caeteris puellabus, somni quietis oblita, cantui dulcissimo intenta, manebat, donec cantor vocibus sonore operam dabat. Mane autem facto, Helgunda jubet vigilem accersire, perquirens diligenter, quisnam fuisset ille? Qui se omnimodo ignorare asserens,

* The text is from Bielowski's 'Monumenta Poloniae Historica' ii. 510-514, which has the correct forms *Walczers* and *Tynecs* instead of the incorrect forms *Walgers* and *Tyneg* of Sommersberg's edition ('Rerum Silesiacarum Scriptores,' 1730: ii, 37-39) and of San Marte's reprint ('Walther von Aquitanien,' s. 213 ff.). Bielowski's additions to the text are enclosed in parenthesis. Important variants are given below the text.

1 Popeli in other MSS.—2 Valters iv, Walcerus v.—3 vdaly Walterz ii, wdalj Walcerzs v, udali Valt, viii.—4 Algundam, ii.

Walterum prodere non praesumsit. Sed cum duabus noctibus sequentibus Walterus adolescens similia caute peregisset, Helgunda dissimulare amplius non valens, vigilem, ut cantorem prodat, minis et terroribus compellit. Qui cum prodere nollet, ipsum capitali sententia plecti jubet. Vigil itaque cum Walterum cantasse meminisset, ipsa in ejus amorem fervide exardescens, ad ejus vota se totaliter acclinavit, filium Almaniae regis omnimodo respuendo. Cernens itaque Almaniae regis filius se pudorose ab Helgunda abjectum, et Walterum in amoris alveolum esse subrogatum, nimio zelo contra Walterum accensus, ad patrem rediens omnia navigia Reni fluminis occupat, ac ne aliquis cum virgine nisi marcam aure pro navigio exsolvat, custodiri sollicite committit. Tracto igitur temporis spatio, Walterus cum Helgunda oportunitatem fugiendi captant, captamque inveniunt, et adveniente die optato aufugiunt. Sed postquam ripam Reni fluminis optate perveniunt, nautae marcam auri pro navigio exposcunt, receptamque, quousque filius regis Almaniae adveniat, transmeare contradicunt. Ille autem, sentiens ex mora periculum, mox bucephalum conscendit, et Helgundam retro se conscendere jubet, fluvium insiliens, sagitta velocius pertransit. Et cum aliquantisper a fluvio Reno viam peregisset, audis clamorem post terga Almani, ipsum insequentis et voce praecognita dicentis: 'O perfide! tam cum filia regis clam aufugisti, et, pedagio non soluto, Renum transmeasti? siste gradum, siste ut ineam singulare certamen, et qui victor exstiterit, victor existens, equum et arma ac Helgundam retinebit.' Cujus clamoribus Walterus intrepide respondens, ait: falsum est quod loqueris nam marcam auri nautis tribueram, et filiam regis non vi raptam sed ultronee me sequi volentem mihi sociavi. Et his dictis alter alterum lanceis animose impellit. Quibus contractis, ensium ictibus pugnant, et viriliter vires exaptant. Et quia Almano Helgundam ex opposito positam repraesentabat aspectus, idcirco ejus aspectibus hilariter confortatus Walterum retrorne coëgit, quousque retroiens Helgundam conspexit. Quam conspiciens, tam pudore incredibili persistit quam ejus amore nimio succensus, viribus resumptis, Almanum fortiter impetit, et ipsum protinus occidit. Cujus equo et armis receptis, itinere capto ad propria remeat, laeti honoris triumpho duplicitur trabeatus. Qui ad castrum Tinecense veniens prosperis itineris successibus feliciter peractis, aliquanto tempore medicandi gratia

quieti indulgit, ubi ex querelis suorum intellexit Wyslaum decorum, principem Wysliciensem, in sui absentia suis quasdam injurias irrogasse. Quas grave ad animum revocans, causa ulciscendi contra Wyslaum insurgit, et tandem cum eo configit, vincit, victumque, ut praemissum est, in profundo turris castri Tinecensis custodiae carcerali deputat mancupatum.

Post aliquam ⁵ vero temporis revolutionem ad exercendus actus bellicos, more militantium peragendos, remotas peragrat regiones. Et cum duorum annorum ejus absentiae circulus jam revolvisset, Helgunda de mariti absentia nimium auxiliata, cuidam puellae, sibi secretariae, vultu submisso referre fit compulsa, asserens, nec viduas nec maritatas esse, reputans illas, quae viris strenuis et bellorum certamina indagantibus matrimonialiter commiscuntur. Secretaria vero, dominae suae luctuosam inopiam, pro qualitate temporis perpessam, pudore proditionali protinus abjecto, cupiens revelare, Wyslaum principem Wysliciae, formae elegantissimae et corpore venustum, in aspectu decorum, in turri nunciat mancupatum; suadetque misera, ut ipsum de turri, noctis sub silencio, extrahi jubeat, et votivis amplexibus debriata, ad imma turris iterum caute remittat. Favet illa suasionibus secretariae, et periculosis eventibus angustiata, vitam et famam honoris exponere non metuens, Wyslaum de immo carceris extrahi praecipit. Ejus viso decoris aspectu nimium admirans, laetabunda efficitur, nec ipsum amodo ad imma turris mittere, sed cum ipso potius, cui jam sodalitio foedere sociata et indissolubili amoris vinculo compaginata est, ad urbem Wysliciensem fugam inire elegit, proprii viri thoro prorsus derelicto. Sic Wyslaus ad propria remeat, duplicem se sperans habere triumphum: qui tamen in eventu dubio utrique necis apportabat interitum. Nam post revolutionem brevis temporis, Walterus ad propria rediens, a castrensibus sciscitatur, cur Helgunda saltem ad valvas castri sibi non occurrit in suo jucundo adventu? A quibus cum didicisset, qualiter Wyslaus de immo turris, custodum fretus auxilio, exsiliens, Helgundam secum asportasset, ipse nimio zelo furoris repletus, versus Wysliciam festine properat, casibus fortuitis se et sua exponere non pavescens, urbemque Wysliciensem insperate ingreditur, Wyslao protunc extra urbem venationi insistente.

Quem ⁶ Helgunda in urbem conspiciens, ei festine occurrit et

⁵ ii has the heading—Quomodo Helgunda—respuit Valterum.—⁶ ii has the heading—Quomodo Helgunda decepit Valterum.

prona cadens in terram de Wyslao, quod ipsam violenter rapuerat, lamentabiliter querulatur; suadens Waltero ut ad secretiora habitaculi ejus ascendat, spondens Wyslaum ejusdem nutui subito tenendum praesentare. Credit ille deceptrici, et deceptivis suasionibus circumseptus, habitaculum firmum ingreditur, in quo Wyslao per deceptricem captus praesentatur. Gaudet itaque Wyslaus et Helgunda, jocosus plausibus operam dantes de successu prospero feliciter triplicato; gaudii extrema minime perpendentes, quos frequenter luctus mortis occupari consuevit. Hunc ergo non carcerali custodia teneri voluit, sed plus quam carceris squaloris coangustari decrevit. Fecit namque illum ad parietem coenaculi vinctum bogis ferreis, extensis manibus, collo et pedibus fortiter erectum, alligari. In quo coenaculo stratum sibi parari jussit, ubi aestivo tempore cum Helgunda infra meridiem delectationes venereas exercentes quiescebant.

Habebat⁷ autem Wyslaus quandam sororem germanam, quam ob despicabilitatem ipsius nemo cupiebat in uxorem. Cujus custodiae Wyslaus prae caeteris custodibus Walteri plus confidebat. Haec Walteri afflictionibus nimium compatiens ipsum, pudore puellari prorsus semoto, a Waltero percontatur, si ipsam habere vellet in uxorem, si suae calamitati subveniret, a vinculis liberando? Spondet ille et juramento confirmat, quod eam maritali affectione, quoad vixerit, pertractet et contra Wyslaum fratrem ejusdem gladio suo, ut eadem optaverat, numquam dimicabit. Hortaturque eam, ut ensem suum a fratris cubiculo subtrahat, et ipsum apportet, ut cum ipso vincula dirumpat. Quae mox, ense apportato, clavem cujuslibet bogae seu ferreae ligaturae in parte extrema, ut Walterus jusserat, de ense praecidit, ensemque inter dorsum Walteri et parietem reposuit, ut temporis opportunitate captata securius possit abscedere. Qui usque in crastinum hora meridiei exspectatur, et Wyslaus cum Helgunda jocosus amplexibus in lecto coenaculi dum uterentur, Walterus contra morem eos alloquitur, dicens:

‘Qualiterne⁸ vobis videretur esse, si ego solutus a vinculis ensem meum stridentem in manibus gestans, ante lectulum vestrum conspicerer vindictam de commissis inferre minando.’ Ad cujus dictum Helgundae cor contabuit, et tremebunda Wyslao dixit:

⁷ ii has the heading—Quomodo Valterus a captivitate sive viculis liberatur.—⁸ ii heading—Quomodo Valterus Helgundam cum suo amaio cecidit.

‘vae domine! ensem suum in cubiculo nostro non reperi, et tuis affectibus intenta oblita sum revelare.’ Ad quod Wyslaus: ‘etiamsi decem ensibus fulciretur, bogas ferreas rumpere, absque fabrorum industria, non valeret.’ Ipsis sic inter se confabulantibus, Walterus, liber a vinculis, saliens, ense vibrato, ante lectulum stare conspicitur, et mox, datis improperiis, manum cum ense in altum erigens, ipsius ensem in ambos cadere permittit; qui cadens utrosque per medium scidit. Sic uterque eorum detestabilem vitam miserabiliore fine conclusit. Hujus itaque Helgundae sepulcrum in castro Wyslicensi omnibus cernere cupientibus in petra excisum, usque ad praesens demonstratur.

Huic⁹ ergo urbi munitissimae Boleslaus rex illum Pannonium, putativum exulem, quem non ut profugam sed ut patriae alumnum benigne suscepit et caritativo modo pertractans, praefectivo officio gratiosissime insignivit.

9 ii hic redit ad propositum.

XV.

B. PAPROKCI.*

WALCERA hrabie z Tyńca wspominają historye: jako Andreas de Zarnow, wszakoż dowodniej Anonimos, to jest historyk, który kronikę polską, łacińskim językiem pisana, krom podpisu imienia swego zostawił, etc.,—dla tego, że był uniósł królewnę francuzką imieniem Heligundę, tym sposobem: Służąc albo się bawiąc w postronnych krainach, dla przejrzenia spraw rycerskich, będąc mężem urodziwym i roztropnym, przypatrował się na dworze króla francuzkiego porządkowi. Tam będąc, okazał się znacznym i w każdej potrzebie nad inne rycerstwo fortunniejseym, tak, że go onos zczęście wielkiej sławy człowiekiem rozniosło. Na tegoż króla dworze, było książe które on królewicem niemieckim mianuje, imieniem Arinaldus, który się starał o onę królewnę, ale go sama panna wzgardzała. Walcerus przed nim miał u niej wielką łaskę, co bacząc, zabawił się służbą króla ojca jej, który mu zaraz dać kazał urząd u stołu, jeśliż podezastwo, albo misę stawiać, tego nie miarmje. Tam mn się ona panna pilnie przypatrując, wielką chęć i uprzejmość serdeczną k' niemu przyłożyła. Co on jawnie znając, chcąc ją jeszcze więcej do miłości przeciwko sobie prsyciągnąć, szedł w nocy pod pokoje jej, śpiewał i grał na lut nijako mógł napiękniej. Co usłyszawszy Heligunda, z łóżka wstawszy, szła do okna, słuchała tak długo. póki Walcerus nie odszedł, wszakoż ktoby to był taki, nie wiedziała. A Walcerus z razu niechciał się jej w tem objawiać, owszejki jeszcze stróże przenajął, aby tego nikomu nie objawiali. A gdy to drugiej i trzeciej nocy uczynił, pannę onę do tego zniewolił, że go bezmiernie miłowała, posłała sobie po straż, a ktoby to u niej pod pokojem grał, pytała. Powiedzieli: Nie wiemy, ani znamy, bo tak nieznacznie twarz nakrywszy chodził. Ale panna chciała koniecznie wiedzieć od nich, ktoby to był taki. Wczém gdy stróże byli uporni, ona ich do więzienia wsadzić

* "Herby rycerstwa polskiego." Krakow, 1858. 4to. pp. 59-61.

In order to facilitate printing, á, é, ĩ=Polish ą, ę, ł respectively.

kazała i na gardle karać chciała. Potem z bojaźni wyznali a wydali Walcera, który się o to na nic nie frasował. Heligunda już z myślą rozdwojona była, nie wiedząc kogo miała więcej miłować, jeśli Walcera, którego osobę znała, jeśliż onego, którego głos tylko słyszała, a coby zaczął być, nie wiedząc. A dowiedziawszy się, iż to już on był, którego w myśli serdecznej miała, poczęła go dopiero zapaczliwiej (sic) miłować, a potem do siebie na pokój wzywać. A gdy onych rozmów przez kilka czasów z sobą używali, umyśliła z nim potajemnie zjechać. Czego Nicmice postrzegł, jednak milując onę pannę bezmiernie, nie wydał jej i Walcera w tych sprawach, a to wiedząc, że przez jego państwo jechać mieli, był tego pewien, że Heligundy mógł łatwo dostać, a ucieszywszy się w miłości, onę niechęć jej przeciwko sobie oddać. A tak naprzód jechał do domu, zakazał na przewozie, aby mu przewoźnicy znać dawali, kiedyby kto z panną od Francyi jechał, k'temu aby go dłużej zabawili, rozkazał, aby od takiego nie brali mniej za przewóz, jedno grzywnę złota, rozumiejąc to o Walcerze, żeby się z nimi miał o tak nieprzystojny przewóz targować. Walcerus upatrzwszy czas, zjechał z panną do Polski. A gdy na rzece Renie przewozić się miał w państwie królewica onego, z fukiem przewoźnikom rozkazał, aby go co prędzej wozili. Którzy z przeléknięcia zapomnieli rozkazania pana swojego, wszakoż tego nie zapomnieli, co za przewóz wziąć mieli.

Walcerus dawszy im to co mu zacewili, precox jechał. Oni dopiero wspomniawszy, znać dali o nim panu swemu. Królewic będąc załosny dla despektu i dla miłości na sercu niespokojonćj, pusił się po nim prędko sam, ufając szczęściu, że go miał przewódz. A gdy go z dalska rajżrzał, wołał nań: Stój zdrajco, przewozuś nie zapłacił i królewskás córkę ukradł! Na co mu Walcerus obcociwszy się odpowiedział: Złe mówisz, przewozem zapłacił, a królewska córka sama ze mną dobrowolnie jedzie. Potem się zjechawszy, rzekli sobie o pannę z sobą czynić, a któryby którego zabił, miał wszystkie rzezy przespiecznie pobrać i dobrowolnie przec jachać. Wtem acz królcwiciowi zbytnia miłość serca dodawała, wszakoż go Walcerus zabił. Przyjechał potem na zamek swój Tynice. Tam pomieszkawszy, o wielkie kszwydy skarżyli mu się poddani na Wiślimiera opiekuna majątności jego. A tego Wiślimiera opowiada ksiąźciem wiślickim, z narodu jeszcze Popielowego; ten był w niebytności

Walcerowć wielkim zdziercá poddanych jego. O co z nim naprzd Walcerus łaskawie mwił, a potem gdy się im i jemu z wszy usprawiedliwić niechciał, on go pojma pszywiózł na Tynic i do wieże wsadził. Sam potem kwoli królowi albo monarsze na słuźbē żołnierská jachał, zostawiwszy Heligundę na Tyńcu, która była bardzo żalosna z odjechania jego. Wszakoz gdy w wielkim dostatku chwilę była bez Walcera, poczęła się przed panną swoją uskarżać mówiąc: Żem ja ani dziewczka, ani wdowa, etc. Panna ona żalujac pani, powiedziała jej: że tu jest więzien urodziwy, bēdziemyć go na noc wypuszczac do protochwile, a na dzień go bēdziem do więzienia sadzac, tak że tego żaden nie postrzeże. Owa namówiwszy się to wczyniły, stróże co go strzegli przenajáwszy. Heligunda obaczywszy Wiślimiera mé-za urodziwego, nie chciała go więcej dac do więzienia, owszejki dowiedziawszy się co zacz był zjechała z nim na Wiślicę. Wtem przyjechał Walcerus, pytał, czemu Heligunda przeciw jemu nie wyszła, jako to zwykła czynić. Powiedzieli słudry, że jej nie masz. Dowiedziawszy się wszystkiej sprawy, jachał do Wislice, zastał tylko samé Heligunde, a Wiślimier w łowy był zajachał. Upadła mu u nóg, prosić łaski i miłosierdzia, a prosić aby się schzonił do ko komozy jego, i sługom się także schronić kazał, a ona mu go wydać obiecała, aby się nad nim pomścił krzywdy swojej. A gdy on tak uczynił, Wiślimier przyjechał, ona wybieżawszy powiedziała mu o Walcerze, kedy go skryła. On go zatem z sługami nabieżawszy, pojmał i wsadził do więzienia, potem nań włożył okowy jakie rozumiał najtęzsze, k'temu jeszcze do muru przykować dał, a nie rozumiejąc sobie wierniejszego stróža i przyjaciela do tego, siostrze swojej rodzonej oddał klucze od niego, coby z wiadomością jej tylko w onej komorze tak go w pécie na potrzebę wypuszczano. W czym ona panna przez kilka czasów wiarę bratu swojemu strzymała statecznie. Potem ulitowawszy się Walcera, z mowé z nim tajemnie uczyniła, jeśli by ją chciał sobie wziąć za żonę, rzekła go z więzienia wypuścić; a była ta panna Rynga tak żadna (brzydka), że jej żaden człowiek równy jej w zanosci nie chciał do stanu małżeńskiego. Co Walcerus uczynił, chcąc być wolen z wiecznego a okrutnego więzienia, bo siedział na żelezie nakształt woła uczynionem, a jeszcze do tego w okowach. A gdy już té zmowe z sobą mieli, panna Rynga wolnym go uczyniła i miecza dodała; wszakoz on siedział

na onem żelezie, jakoby niewolny. A gdy Wiślimier z Heligundą według zwyczaju szli się przelegać, rzekł do nich Walcerus: "Kiedybym ja też teraz nad wami pomścił się krzywdy swojej"?—Poczęła sobą Heligunda trwożyć ala Wiślimier ją upominał, a rzekł do Walcera: "Już ci odpuszczę, chocia mié i zabijesz"—a to dla tego mówił, że ufał wierności siostry swojej.

Dla wiétszego żalu Walcerowego, nczynił mu był z onego sklepu jego okno do pokoju swego, że na czas każdy na nie patrzył, kiedy z sobą żartowali. A gdy po onych rozmowach Wiślimier z Heligundą tak się zabawili przespiecznie, że Walcerus czas miał do pomszczenia krzywdy, skoczył prédko z onego wołu, przypadłszy oboje mieczem ku ziemi na łożu przebił, potem sam wolno z Ryngą na Tyniec wjechał, wszystkie skarby pobrawszy co ona panna tak sprawowała, że słudzy Wiślimierowi tego nie postrzegli i że pan ich zabił, aż na Tyniec odwieźli one wszystkie rzeczy, a Walcera chodząc wolnego oglądali.

Tej Heligundy ciało tam w Wiślicy schowano i twarz na kamieniu wyciosano, która była w roku 1242 na zamku, czego potwierdza Andreas de Zarnow. Ale ten pomieniony historyk, Walcera, dowodnie opowiada z domu Toporów, jakoż tego potwierdzają pewne zaki, że Tyniec ze wszystką włością był tej familii Toporow. Bo tam gdy na gwałt wołają we wsiach starodawnych Tyńcowi należących, tedy krzyczą: Starza! starza! albo: Stary koń! stary koń! a te familie obie z wieka dawnego jednej są dzielnice, o czem niżej czytać bédziesz.

XVI.

M. BIELSKI.*

O tej Wiślicy piszą, że kiedyś to miasto było barzo budowne i obronne (jakoż ma miejsce po temu), ale natenczas było przez Ruś z gruntu zburzone. Piszą i to o niem zwłaszcza Anonimos jeden, że tam było niejaki książę, Wiśław, a tego grabia niejaki z Tyńca, który był z domu Toporów, poimał i u siebie więził, którego użaliwszy się jednego czasu żona jego w niebytności méza swego z wieży wyciągnęła. A ta była Francuska, jednego francuskiego króla córka, imie jej było Heligunda, do której grabia z Tyńca Walcer tym sposobem przyszedł: Bédac na dworze króla francuskiego upodobała go była sobie ta panna, a gdy jej ojciec zań dać nie chciał, że to był cudzoziemiec, nabrawszy z nią klejnotów i skarbów zjechałi potajemnie w nocy. Czego mu zajrzał Niemiec jeden, co tej pannie też rad służył, gonil go i czynił z nim o pannę, jednak zabit Niemiec a Walcer i z krolewną do Polski przyjechał. Ta tedy, jako się raz dała wziąć jednemu, dała się wziąć potem i drugiemu, zjechała także z tym Wiśławem wiślickim książęciem, gdy méza jej doma nie było dwie lecie, bo jako się był zwykł przedtem służbami bawić, tak i ożeniwszy się siedzieć go było doma teszno. Potem gdy przyjechał do domu, dziwował się temu barzo, że żona przeciwko jemu nie wyszła, która była zawždy zwykła to uczynić; spyta o nią, powiedzą mu, że z księżęciem wiślickim precz zjechała; z wielkiego gniewu zaraz do Wiślice bieżał, chcąc jako prędko i niespodziewanie zbieżec Wiśława i zemścić się tego nad nim, by mu też tam i gardło dać. Wiśława natenczas doma nie było, w łowiech był, ale żona wyźrzawszy oknem użrzy go z strafunku i zbieży prędko do niego, i obimała jako méza swego, skarżąc się z płaczem przed nim, iż ją gwałtem wziął; i aby się tego nad nim zemścił, radzi mu aby się do komory na chwilę skrył, a gdy będzie czas po temu, da mu znać, aby go mógł tém łatwiej zdrajce swego pożyc i z nią bezpieczniej uść. Uwierzył nieborak.

* "Kronika," tom 1, p. 175-177. wyd. Turowskiego. Samok 1856. 8vo.

A gdy Wiśław przyjechał, ukazała mu Walcera méza swego, którego on poima wszy, kazał tak dobrze żelazem opatrzyć, że niepodobna rzecz, aby miał kiedy wyńść. Ktemu na żalść większą kazał go w kuné sadzać tam, kedy z Heligundá legał. A straż nad min siostrze zlecił, która jeszcze była panná, bo że na dziwy była szpetná, nikt jej pojąć nie chciał. Jáł já tedy sobie namawiać po cichu on grabia, obiecując já pojąć i z nią mieszkać dobrze do śmierci, by tylko z więzienia wyszedł, co gdy jej poprzysiągł, odemknęła go i miecz z głowy wyjąwszy bratu, gdy spał, onemu go dała. Także gdy się ocuci Wiśław i z swoją Heligundá, rzecze do nich Walcer grabia: Cobyście wy też rzekli, kiedybym ja te péta i kuné złamawszy was pozabijał? Zléknie się zaraz Heligunda i do książecia Wiśława poszeptem rzecze: Miły! wierć broni twej w głowach niemasz. Odpowie jej Wiśław: Nie boj się miła! trudnoćby mu te kłódki otworzyć i té kuné złamać. On tego domawia, a Walcer grabia z mieczem gołym do nich prosto skoczy tak, że ich obu wespół przebił a żalu i despektu swego znacznie się zemścił. Píše historyk, że tam jeszcze za jego czasu był grób tej Heligundy w Wiślicy na zamku.

XVII.

X. KASPER NIESIECKI,* S. J.

TOPOR HERB.—PRZODKOWIE TEGO DOMU.

WALCER Hrabia z Tyńca, o którym pisze Bielski fol: 109 y Andreas de Zarnow, Paprocki Okolski. Ten długo się bawiąc w postronnych kraiach, a osobliwie przyy dworze Króla Francuskiego, widząc ze się nieiaki Arinaldus Xiáze Niemieckie o Krolewné Francuzká Heligundé starał, a ta w przyiaźnief iego nie profitowała, tak się dla urody y pięknych obyczaiow wkrađł w iey serce, ze się dała do Polski uprowadzić. Nie nadała mu się jednak kradziona zdobycz, bo potym gdy owe amory ostygły, żyła nieprzystoynie z nieiakiem Wiślimirem, y owszem Walcera w ciészkie péta okuła, luboć on potym z tey niewoli wyszedł, y tak Wiślimira iako y Heligundé zabił, ta pogrzebiona w Wiślicy na zamku, którey tam twarz na ka mieniu wyciosaná widziano w roku 1242; obszernief té historyá opisuie Paprocki o herbach do ktorego Czytelnika odsyłam, wprawdzieć o tey historyi żaden z Francuzkich historykow nie namienia. Przeciéż té samé historyá znajdziesz u Sommersberga de rebus Silesiacis Tomô Secundô fol: 37 w historyi y Kronice Bogufała Biskupa Poznańskiego szeroko rozwiedzioná, ale tamten historyk, Walcera nie do Familii Topor ale do popiela niegdy Xiázécia Polskiego nadciága, którego tu słowa kładé: *Erat temporibus illis Urbs famosissima, murorum altitudine circumsepta, nomine Wislicia, cujus olim Princeps tempore Paganismi fuerat Wislaus decorus, qui ipse de stirpe Regis Popeli duxerat originem. Hunc quidam Comes, etiam stirpis ejusdem, ut fertur, fortis viribus, nomine Walterus robustus, qui in Polonico vocabatur: Wdały Walgers: huius Castrum Tyneg prope Cracoviam ubi nunc Abbatia Sti. Benedicti per Casimirum Monachum, Regem Polonorum seu Lechitarum, fundata consistit, in quodam seditioso conflictu captivave-*

**Korona Polska* prry złotej wolności starożytnemi rycerstwa polskiego y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego kleynotami, naywyższemi honorami, heroicznym męstwem y odwagą, wytworná nauka, a naypierwey cnotá, pobożnością y światobliwością ozdobiona. Tom czwarty. 1743 Lwów. fol. p. 365-367.

rat, captumque in vincula conjecit, ac in profundo Turris Tinecensis mirae custodiae deputaverat tenendum.

Ale i Baranowski dobrze uważa, że jeżeli ta o Heligundzie powieść jest prawdziwa, tedy to musiało być jeszcze za Pogaństwa, ponieważ Tyniec w roku 1044, już był w ręku królewskich, kiedy Król Kazimierz Mnich fundował tam klasztor, a zatem musieli mieć Królowie Polscy dawniej przed tym na Tyńcu władzę. Paprocki w te słowa o Tyńcu pisze z Jedrzeia de Zarnow.

XVIII.

PROCOSIUS.*

CHRONICON SLAVO-SARMATICUM.

P. 109.

WALGIERZ cognomine Wdaly, frater major natus Zbiludi, dominus in Tynieć, qui postea profectus in Franciam Reginulam Heligundam inde abduxit, quae multarum discordiarum cum Wisłomiro Chostek, Domino in Wislica, causa extitit. Tres item filii ipsius Paluca alias Wittosław in baptismo nominatus, Starża ex Heligunda et Pabian ex Rynga progeniti.

P. 128 f.

Walgerus Starzon de Panigrod Wdaly id est udatny alio dictus vocabulo. Smilae herois minor natus filius, in Pregonia, Tenczyn, Tyneg, Czekarzewice, Tarlow etc. dominus a. 975. denatus: heros in Lechisis multis celebris historiis, qui vix non universas lustravit in Europa regiones. Consors fuit Heligunda alicujus ex regibus Galliae reguli filia, pro qua magnas habuit contentiones cum Wisłomiro duce ex gente Popieli suo consanguineo.

* The text is reprinted from Heinzel, 'Walthersage,' S. 59.

XIX.

K. W. WÓJCICKI.*

The saga is introduced thus:

Przytoczyliśmy to podanie Serbów na dowód, że niebrakuje tego rodzaju powieści i w innych pokoleniach wielkiego szczepu Słowian. Trojan w mgle wieków tak odbija, jak nasze Waligóry i Madeje.

Z wielkiej liczby klechdów starożytnych, kronikarze jedné nam przechowali ze Słowiańskich czasów. Słuchajmy powieści, którą nam Baszko, i zasłużony heraldyk Bartosz Paprocki opowiadają zgodnie. Zapomniał już o niej lud dzisiaj; a jednakże dawniej powszechnie w okolicach Tyńca i Wiślicy znaną była; przytoczyć ją więc muszę jako ważny i ciekawy pomnik téj gałązki literatury.

WDALI Walgerz, albo Walter, hrabia, na Tyńcu i pan zamku Tynieckiego, bawiąc się w postronnych krainach, dla przejrzenia spraw rycerskich, zatrzymał się na dworze króla Francuzkiego. Mąż urodziwy, odwagi i zręczności nieposłedniej, w gonitwach i turniejach piérwszy dank odnosił, i oczy wszystkich zwrócił na siebie, szczególniej córki królewskiej imieniem Helgundy. Dla niej przyjął urząd podczaszego; a gdy misy stawiał na stole, uważał z jakim zajęciem wpatrywała się w jego oblicze, jak oczyma ścigała każde poruszenie dorodnego dworzanina.

Był na tymże dworze Arinaldus, królewicz Niemiecki. Ten rozkochany w Helgundzie jakkolwiek wzgardy doznawał, ciągle gorzał namiętną miłością. Walgerz dla ujęcia sobie więcej nadobnej królewniej, przekupiwszy stróże zamkowe, codziennie podchodził pod jej okna, i głosem miłym i dźwięcznym śpiewał dumy smutne.

Helgunda zbudzona, zachwycona śpiewem niewidomego trubadura, przywołać rozkazała strażników zamku, ażeby jej wyjawili nocnego śpiewaka. Gdy ci przekupieni, niechcieli wyznać prawdy, tłumaczyć się, że z zakrytym obliczem przychodzi: królewna śmiercią im zagroziwszy, zmusiła do wydania Wal-

* Klechdy starożytne Podania i Powieści Ludowe. Warszawa 1851, p. 32-42.

gerza. “*Poczēja go dopięro zapalczywiěj milować, a potēm i do siebie na pokój wzywać.*” * Tam postanowiła, widząc przeszkody od ojca, uciec z Walgerzem do Polski.

Ale zazdrożny Arinald wywiedział się tajemnicy, śpieszy do swego królestwa, przez które musiał Walgerz powracać, i na Renie zakazawszy przewoźnikom, aby mniej nie brali jak grzywnę złota, starali się przytēm uciekającego zatrzymać.

Walgerz z Helgundą wkrótce nadbiega, rozkazuje surowo przewoźnikom, by go co prędzej na drugi brzeg wysadzili; a gdy ci zatrwożeni, posłuszni Walgerzowi, zażądali zapłaty, ten rzuca złoto, wpływ Ren przebywa, i ku Polsce śpieszy.

Arinald dowiaduje się, że Walgerz już Ren przebył, uzbraja się, co prędzej, dosiada bieguna i dopędza przeciwnika.

—“Stój zdrajco”! wołał nań zdaleka: przewozu niezapłaciłeś i królewska córę’s ukradł”!

—“Kłamiesz”! odwróciwszy się Walgerz odpowiedział: “przewóz zapłaciłem, a córka Królewska dobrowolnie ze mną jedzie.

Popędliwy Arinald wyzywa go na pojedynek, z warunkiem, że kto zostanie zwycięzcą, zostanie panem i Królewną, i łupu przeciwnika.

Rozpoczyna się bójka. Helgunda, co stała za Walgerzem, życząc mu zwycięstwa, była bodźcem Arinaldowi, stojąc mu na oczach. Niemiec zagrzewany jej widokiem, parł silnie Walgerza, tak, że ten cofać się przymuszony, ujrzał przed sobą kochankę, dla której bój zacięty toczył. Widok jej zapalił go mocniej; uderza, obala wroga na ziemię i bez litości zabija.† Zdzięra zbroje, a ze zwyciężkim łupem i królewna powraca do zamku swojego, Tyńca.

Ale zaledwie przybył, poddani załobliwie się uskarżali na *Wisława pięknego*, Książęcia Wiślickiego, z rodu *Popiela* jeszcze, o ciężkie krzywdy, jakich doznawać musieli. Walgerz gdy napróżno żądał sprawiedliwości, rozgniewany zbiera swoje rycerstwo, i w jednej bitwie rozbiwszy Wisława chorągwie, samego jak brańca okuć rozkazał, i do wieży wsadził na zamku Tynieckim.

W krótce na rozkaz Króla, Walgerz pośpieszył stanąć ze

* Własne słowa Bartosza Paprockiego z dzieła: “Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego.”—1584 r. folio.

† Godisław Baszko, Kronikarz.

swoim zastępem do obrony granic. Helgunda rozpaczala przy odjeździe męża. Gdy zajęty wyprawą rycerską długo nieprzybywał, Helgunda opływając we wszelkie dostatki poczęła tęschnieć i zwierzyła się wiernej służebnicy z uskarżeniem: "żem ani dziewczka, ani żona, ani też wdowa."

Zrozumiała przywiązana, a przebiegła służka tęschnić swojej Pani; radzi przeto, że w zamku jest więzień dorodny, co ją potrafi ukoić.

Wprowadzono *pięknego Wisława*, rozkutego z więzów, do komnaty Helgundy: ta zapomniawszy poprzysięgłej wiary mężowi, nie tylko staje się występna; ale z więźniem do Wiślicy ucieka.

Po skończonej wyprawie wojennej, przybywa na Tyniec Walgerz, okryty sławą rycerską. Lecz za ledwie wjechał na podwórzec zamkowy, zdziwiony, niewidząc Helgundy, co zwykle wybiegała za mury na powitanie męża, zapytuje służby, dworzan i czeladzi o powód, i odbiera okropną wiadomość, że uciekła z Wisławem.

Uniesiony zemstą i rozpaczą, sam jeden, w tej samej zbroi okrytej kurzawą, śpieszy do Wiślicy. Helgunda była sama, Wisław na łowy wyjechał. Chytra i zdradziecka niewiasta, wybiega przeciw Walgerza, a padając na kolana, skarży Wisława, że ją przemocą uprowadził z Tyńca; zaklina, by się ukrył wskazanę komorze, a wyda mu Wisława dla zaspokojenia słusznej krzywdy.

Usłuchał Walgerz, lecz zapóźno poznał zdradę wiarołomnej żony: napadnięty, przemocą okuty w kajdany. Wisław lekając się by więzień nie uszedł, oddał go pod straż swojej siostry Ryngi.

Dla większej męczarni Walgerza, posadzono go na żelaznym wole, a obróć z szyi przybito do ściany. Tak skutki miał za więzienie komnaty gdzie w pobliżności Wisław z Helgundą w oczach więźnia okazywali swoją miłość. Walgerz musiał patrzeć na wiarołomną żonę i okrutnego zwodziciela i wroga, lecz nic nie mówił, ponure zachowując milczenie.

Rynga mając dozór nad nim, szpetna aż do obrzydzenia, litując Walgerza męczarni, a więcej w nim rozkochana, obiecuje z więzów uwolnić z warunkiem, że ją pojmie za małżonkę, a życie uszanuje brata.

—"Przystaję, i przyrzekam wszystko"! odrzekł Walgerz

chciwy uwolnienia: "jeno rozkój mié z tych kajdan i podaj mój oréz niezłomny."

Rynga otworzyła kłódki kajdan i miecz Walgerzowi oddała; wisiał on albowiem na osobnej ścianie. Walgerz już wolny, oréz za plecyma ukrył, zachowując zwyczajną postać bolesną, milczącą, ponurą.

Helgunda z Wisławem jak zwykle przyszli się pieścić na zwyczajnem miejscu. Walgierz pierwszy raz do nich się odezwał, przerwawszy uporne dotąd milczenie.

"Cóż rzekniecie, gydbym ja teraz nad wami pomścił krzywdy i cierpień moich"?

Helgunda podziwem i trowgą przejęta, dostrzegając, że oréz Walgerza nie wisi na ścianie, rzekła do kochanka:

—"Wisławie! ja się go lékam; patrz, i miecza już niéma Walgerza."

Ale Wisław ufając wierności swojej siostry, odrzekł z pogardą spoglądając na więźnia.

—"Gdybyś miał i sto mieczów, nielékam się wcale, a nawet ci odpuszczę gdybyś mié i zabił."

Walgerz zrzuca kajdany—z wyniesionym mieczem staje nad łóżem: spuścił go z zamachem, i wycisnął dwa jékliwe westchnienia, konającój Helgundy i Wisława.

Pomściwszy się krzywdy swojej z Ryngą na Tyniec powrócił, zabrawszy wszystkie skarby, które tak zręcznie Rynga uwieźla i śmierć brata ukryła, że dworzanie i rycerze Wisława dopiero się o morderstwie dowiedzieli, kiedy Walgierz ze zbawczynią Ryngą w warownym już stanéli Tyńcu.

Zwłoki Helgundy pochowano w Wiślicy. Kronikarz Godzisław Baszko pisze, że w roku 1242 widział jeszcze na kamieniu grobowym twarz Helgundy wyrytą. Bartosz Paprocki za dowód podaje, że Walgerz do rodziny Toporczyków należał, iż po wsiach, starodawnie, do Tyńca należących, kiedy na gwałt wołają, tedy krzyczą: "*Starza! Starza!*" albo "*Stary-koń! Stary-koń!*" a te rodziny z dawnego wieku są jedną z Toporczykami dzielnicy.

APPENDIX I.

VON DEM ÜBELEN WÎBE.*

- 301 lanc, breit ist ir swinge
und ist hagenbüschîn ;
die sleht si durch daz houbet mîn.
daz selbe tet si hiure.
so getâne âventiure
306 wârn hêrren *Walthern* unkunt,
dô er und mîn frou *Hildegunt*
fuoren durch diu rîche
also behagenlîche.

* Cf. *Zeitschrift* xii, 367-68.

APPENDIX II.

800 **D**IST l'Arcevesques : " Jo irai, par mun chief.
 "—E jo od vus," ço dist li quens Gualtiers :
 " Hum sui Rollant, jo ne le dei *laissier*."
 Entre s'eslisent vint milie chevaliers.

A01.

LXX.

Li quens Rollanz Gualtier de l'Hum apelet :
 " Pernez mil Francs de France nostre tere,
 805 " Si purpernez les destreiz e les tertres,
 " Que l'Emperere nisun des soens n'i perdet."
 Respunt Gualtiers : " Pur vus le die bien faire."
 Od mil Franceis de France la lur tere,
 Gualtiers desrenget les destreiz e les tertres.
 810 N'en descendrat pur malvaises nuveles,
 Enceis qu'en seient set cenz espées traites.
 Reis Almaris, de l' regne de Belferne,
 Une bataille lur livrat le jür, pesme.

A01.

CLXXIX.

2035 Einz que Rollanz se seit aperceüz,
 De pasmeisun guariz ne revenuz,
 Mult grant damage li est apareüt :
 Mort sunt Franceis, tuz les i ad perdut
 Seinz l'Arcevesque e seinz Gualtier de l' Hum.
 2040 Repairiez est de la muntaigne jus,
 A cels d'Espagne mult s'i est cumbatuz :
 Mort sunt si hume, si's unt païen vencut ;
 Voillet o nun, desuz cez vals s'en fuit
 E si recleimet Rollant qu'il li aïut :
 2045 " Gentilz quens, sire, vaillant hum. ù ies tu ?
 Unkes nen oi poür là ù tu fus.
 Ço est Gaultiers ki cunquist Maëlgut,
 Li niés Droün, à l' vieill e à l' canut.
 Pur vasselage suleie estre tis druz.
As Sarrazins me sui tant cumbatuz

- 2050 Ma hanste est fraite e perciez mis escuz,
 E mis osbercs desmailiez e rumpuz.
 Par mi le cors de lances *sui* feruz :
 Sempres murrai, mais chier me sui venduz."
 A icel mot l'ad Rollanz *coneüt* ;
 2055 Le cheval brochet, si vient puignant vers lui.

Aoi.

CLXXX.

"Sire Gualtiers," ço dist li quens Rollanz,
 Bataille oüstes od la paiene gent :
 "Vus sulez estre vassals e cumbatant,
 Mil chevaliers en menastes vaillanz.
 Ierent à mei; pur ço vus les demant.
 Rendez les mei, que bosuing en ai grant."
 Rcspunt Gaultiers: "N'en verrez un vivant.
 Laissiez les ai en cel dulurus camp.
 De Sarrazins nus i truvasmes tanz,
 Turcs e Ermines, Canelius e Jaianz,
 Cels de Balise, des meillurs cumbatanz,
 Sur lur chevaux arrabiz e curanz ;
 Une bataille avum faite si grant
 N'i ad païen devers altre s'en vant.
 Seisante milie en i ad morz gisanz.
 Vengiez nus sumes à noz acerins branz.
 Avum iloec perdut trestuz noz Francs ;
 De mun osberc en sunt rumput li pan ;
 Mortels ai plaies es costez e es flancs
 De tutes parz en ist fors li clers sancs ;
 Trestuz li cors m' en vait afiebliant :
 Sempres murrai, par le mien esciant.
 Jo sui vostre hum e vus tien à guarant :
 Ne me blasmez, se jo m'en vai fuiant.
 —Ne l' ferai mie," ço dit li quens Rollanz ;
 "Mais or m'aidiez à tut vostre vivant."
 D'ire e de doel en tressuet Rollanz.
 De sun blialt ad trenchiez les dous pans :
 Gualtier en bandet les costez e les flancs.

Aoi.

CLXXXI.

- Rollanz ad doel, si fut maltalentifs :
 En la grant presse cumencet à ferir ;
 De cels d'Espagne en ad getet morz vint,
 E Gualtiers sis, e l'Arcevesques cinc.
 2060 Dient païen : "Feluns humes ad ci.
 Gardez, seignurs, que il n'en algent vif.

Tant nus unt fait ne deivent estre prins.
Mais trestuit estre detrenchiet e ocis,
 Tut par seit fel ki ne 's vait envaïr,
 E recreant ki les lerrat guarir !”
 Dunc recumencent e li hus e li cris :
 2065 De tutes parz les revunt envaïr.
Deus les aïut qui unkes ne mentit !

Aoi.

 CHARLEMAGNE APPROCHE

CLXXXII.

Li quens Rollanz fut *mult hardis e fiers*,
 Gualtiers de l'Hum est bien bons chevaliers,
 Li Arcevesques prozdum e essaiez :
 Li uns ne voelt l'autre nient laissier.
 2070 En la grant presse i fièrent as paiens.
 Mil Sarrazin i descendent à pied,
 E à cheval sunt quarante millier.
 Mien escientre, ne 's osent aproismier.
 Il lancent lur e lances e espiez,
 2075 Wigres e darz, e museraz e atgiers.
 As premiers colps i unt ocis Gualtier,

APPENDIX III.

ROLANDSLIED.*

O LIVIER unde Ruolant	1188
unde Walthere ther Wigant,	1189
 Gêhart unde Walther,	 3217
 Thô frowete sih ther helet Ruolant,	 3369
thaz er there heithenen samenunge vant.	3370
er sprah zuo Walthêre :	
“ nu île, thu helet mâre,	
wele thir tûsent manne	
unt ne sâme thih niht ze lange :	
vâh uns thie perge,	3375
ê sîn thie heithenen innen wërthen,	
thaz wir thie hôhe begrîfen,	
ê uns thie heithenen unterslîchen.	
thie andere thu warne	
(hie ist thes tiuveles geswarme),	3380
thaz sie sih wâfen sciere.	
sage Turpîn unt Oliviere,	
then helethen allen samt;	
seme mir thisiu zesewe mîn hant,	
ihne kume niemer vone therre herte,	3385
unz ih slahe mit mîneme swerte.	
sine hilvet nehein ire grôzer scal :	
ire wirthet hiute sô getân val,	
thaz man iz wole sagen mah	
unze ane then jungesten tah.	3390
mir ne swîche ther guote Durendart,	
si geriuwet al ire hôhvar.	
 Unter thiu kom Walthêre.	 6528
verwundet was er sêre,	

* From the text of Bartsch's Edition.

than ih iu ê gesaget hân. 6530
 er was ther Ruolantes man.
 er sprah : "jâ mîn lieber herre,
 ih gesihe thih vile gerne,
 ê ih sô ersterbe.
 mahtu uns iht gehelven? 6535
 heithenen thie gelfen
 habent uns scathen getân."
 "wâ sint nu mîne man,
 thie ih bevalh ze thîner hant,"
 sprah ther helet Ruolant, 6540
 "tûsent mîner helethe?
 nu gip sie mir withere :
 ih betharf ire wole ze mîner nôt.
 thise ligent alle hie tôt."
 "semmir thîne hulde," sprah Walthêre, 6545
 ire nelebet neheiner mêre
 wane ih aleine.
 thie wuotigen heithenen
 ranten unsih allenthalben ane :
 sie hâten mêre thenne sehzeh tûsent man. 6550
 vile wole wir ire erbiten.
 wir erkanten wole thîne site,
 wâre wir entrunnen,
 thaz wir niemer thîne hulde gewonnen.
 jâ vâhten, herre, thîne man 6555
 soz guoten knehten wole gezam.
 thie thîne ligent tôt thâ nithere :
 ouh sluogen wir sie thâ withere,
 thaz ire neheiner genas.
 niene zurne thu thaz, 6560
 thaz ih thannen sî komen.
 nu ih thîne stimme hân vernomen,
 nune mah mir niht gewerren.
 zwiscen Manbrât then pergen
 unt then hôhen Jogeîn, 6565
 thâ lie ih, herre, then scathen thîn,
 ih sage thir ze wunder :
 unser kom nie theheiner vone ein ander.
 ih thurhreit thaz wal,

thaz ih uber al
neheinen lebentigen vant." 6570
" nu lôno thir got," sprah Ruolant,
" thîner nôte was vile.
iethoh was thaz kindes spil.
nu ist iz ane theme zît : 6575
hie ze stete sculen wir opheren then lîp
mit anderen unseren genôzen,
thaz wir iht werthen verstôzen
vone theme engele sange.
thu sîmest uns ze lange." 6580

Thar huoben sih thô thie thrî
(ih wân iz alsô gescriben sî)
in then thrin naman unseres herren :
thô hâten sie helve niht mêre.
thie einmuotigen thegene 6585
sluogen thie urmâren menige,
thaz sie vore in muosen erbeizen.
sie umbestuonten sie mit spiezen,
mit scozzen unt mit gêren.
tha ersluogen sie Walthêren. 6590
harte rah in thô Ruolant.
sô waz er ire ûfrehter vant,
thie muosen Walthêren gelten.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE WALTHER SAGA.

I. ELEMENTS OF THE SAGA.

I. ANALYSIS OF THE SAGA.

WALDERE.	WALTHARIUS.
1. Ætla. A. 6.	Attila King of the Huns or Avars (in Pannonia) pushes his conquests westward. 11 ff.
2. Cf. Guðhere, friend of the Burgundians, (3).	Attila attacks in turn Gibicho, King of the Franks; Heriricus, King of the Burgundians; and Alphere, King of the Aquitanians. 12 ff.
3. Cf. Hagena B. 15; Guðhere, A, 25; Waldere, B, 11. Hagena and Waldere are old friends [as hostages at Ætla's court?] (20). Guðhere, friend of the Burgundians, is Waldere's foe (cf. 19, 24, 27).	All three kings give Attila hostages; Gibicho sends Hagano of noble blood, "veniens de germine Troiae," in place of his son Guntharius who was too young. 27 ff. Heriricus sends his daughter Hiltgunt. 72 ff. Alphere sends his son Waltharius. 90 ff.
4. Waldere is son of Alphere. A. 11.	Waltharius is the son of Alphere; he is yet a youth in "primevo flore," 78 ff.
5.	Hiltgunt is the only daughter of Heriricus; is noble born and fair. 36 ff.
6.	Waltharius and Hiltgunt are betrothed before leaving home. 80 ff.
7.	Waltharius, Hiltgunt and Hagano all reared carefully by Attila and Ospirin. 96 ff.
8. Waldere is called Ætla's van-warrior. A, 6.	Waltharius and Hagano become the foremost of Attila's hosts. 105 ff.; Hiltgunt is made keeper of Ospirin's treasures 113.
9.	Hagano, hearing that Guntharius is occupying Gibicho's throne and refusing tribute to Attila, escapes to his royal master. Ospirin and Attila fearing Waltharius may follow Hagano, offer him a Hun to wife, but W. feigning loyalty to Attila, declines the offer. 119 ff.

NOVALICIAN CHRONICLE.

1. Atila, *lux Pannoniae*, King of the Huns or Avars, scourge of God, makes conquests in the west. C. viii.
2. Atila attacks Alferius, King of Aquitania, Eriricus King of Burgundia, and Gibico, King of the Franks. C. viii.
3. All three Kings give Atila hostages. Alferius sends his son, Waltarius; Eriricus his daughter Ildegunde; Gibico, Agano. C. viii.
4. Waltarius is the legitimate son of Alferius, sprung from noble lineage. C. viii.
5. Ildegunde, the daughter of Eriricus, is fair. C. viii.
6. Waltarius and Ildegunde were betrothed before leaving home. C. viii.
7. Waltarius, Ildegunde and Agano are all reared by Atila and Ospirin. C. ix.
8. Waltarius and Agano become the foremost of Atila's hosts; Ildegunde, keeper of Ospirin's treasure. C. ix.
9. Agano hearing that Cundharius has succeeded to Gibico's throne and refused tribute to the Pannonians, makes his escape to his royal master. C. ix.

NIBELUNGENLIED:

Ezele (Etzele, Ezel) King of the Huns (276, 6) has subdued twelve kingdoms (188, 6; 212, 4) and three dukedoms (188, 6; 212, 4) and is everywhere feared for his power (203, 6).

Hagene, son of Adrian, and vassal of Gunther, together with Walther von Spâne, was hostage at Ezele's court (268, 3, 4). Hiltegunt is also at Ezele's court (268, 3).

Walther von Spâne (268, 3; 258, 2); der von Spâne (274, 4).

Hiltegunt (268, 3).

Hagene and Walther grew up at Ezele's court (268, 3).

Hagene and Walther fought many battles in honor of King Ezele (274, 4).

Hagene is sent back by Ezele (268, 3).

GRAZ FRAGMENT.

1. [Ezel the king and his] "wlp"
[rule over the Huns] (2, 1, 1).
2. Pre-supposed in the situation.
(cf. Nos. 3, 7).
3. For Hagene, Walther and Hilte-
gunt (cf. No. 7).
4. Walther's noble lineage is
doubtless implied in Hage-
ne's praise of Hiltegunt. (cf.
No. 6).
5. Hiltegunt's noble birth proba-
bly implied in the statement
that she would grace an em-
press' crown (1, 1, 1).
6. Hagene says he stood by when
they [Walther and Hilte-
gunt] were betrothed [before
they came to the Huns] (1, 2, 1);
cf. also Hiltegunt's waiting.
7. Hagene, Walther and Hilte-
gunt are among the Huns [at
Ezel's court?] (2, 1, 2).
8. [Walther and Hiltgunt proba-
bly occupy situation of *Wal-*
tharius, while] Hagen dis-
tributes gifts to the Huns. (2,
1, 2; cf. 1, 2, 2).

9.

VIENNA FRAGMENT.

Ezele (Ezel) and Helche are King
and Queen of the Huns. (1, b, 12).

Walther, Hildegunt and Hagne,
probably as in *Waltharius*. Cf.
1, a, 10; 1 b, 12 ff.

Walther is son of Alker and his
queen, Hilde. (Cf. 2, 2 f.; 1, b,
18).

Walther was always at the front in
Ezele's wars, and is to be the
'*purgatōr*' of the Huns, (1, b, 14).

BITEROLF UND DIETLEIB.

ALPHARTS TOD.

1. Etzel and Helche are king and queen of the Huns (cf. 284 ff.; 334 ff.).

2.

3. Walther (762 ff.), Hagen (4809 ff.); Hildegunt (767 ff.) are all at Etzel's court [as hostages]; W. and H., are knighted by Etzel. (cf. 770-1).

4. Walther is son of Biterolf's sister (671, 2108); Alpkere's child (9904, 9952, 10112) is recognized as from Spanjelant from his shield (615 ff.) and is called king of Spanjelant (575 ff.) and 'der von Kärlingen' (2105, 5092); resides in Paris (694 ff.).

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

Walther, 'geborn ûz Diutschlant' (426), is called 'von Kerlingen' (77 ff.).

ROSENGARTEN.	DIETRICH'S FLUCHT.	RABENSCHLACHT.
1.	Etzel and Helche are king and queen of Hunland (5008 ff.).	Etzel and Helche are king and queen of the Huns (26, 4).
2.		
3.		Walther is Etzels vassal (553, 3).
4. 'Walther von dem Wasgenstein,' one of the boldest knights (princes) by the Rhine (32 f., 235 f.) 'ein here von Wasgensteine' (1407) 'geborn von Kerlinc' (F. 1. 66).	'Walther von Lengers' (5902); 'von Kerlingen' (8638); 'der ellens rich' (7360).	'Walther der Lenge-saere' (47, 714); cf. 'mit ellens hant' 715.
5. Di schöne Hilte-gunt claps her hands at Walther's victory (F. 2. 11).		
6.		
7.		
8.		
9.		

THIDREKSSAGE.

BOGUPHAL'S CHRONICLE.

1. Attila, King of Hunland, has his seat at Susat, his capital. c. 241.

2.

3.

4. Valltari, the son of Ermenrikr's sister, is sent by Ermenrikr as hostage to Attila at the age of twelve years. c. 241.

5. Hildigundr, the daughter of Jarl Ilias of Greece, is sent as hostage to Attila, at the age of seven winters. C. 241.

6.

7. Valltari and Hildigundr remain at Attila's court. C. 241.

8. Valltari and Hildigundr have positions, perhaps as in the Waltharius.

9.

Walterus Robustus is a count, having a castle, Tynecz, near Cracovia, and is of the stock of King Pompilius.

Helgunda is the daughter of a certain king of the Franks.

Waltharius, Helgunda, and the son of a certain king of Almania, are all at the court of Helgunda's father.

Walterus, is distinguished for his sweet singing, with which he wins the princess.

PAPROCKI.

BIELSKI.

1.

2.

3.

4. Walcerus, Count of Tyniec, is young and fair.

Walcer, Count of Tynec, is of the family of Topór.

5. Heligunda is a French princess.

Heligunda is the daughter of a French king.

6.

7. Walcerus, Heligunda, and Arinaldus, a German prince, are at the court of the French King.

Walcer, Heligunda (and probably a German) are at the court of the French king.

8. Walcerus serves at the king's table. Arinuldus sues for the hand of Heligunda.

9.

NIESIECKI.	PROCOSIUS.	WÓJCICKI.
1.		
2.		
3.		
4. Walcer, Count of Tyniec of the house of Topór.	Walgierz, the older brother of Zbiludi, is called Wdaly, and is lord of Tyniec, Pregonia, etc.	Wdali Walgerz, count of Tyniec, is fair, courageous and skillful.
5. Heligunde is a French [princess].	Heligunda, daughter of a certain king of Gaul.	Helgunde, daughter of a Frankish King, is fair.
6.		
7. Walcer, Heligunde, and Arinaldus, a german Prince, are at the French king's court.	Walgierz, Heligunda, are [at the King's court] in France.	Walgerz, Helgunde and Arinoldus, a German Prince, are at the court of the Frankish King.
8.		
9.		

WALDERE.

10. Waldere is not chided for cowardice in combat, but is called a far-famed warrior. A, 12 ff.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19. Guðhere seeks combat unjustly. A, 26 f; (cf. 20).

20. Guðhere expected in vain that Hagena's hand should have given Waldere battle and worsted him. B, 14 ff.

21.

22.

WALTHARIUS.

Waltharius wages new wars, returns victorious, 170 ff.; finds Hiltgunt in Attila's hall, and asks her to flee with him to his native land. 221 ff.

Hiltgunt hesitates but finally assures herself of W.'s sincerity. 235 ff.

Waltharius bids her be ready in a week with treasures for the journey. 260 ff.

Waltharius after seven days prepares a great feast for Attila, administers the potion to the Huns and escapes with Hiltgunt. 287 ff.

Waltharius' steed is called Leo. 327.

Attila hearing of the escape offers rich reward for the capture of the fugitives; but no one ventures pursuit. 360 ff.

In 40 (14) days Waltharius comes with Hiltgunt to the Rhine. 428 ff.

Waltharius pays the ferryman with fish caught on the journey. 434.

The next day Guntharius learns through the fish and the ferryman of Waltharius' return. Hagano recognizes in W. his old friend and Guntharius rejoices in the return of Gibicho's treasure. 440 ff.

Guntharius, with twelve knights, (among whom is Hagano) goes in pursuit of the treasure. 475 ff.

Hagano recalling Waltharius' valor and his own vow of friendship tries in vain to dissuade G. from the attack. 478 ff., also 518 ff. 617 ff.

Waltharius and Hiltgunt seek shelter in a narrow pass (of the Vosagus); W. sleeps while H. watches. 489 ff.

Hiltgunt sees Guntharius and his men approach and awakes Waltharius saying: "The Huns are upon us." 532 ff.

NOVALICIAN CHRONICLE.

10. Waltarius wages new wars for Atila, returns crowned with victory, finds Ildegunde in Atila's hall and asks her to escape with him. C. ix.
11. Ildegunde hesitates; but soon assures herself of Waltarius' sincerity. C. ix.
12. Waltarius bids Ildegunde be ready in seven days with provisions for the journey. C. ix.
13. Waltarius after seven days prepares a feast, administers the potion, and escapes with Ildegunde. C. ix.
14. Waltarius' steed is called Leo. C. ix.
15. Atila hearing of the escape of W. and H., offers rich reward for their capture; but no one ventures pursuit. C. ix.
16. In forty days, Waltarius comes with Ildegunde to the Rhine. C. ix.
17. Waltarius pays the ferryman with fish he had caught on the journey. C. ix.
18. Cundharius learns the next day through the fish and the ferryman of Waltarius' return. Agano recognizes his old companion at Atila's court, and Cundharius rejoices in the return of Gibico's treasure. C. ix.
19. Cundharius with twelve knights (among whom is Agano) pursues the fugitives in quest of the treasure. C. ix.
20. Agano, recalling his friendship and fate with Waltarius and the valor of W., tries in vain to dissuade Cundharius from the attack. C. ix.
21. Waltarius and Ildegunde seek shelter in a pass; the former then rests while the latter keeps watch. C. ix.
22. Ildegunde sees Cundharius and his men approach and arouses Waltarius, saying "the Huns are upon us." C. ix.

NIBELUNGENLIED.

Walther escapes with Hiltegunt from Ezele's court (268, 3).

Cf. Hagene's indifference in the combat (No. 25).

GRAZ FRAGMENT.

VIENNA FRAGMENT.

10.

11.

12.

13.

Walther so took leave of the Huns
that they must lament, for he
slew many of their kindred. (1,
b, 12-13. Cf. 2, 13). Hildegunt
recalls with gladness how Wal-
ther brought her from the Huns.
(2, 4).

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

22.

BITEROLF UND DIETLEIB.

ALPHARTS TOD.

10.

11.

12.

13. Walther has returned [with
Hildegunde] from the Huns
(575 ff.; 620 ff.).

14.

15. Walther is attacked by Rūdi-
gere because of the abduction
of Hildegunde (7644 ff., etc.).

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

22.

ROSENGARTEN.	DIETRICH'S FLUCHT.	RABENSCHLACHT.
10.		
11.		
12.		
13.		
14.		
15.		
16.		
17.		
18.		
19.		
20.		
21.		
22.		

THIDREKSSAGE.

10. Valltari meets Hildigundr at a feast of Attila and asks her to flee with him. C. 242.

11. Hildigundr hesitates, but is at length assured of Valltari's sincerity. C. 242.

12. Valltari bids Hildigundr come at sunrise, with treasures, to the city gate. C. 242.

13.

14.

15. Attila hears of the escape of Valltari and Hildigundr, and sends twelve of his men after the fugitives. One of the twelve is Hoegni, son of Aldrian. C. 243.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

22.

BOGUPHAL'S CHRONICLE.

Walterus wins Helgunda's favor by nightly song, and persuades her to flee with him to his native land.

Walterus seeing his opportunity, escapes with Helgunda.

Walterus comes with Helgunda to the Rhine.

Walterus pays the ferryman with a mark of gold.

The Prince of Almania pursues Walterus. (Cf. No. 27).

PAPROCKI.

BIELSKI.

10. Walcerus wins Heligunda by his nightly song, and induces her to escape with him.

Walcer wins Heligunda, but her father objects because Walcer is a foreigner.

11.

12.

13. Walcerus and Heligunda escape to Poland.

Walcer and Heligunda escape at night, taking with them treasure.

14.

15. Arinaldus pursues the fugitives. (Cf. No. 19).

The German, Walcer's rival, pursues the fugitives.

16. Walcerus comes with Heligunda to the Rhine.

17. Walcerus pays the ferryman a mark of gold.

18.

19. Cf. No. 15.

20.

21.

22.

NIESIECKI.	PROCOSIUS.	WÓJCICKI.
10. Walcer wins Heligunde by his beauty and attractive manner, and induces her to flee with him to Poland.	.	Walgerz wins Helgunda's favor by nightly song, and persuades her to flee with him to Poland, as the King objects to their union.
11.		
12.		
13. Walcer and Heligunda escape to Poland (cf. No. 10.)	Walgierz abducts Heligunda from France.	Walgerz escapes with Helgunde.
14.		
15.		Cf. 19.
16.		Walgerz comes with Helgunde to the Rhine.
17.		Walgerz pays the ferryman a mark of gold.
18.		
19.		Arinoldus pursues Walgerz.
20.		
21.		
22.		

WALDERE.

WALTHARIUS.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 23. | Hiltgunt is fearful and beseeches Waltharius to kill her to save her from the foe. Waltharius reassures her of the fidelity of his sword, which has served him in many battles. 545 ff. |
| 24. Guðhere refuses the sword and treasure. A, 28 f. | Guntharius refuses Waltharius' proffers of peace and orders the attack. 640 ff. |
| 25. | Waltharius slays 11 knights; Guntharius and Hagano withdraw to the wood. 668 ff. |
| 26. | Waltharius and Hiltgunt rest during the night and continue their journey the next morning. 1151 ff. |
| 27. Waldere challenges Guðhere. B, 14 ff. | Guntharius and Hagano leaping from ambush renew the attack; Waltharius encourages Hiltgunt and challenges his foes. 1210 ff. cf. No. 23. |
| 28. Cf. Waldere's sword A. 24, and Mimming, Weland's work, A, 2-3. | Waltharius cleaves with his sword (long sword, cf. short sword v. 1390) Guntharius' thigh, cf. No. 8 and 23. 1364. Loses his own right arm at Hagen's stroke, 1381 ff.; thrusts out Hagano's eye, knocks out three of H.'s teeth. 1393 ff. |
| 29. | The combatants are reconciled and Hiltgunt binds their wounds and administers wine. 1405 ff. |
| 30. | The Franks return to Worms and Waltharius with Hiltgunt continues his journey to Aquitaine. 1446. |
| 31. | Here the wedding of W. and H. is celebrated, and Waltharius reigns thirty years after Alphere's death. 1448 ff. |
| 32. | Waltharius' subsequent battles and triumphs referred to. 1451 ff. |

NOVALICIAN CHRONICLE.

NIBELUNGENLIED.

23. Ildegunde is fearful and beseeches Waltarius to slay her to save her from the foe. W. reassures her. C. ix.

24. Cundharius refuses Waltarius' proffers of peace and orders the attack. C. ix.

25. Waltarius slays all of the knights except Cundharius and Agano, who dissemble flight. C. ix.

Walther slew many of Hagene's friends before the Waschstein, while Hagene sat upon his shield (358, 2).

26. Waltarius continues his journey. C. ix.

27. Cundharius and Agano leap from their concealment and renew the attack. C. ix.

28.

29. The enemy, weary of combat and thirst, are unable to subdue Waltarius. They see a flask of wine hanging from Waltarius saddle C. ix.

30.

31.

32. Cf. Waltarius' career in the monastery. C. x.-xiii.

GRAZ FRAGMENT.

VIENNA FRAGMENT.

23.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

29.

Walther [is reconciled with Gunther and] has safe escort at Volker's hand through Gunther's land (1, b, 16); but cannot pass through Metz, as Ortwin, the ruler is hostile to him. (1, a, 4).

30.

Walther announces his return to Alker who, with the queen Hilde, rejoices and sends summons to his men to go forth to welcome Walther and Hildegunt. (1, a, 8 ff).

31.

Walther and Hildegunt celebrate their wedding. (2, 6, ff). Alker will make Walther lord in his [Alker's] lands, and Walther is to become the Hun's '*purgetör*.' (1, b, 14).

32.

BITEROLF UND DIETLEIB.

ALPHARTS TOD.

23.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28. Walther bears Wasge, his
weapon, far-famed (12286, 10-
481, 642 ff.)

29.

30.

31.

32. Cf. Walther's encounter with
Biterolf and his protection of
Biterolf's land.

Walther's sword rings like a bell
(373, 3).

Cf. Walther's exploits in the vari-
ous episodes of this epic.

ROSENGARTEN.	DIETRICH'S FLUCHT.	RABENSCHLACHT.
23.		
24.		
25.		
26.		
27.		
28.		
29.		
30.		
31.		
32. Walther part in the Rosengarten episodes.	Walther's part in this epic.	Walther's deeds in this epic.

THIDREKSSAGE.

23. Hildegundr is fearful at the approach of the Huns, but Valltari reassures her, saying that he has seen shields cleft before. C. 243.

24.

25. Valltari slays eleven of Attila's men and Hoegni escapes into the forest. C. 244.

26. Valltari and Hildigundr refresh themselves with wild boar's flesh. C. 244.

27. When Valltari and Hildigundr have eaten bare the boar's back, Hoegni renews the attack. C. 244.

28. Valltari hits Hoegni with the boar's back-bone, tearing out his eye and rending his chin. C. 244.

29. Ermenrikr reconciles Attila by sending him rich gifts. C. 244.

30. Hoegni returns to Attila; Valltari and Hildigundr continue southward over the mountains to King Ermenrikr. C. 244.

31.

32. Valltari has contest with Thetleifr C. 128-129; is set over the castle Gerimsheim C. 151; is slain in combat with Villdifer C. 331.

BOGUPHAL'S CHRONICLE.

Walterus slays the Prince of Almania in single combat.

Walterus and Helgunda continue their journey to Tynecz.

Waltherus' combat with Wyslaus in second part of the saga.

PAPROCKI.

BIELSKI.

23.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28. Walcerus slays Arinaldus in
single combat.

29.

30. Walcerus and Heligunda con-
tinue their journey to Tynieć.

31.

32. Walcerus' combat with Wisli-
mier.

Walcer slays the German in single
combat.

Walcer and Heligunda continue
their journey to Poland.

Walcer's combat with Wislaw.

NIESIECKI.	PROCOSIUS.	WÓJCICKI.
23.		
24.		
25.		
26.		
27.		
28.		Walgerz slays Ari- noldus in single combat.
29.		
30.		Walgerz and Helgun- de come in safty to Tynieć.
31.		
32. Walcer's combat with Wislimer.	Walgierz's combat with Vislimirus.	Walgierz's combat with Wislaw.

From the parallel view of the contents of the versions of the Walther Saga the following conclusions may be drawn:—

1. That the chief episodes of the Saga are preserved in all three of the full texts: the Waltharius or Alemannic version; the *Þidreks-Saga* or Old Norse version; Boguphali Chronicon or the Polish version. Correspondences in these three texts are as follows:—

- a.* Walther's sojourn at a foreign court;
- b.* Walther's betrothal with Hildegunde at the court;
- c.* Flight of Walther and Hildegunde;
- d.* Pursuit of the fugitives;
- e.* Walther vanquishes his foes in single combat.
- f.* Walther and Hildegunda continue their journey homeward;
- g.* Walther's exploits after his return home.

2. That each of these three versions presents a different grouping of Ethnical elements.

A.—Alemannic Version:

- a.* Attila, King of the Huns, marches against Gibicho, King of Franks; Heriricus, King of the Burgundians; and Alphere, King of the Aquitanians.
- b.* Walther, son of Alphere, is sent as hostage to Attila.
- c.* Hildegunde, daughter of Heriricus, is sent as hostage to Attila.
- d.* Hagen is sent by Gibicho as hostage to Attila.

B.—Old Norse Version:

- a.* Attila, King of the Huns, having his seat at Susat, forms an alliance with Ermenrick, King of Puli (Apulia?).
- b.* Walther, son of Ermenrick's sister, is sent with twelve knights by Ermenrick as hostage to Attila.
- c.* Hildegunde, daughter of the Jarl of Greece, is hostage at Attila's court.
- d.* Hagen, son of King Aldrian, is at Attila's court, and is sent by Attila, with eleven other knights, to pursue Walther.

C.—Polish Version:

- a.* In place of Attila and his court (as represented in the other two versions) we have here a King of the Franks and his court.
- b.* Walther, the Robust, Count of Tynecz, in Cracovia, sojourns at the court of the King of the Franks, to learn the arts of chivalry.

- c.* Hildegunde, daughter of the King of the Franks, is at her father's court.
- d.* Instead of Hagen, we have here the son of the King of Alemannia who is at the court of Hildegunde's father. Wyslaus the Handsome, Chief of Wylicia, is in a sense the representative of Hagen, as Gunther's ally.

2. HISTORICAL ELEMENTS OF THE WALTHER SAGA.

The border land between saga and history is still enchanted ground. The old historians were fond of making forays into this magic realm to supply the missing chapters of their chronicles. Less chivalrous, though not less bold some adventurous scholars of the present generation have donned the veiling-cloak and dragged the facts of history back into the mists of saga and myth.

It seems time now, if ever, to base the investigation of the saga (and so far as possible the myth) upon a firm historical foundation. By this procedure alone will it ever be possible to separate the historical from the mythical element. Even this method may not enable us to arrive at well-established identification of many mythical and historical personages¹; but it will clear the atmosphere and banish many fog-brewers from the domain of Heroic Saga and make possible the science of the Heroic Saga.

The essential germ of the historical method was recognized by the great pioneer investigators in this field, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.² Since the days of the Grimms and their successors, Lachmann and Müllenhoff, the mythical and poetical methods of saga interpretation have seemed at times to vie in no unequal contest with the historical. At present, however, the historical method is beginning to take firm hold upon the study both of myth and sage.³ In determining the historical background of a saga two considerations must be kept in view :

First:—That there are various strata or channels of history along which events are transmitted, and that the most trustworthy of these is the written record. But the range of events recorded in the chronicles is as narrow as the events are sparse.

Secondly:—That behind or around the written records lies a vast unwritten chronicle which is transmitted through the memory of succeeding generations. In this latter medium of transmission facts assume the character of living forces, forming new combinations, taking on new proportions, acquiring new fervor and varied colors, according as the aims, the prejudices, the conditions, or the imagination of the narrator may dictate. It is this second medium of

¹ Cf. Vigfusson and Powell, "Siegfried-Arminius" (in Grimm Centenary); Heinzel, "Hagen-Actius" ('Über die Walthersage,' s. 75 ff.)

² J. Grimm, "Gedanken über Mythos, Epos und Geschichte" (Kl. SS. 4. 74 ff.); W. Grimm, "Zeugnisse über die deutsche Heldensage," D. Wälder, 1. 195 ff.

³ Cf. Beer, *Germania* xxxiii, 1 ff.; Bugge, "Über die Entsteh. d nord. Gotter-u. Helden-sagen"; Heinzel, "Über die Walthersage"; and "Über die Ostgothische Heldensage" (*W. Stzber.* 119, iii); Symons (in Paul's *Grundriss*, ii, 1 ff.).

transmission, *tradition*, which constitutes the chief source of the saga ; and it is as much the duty of the investigator to keep in view the trend of tradition underlying the development of saga as it is his duty to hold fast to his historical moorings. In short, in the study of culture and belief in whatever form, it is quite as important to know what tradition says as to know what recorded history recounts of the great men and events of the past. But in order to separate the historical and mythical element of the saga, we must begin with history.

The Saga of Walther of Aquitaine contains clearly recognizable historical elements. Before proceeding to the treatment of the so-called mythical elements, it will be well to eliminate and examine the historical. The following characters have a well-authenticated historical record: Ermanric, Dietric, Attila, Helche (Erka), Gibico, Guntharius. It will be in place here to recall the essential facts of their career as transmitted by history, in order to secure a suitable point of departure.

Ermanric.—Ammianus Marcellinus, Ermanric's contemporary, gives the following account of him :

Igitur Hunni pervalis Alanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines Tanaitas consuetudo nominavit, interfectisque multis et spoliatis, reliquos sibi concordandi fide pacta iunxerunt : eisque adiunctis, confidentius Ermenrichi late potentes et uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicossimi regis, et per multa variaque fortiter facta vicinis nationibus formidati. Qui vi subitae procellae percussus, quamvis manere fundatus et stabilis diu conatus est, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatus fama, magnorum discriminum metum voluntaria morte sedavit (31, 3.)

Jordanes' account of Ermanric is briefly as follows :

Some time after the death of Geberic, who was the King of the united Gothic peoples about 331, Ermanric (Ermanaricus) the noblest of the Amali, followed as King of the Goths. He subjugated many northern peoples to his rule, so that the old historians fittingly compared him to Alexander the Great. After having conquered the "Gothos, Scythias, Thuidos in Aunxis, Vasinabroncas Merens, Mordensimnis, Caris, Rocas, Tadzan, Athual Navego, Buhegentas, Col-das,"⁴ he marched against the Heruli. Having subjugated these he vanquished in turn the Veneti, Antes (Entes), Sclavi (Sclaveni), the Aestes along the coast of the German Ocean, "so that he ruled over all the peoples of Scythia and Germania as over his own subjects."

The tragic end of Ermanric is thus related by him as follows :

Quod genus expeditissimum multarumque nationum grassatorem Getae ut viderunt, paviscunt suoque cum rege deliberant, qualiter tali se hoste subducant. Nam Ermanaricus, rex Gothorum, licet, ut superius retulimus, multarum gentium extiterat triumphator, de Hunnorum tamen adventu dum cogitat. Rosomonorum (Rasomonorum Rosomorum, Roxolanorum) gens infida quae tunc inter alios illi famulatum exhibebat, tali eum nanciscitur occasione decipere. Dum enim quandam mulierem Sunilda (Sunihil, Sunielh) nomine ex gente memorata pro mariti fraudulento discessu rex furore commotus equis ferocibus inligatam incitatisque cursibus per diversa divelli praecipisset,

⁴ Cf. Cap. 23.

fratres eius Sarus et Ammius (Iammius, Aminus, Ammus) Germanae obitum vindicantes, Ermanarici latus ferro petierunt; quo vulnere saevius egram corporis imbecillitate contraxit. Quam adversam captans Balamber (Belamber, Balamir, Balamur) rex Hunnorum in Ostrogothorum parte movit procinctum, a quorum societate iam Vesegothae quadam inter se intentione seiuncti habebantur. Inter haec Ermanaricus tam vulneris dolore quam etiam Hunnorum incursionibus non ferens grandevus et plenus dierum centesimo decimo anno vitae suae defunctus est. Cuius mortis occasio dedit Hunnis praevalere, in Gothis illis quos dixeramus orientali plaga federe et Ostrogothas nuncupari. (Cap. 24.)

It is evident at a first glance that Jordanes has drawn his account, in part at least, from an already well-developed Ermanric saga, but a comparison of his account with that of Ammianus will show that certain trustworthy historical facts are common to both and constitute a firm historical basis for the Ermanric saga (cf. Ths. below). What the later chroniclers—Flodoardus ('Hist. Eccles. Remensis,' 4, 5); Chronicon Quedlinburgense (Menken, 'SS. Rer. Germ.,' iii, 170); Ekehardus ('Chronicon Urspergense,' p. 85^a); Otto von Freisingen (Chronicon v, 3); Saxo Grammaticus (Stephan, L. viii, p. 154-157)—have to say of Ermanric, where not based upon Ammianus and Jordanes, must be regarded as history highly tinged with the color of mediæval tradition, and belongs rather to the Saga than to the history of Ermanric.

Herminericus, one of the two Roman Consuls in the year 465, may be mentioned here as having had some possible influence upon the traditional account of the great Gothic King Ermanric of the fourth century.⁵ This Herminericus was the son of Aspar, a Goth or Alan, and survived Aspar, who was assassinated in 471, A. D.⁶

Hermeric, leader of the Suevi in 411, A. D., may possibly have been confused in the popular mind with the somewhat similar name of the Gothic Ermanric (Hermanaric). The record of Hermeric's career is brief. He appears as leader of the Suevi 411, A. D., when they, with the Asding Vandals under Gunderic occupied Galicia.⁷ Hermeric and his Suevi were attacked by Gunderic and the Asding Vandals in 419, A. D., and shut in among the Nervian mountains for a year.⁸ Hermeric led the Suevi into the territory abandoned by the Vandals to Genseric; but Hermeric was defeated by Genseric near Merida and, compelled to flee, perished in the waters of the Guadiana.⁹

Theoderic, the East Goth.—The account given of Theoderic the East Goth by Jordanes,¹⁰ Procopius,¹¹ Anonymus Valesii,¹² briefly summarized, is as follows:

Theoderic born about 454, A. D., was the son of Theodemir, one of

⁵ Cf. K. Hofmann, *Ans. f. d. A.*, xiv, 289.

⁶ Roncallius, *Vetustiora Latinorum Scriptorum Chronica*, ii, 587. Patavii, 1787.

⁷ Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen,' i, 144. ⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 147. ⁹ *Ibid.*, i, 151.

and Celts surprised Attila at Orleans and caused him to retreat to the plain of Champagne between Châlons and Verdun or, according to Jordanes and his authority Cassiodorus, to the Catalaunian plains. Here the armies met and in that world-renowned battle which turned the tide of Hunish conquests from the West and banished the "Scourge of God" from the banks of the Rhine. The following year (452-53) Attila advanced into Italy and plundered Aquileja, the Venetian territory, the plain of Lombardy even to the Po. Soon after this (453), Attila died of hemorrhage on the bridal night with his new wife Ildico.

Erca, Helche.—Before attempting any discussion of the three different names given to Attila's queen in the Walther Saga, let us see if traces of them are to be found in history. Here mention is made of two of Attila's numerous wives, Kreka (Lat. Cerca) and Ildico, whose names are not unlike Erca and Helche of our Saga.

Kreka. Priscus²⁰ gives the following account of Kreka, Attila's queen:

Ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸν Ἀττήλα περίβολν ἀφικνοῦμαι, δῶρα τῇ αὐτοῦ κοιῖζων γαμετῇ. Κρέκα δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἦρχε τῶν Ἀκατίρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν νεμομένων τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πόντον Σκυθικήν. Ἐνδον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πλείστα ἐτύγχανεν οἰκήματα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ στανίδων ἐγγλύφων καὶ ἡρμοσμένων εἰς εὐπρέπειαν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ δοκῶν κεκαθαρμένων καὶ πρὸς εὐθύτητα ἐπεξεσμένων, ἐμβεβλημένων δὲ ζύλοις [κύκλους] ἀποτελοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κύκλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀρχόμενοι εἰς ὕψος ἀνέβαινον μετρίως. Ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττήλα ἐνδικαιτωμένης γαμετῆς, διὰ τῶν πρὸς τῇ θυρᾷ βαρβάρων ἔτυχον εἰσόδου, καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ στρώματος μαλακοῦ κειμένην κατέλαβον, τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρέας πιλωτοῖς τοῦ ἐδάφους σκεπομένου, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδίζειν. Περιεῖπε δὲ αὐτὴν θεραπόντων πλήθος κύκλῳ καὶ θεράπανται ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀντικρὺ αὐτῆς καθήμεναι ὀθόνας χρώμασι διεποίκιλλον, ἐπβληθήσομενας πρὸς κόσμον ἐσθημάτων βαρβαρικῶν. Προσελθὼν τοῖνυν καὶ τὰ δῶρα μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν δοὺς ὑπεξήειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐβάδιζον οἰκήματα, ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπεκδεχόμενος ὅποτε ἐπεξέλθοι Ὀνηγησίος· ἥδη γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκημάτων ἐξεληλύθει καὶ ἔνδον ἦν. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἰστάμενος πλήθους (γνώριμός τε γὰρ ὧν τότε Ἀττήλα φρουροῖς καὶ τοῖς παρεπομένοις αὐτῷ βαρβάροις ὑπ' οὐδενὸς διεκωλυσμένη), εἶδον πλήθος πορευόμενον καὶ θροῦν καὶ θόρυβον περὶ τὸν τόπου γινόμενον, ὡς τοῦ Ἀττήλα ὑπεξιόντος. Προῆει δὲ τοῦ οἰκηματος βαδίζων σοβαρῶς, τῇδε καὶ περιβλεπόμενος. Ὡς δὲ ὑπεξελθὼν σὺν τῷ Ὀνηγησίῳ ἔστη πρὸ τοῦ οἰκηματος, πολλοὶ (δὲ) τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων προσήεσαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν ἐδέχοντο. Εἴτα ἑπανήει ὡς τὸ οἶκημα, καὶ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἤκοντας βαρβάρους ἐδέχετο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥέκαν (leg. καὶ Κρέκα, ut supra) ἡ τοῦ Ἀττήλα

²⁰ Mullerus' 'Fragmenta' (Didot's Ed.), iv, 89, 93.

γαμετὴ παρὰ Ἀδάμει τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔχοντι δειπνεῖν ἡμᾶς παρεκάλει. Καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες ἅμα τισὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους λογάδων φιλοφροσύνῃς ἐτύχομεν. Ἐδεξιοῦτο δὲ ἡμᾶς μειλιχίοις τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐδωδίων παρασκευῇ. Καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν παρόντων Σκυθικῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κύλικα ἡμῖν πλήρη διανιστάμενος ἐδίδου, καὶ τὸν ἐκπιόντα περιβαλὼν καὶ φιλήσας ταύτην ἐδέχετο. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐλθόντες ἐς ὕπνον ἐτράπημεν.²¹

The account of Kreka given by Priscus is, then, briefly this: As Attila's queen (*par excellence*, it would seem) she bears him three sons, the eldest of whom was made King of the Acatiri, the others becoming *reguli* of other tribes or nations; she is presented with gifts by the Roman legate, Maximus; she invites the Romans to a feast and has domestic treasures of which Adamis is the custodian. While Kreka was doubtless the historical original of Erca (Herkia, Herche, Helche), the last of Attila's wives, Ildico, can scarcely have been forgotten by the saga-tellers.

Ildico. Jordanes gives the following account of Ildico, Attila's last wife, and of the fatal bridal night:

Qui [Attila], ut Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis suae tempore puellam, Ildico nomine, decoram valde, sibi in matrimoniam post innumerabiles uxores, ut mos erat gentis illius, socians, eiusque in nuptis nimia hilaritate resolutus vino somnoque gravatus resupinus jacebat redundansque sanguis, qui ei solite de naribus effluebat, dum consuetis meatibus impeditur, itinere ferali faucibus illapsus cum extinxit. Sequenti vero luce, quum magna pars diei fuisse exempta, ministri regii, triste aliquid suspicantes, post clamores maximos fores effringunt inveniuntque Attilae sine vulnere necem sanguinis effusione peractam, puellamque demisso vultu sub velamine lacrimantem."²²

This account of Jordanes seems to be based upon a lost chapter of Priscus, hence the interpretation of a part of Jordanes' cap. 49 as cap. 23 of Priscus.²³

Gibica.—Gibica appears among the names of the Burgundian Kings of worthy memory, mentioned in the 'Lex Burgundionum,' iii:

"Si quos apud Regiae memoriae auctores nostros, id est Gibicam, Godomarem, Gislaharium, patrem quoque nostrum et patruos, liberos fuisse constiterit, in eadem libertate permaneant: quicunque sub eisdem fuerint obnoxii servitute, in nostro dominio perseverunt." (Bouquet, iv, 257, E).

Gundicarius, King of the Burgundians, is mentioned as a contemporary of Aëtius and Attila. His compact with Aëtius, who had worsted him in war in the year 435, A. D., is thus recorded in the Chronicle of Prosperus Aquitanus:

"Eodem tempore [about 435, A. D.] Gundicarium Burgundionum Regem intra Gallias habitantem Aëtius bello obtinuit, pacemque ei

²¹ *Ibid.*, iv, 93. ²² Cap. 49. ²³ Cf. Mullerus (Didot), iv, p. 101.

supplici dedit; qua non potitus est, siquidem illum Chuni cum populo suo ac stirpe deleverunt." ²⁴

Gundicarius' defeat by Attila in the following year (436) is mentioned by Paulus Diaconus in his 'Libello de Episcopis Mettensibus' as follows:

"Eo igitur tempore [436 A. D.], cum reverendus his Praesul vitam cunctis virtutibus decoratum duceret, Attila Rex Hunnorum omnibus bellis crudelior, habens multas barbaras nationes suo subjectas dominio, postquam Gundigarium Burgundionum Regem sibi occurrentem protriverat ad universas deprimendas Gallias suae saevitiae relaxavit habenas." ²⁵

The same event is referred to in the 'Historia Miscella' by Paulus Diaconus:

"Attila itaque primo impetu, mox ut Gallias ingressus est Gundigarium regem Burgundiorum sibi occurrentem protrivit, pacemque ei supplicanti dedit."

In this account of Attila's subjugation of the Burgundians (436), there is doubtless confusion of the overthrow of Gundicarius by the Huns, serving as Roman mercenaries (436), with the expedition of Attila (451).²⁶ May not the two divisions of Attila's army in 451 have further confused the account?

Guntiarius.—Olympiodorus of Thebes, states²⁷ that Guntiarius (Greek form Guntiarios) praefect (*φύλαρχος*) of the Burgundians, and Goar, praefect of the Alans, proclaimed Jovinus Emperor at Mainz 411, or 412. That this Guntiarius is the same as Gundicarius mentioned above, seems probable. In the minds of later generations at any rate they would naturally have become identical.

It is possible, also, that traces of other famous characters of the same, or similar names, have been added to some of the traditional accounts of Gundicarius; as, for example, of Gundericus, the king of the Vandals.

Gundericus, King of the Vandals, from 406–428. The main facts of Gundericus' career are the following: In the year 419 at the head of the Asdings, he attacked Hermericus, the leader of the Suevi, and held them shut in for a year among the Nerva Mountains. Having united the Alans to his kingdom, he formed a host superior to the Suevi, Goths and Romans. In the year 422 his Vandals and Alans defeated Castinus, the Roman *magister militum*, together with his West Gothic mercenaries, compelling them to flee, with the loss of twenty thousand men, to Tarragona. In the year 425 Gundericus made conquest of the cities of Carthage and Sevilla. About two years later, 427 or 428, Gundericus perished in battle, probably while fighting against the Suevi. According to tradition, he was visited by God's chastisement for plundering the churches in Sevilla.²⁸

²⁴ Bouquet, i, 631, B. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 631; Pertz, ii, 262.

²⁶ Cf. Wietersheim, G. d. V., iv, 353 ff. ²⁷ Mullerus, 'Fragmenta' (Didot, iv).

²⁸ Cf. Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen,' i, 143–151, 182, 210, 215, 241.

The foregoing historical account furnishes an ample historical background for the Walther Saga. It requires no forced reasoning to identify in the characters of the Saga, Attila, King of the Huns; Kreka, his queen; Ermanric, King of the Goths; Theoderic, the Ostrogoth; Gibica, the King of the Burgundians; Gundicarius, also King of the Burgundians at the time of their overthrow by the Huns, while they dwelt along the Rhine—the epical period of their history. Thus a comparison will show that Attila corresponds to Attila and Etzel of the Saga; Kreka to Erca, Herche, Helche (cf. Müllenhoff *Zeitschrift*, 10, 170 ff.; Grimm *Hs3.* 76, 393); Ermanric to Ærminrikr; Theoderic to Deodric, Dietrich, Thiðrekr; Gibica to Gibico and Gibicho; Gundicarius to Guðhere, Guntharius (cf. Jahn, *Gesch. d. Burg.* i, 303). The name Ospirin given to Attila's queen in the Waltharius seems to be peculiar to this version of the Saga (cf. *Zeitschrift*, 10, 171 ff.).

3. LEGENDARY ELEMENTS.

In addition to the historical elements, which are readily identified, the Walther Saga contains a class of characters which, doubtless, reflect actual history, but which can only be indistinctly traced in the historical records handed down to us. To regard these characters as purely legendary is to ignore the relation of history to tradition, and to misconceive the processes by which the historical Saga is developed. On the other hand, to begin the interpretation of such characters by tracing them in the Eddic Lays is to complicate the problem and vitiate the conclusions; because these Lays, though in many cases containing very early forms of the Sagas, present these characters in combination with distinctively Northern legendary and mythical elements.

Thus the characters which we designate as Legendary: Hagen, Heriricus, Hildegunde, Alphere, Walther; and the knights, who attack Walther in single combat at the Wasgenstein: Camelo, Ekevid, Eleuter (Helmnod), Gerwicus, Hadawart, Kimo (Scaramundus), Patavrid, Randolph, Tanastus, Trogus, Wurhardus—if not traceable in historical record, are at least the outgrowth of a historical past and not inventions, pure and simple. This is clear from the faint historical traces of the names, which may be briefly stated here.

Hagen. Heinzel²⁹ has made a skillful attempt to identify Hagen with Aëtius, and the coincidences between the two he sums up briefly as follows:

1. The name Hagathiau for Hagen's father in the Waltharius;
2. The repeated sojourns of Aëtius among the Huns, as hostage and fugitive, and the sojourn of his son there as hostage;
3. The historical position of Aëtius; first as friend, and then as foe of the Huns; consequently as friend of the Germanic foes of the Huns, the Burgundians;
4. The Burgundians fighting on the side of Aëtius against Attila, in the year 451;
5. The Germanizing of Aëtius by his marriage with a Gothic princess;
6. The diplomacy of Aëtius, which might appear as the cowardice of Hagathiu;
7. The accusation of Aëtius as the assassin of Attila through Hildico;
8. The avenging of Attila's murder by his subjects.

²⁹ 'Walther Saga,' S. 63 ff.; 75 ff. 'Nibelungen Saga,' W. S. B. 109, 672, 114, 495.

Besides these, the general accord that both were great warriors and commanders, and that in the 'Nibelungenlied' Hagen is *Scharmeister*, as Aëtius was *magister militum*.

Other considerations in Heinzel's argument are perhaps even more weighty than some of the coincidences noted above. Such are:

1. Identification of Aldrian, Hagen's father, with Alaric I, the West Gothic king, at whose court Aëtius lived from about his tenth to his fourteenth year, Alaric's affection for Aëtius thus giving rise to the popular tradition that he was Aëtius' father.

2. The possible confusion in Epic tradition of this Alaric with Alaric II, who ruled in Gaul and fell at Vouglé while fighting against the Franks, in the year 507.

Whether Heinzel's identification of Hagen with Aëtius be accepted or rejected, it must remain a masterly attempt at historical interpretation of obscure legendary elements.—Scherer's identification of Walther with Aëtius will be discussed below in connection with Walther.

If we turn, now, to find the name of Hagen in history, our eye falls first upon one closely resembling Hagen, Aigyna (Aighyna, Aiginus) the principle events of whose career, so far as they are recorded, are the following: 30

In 626 A. D. Aigyna guarded, as duke, the Frankish frontier along the banks of the Garonne, against the inroads of the Wascons. In the same year he effected the banishment of Palladius, and his son Seducus, Bishop of Toloso, for having been accomplices in the uprising of the Wascons. The following year he allowed his rival, Ermenar, to be assassinated at Clichy, thus giving rise to a seditious outbreak. In the year 635 he led a corps of the Burgundian-Frankish army (probably his own retainers) against Wasconia, and afterward conducted the humiliated Wascons to the palace of Clichy to obtain their pardon of Dagobert.

This Aigyna, whom Fredegar calls "a noble Saxon," seems to be the nearest approach in these early historical records to the Hagano (Haganus, Agano: 'Chron. Noval.') of the Walther Saga. It is not impossible that some of the situations in this Saga find their explanation in the career of Aigyna. The following considerations may be suggested here:

1. Aigyna is a noble Saxon; 31
2. Aigyna takes part in the Burgundian-Frankish attack upon the Wascons; 32
3. Aigyna, as duke under Frankish authority, would explain Hagen's coming from Troja (Tronje); 33

30 'Fredegarii Chronicum,' Cap. 54. 31 Cf. "Nobilis hoc Hagano," etc. W. 27.

32 Cf. Hagano's relation, as vassal of Gibicho and Guntharius. W. 29, 116 ff.

33 Cf. Hagen von Tronege, Nibelungenlied (Zarncke) 267, 7; Hagano . . . Indolis egregiae ueniens de germine Troiae. W. 28; Hagen aff Trönia, O. S. D. 365, 2; aff Tröya 340, 5; 367, 7.

4. Aigyna's position as protector of the Aquitainian border might explain Hagen's being witness at the betrothal of Walther and Hildegeunde.³⁴

5. Aigyna's conquest of the Wascons might have given rise to the conception of Hagen as the father of Hilde, of Portegal ; ³⁵

6. The cruel character of Aigyna would serve as the parallel for the grim-visaged Hagen of the Nibelungenlied.

7. Aigyna was also a contemporary of the furious Brunhilde (whose character is reflected in the Nibelungenlied ?).³⁶

What, then, is the value of this parallel between Aigyna, the Saxon, and Hagen, as compared with Heinzel's identification of Hagen and Aëtius? The situation at present with regard to these, as to many other legendary characters, is this: such identifications rest upon too bare a basis of detail to amount to positive proof. In the case of unmistakable historical characters like Ermanric, Theoderic, and Attila, whose deeds belong to the political history of the world, and have come down in written record, it is not difficult to follow the thread of history through mazes of myth and saga. But in the case of characters whose deeds have appeared in history either in desultory jottings, or where recorded more in detail, appear under names different from those handed down by legendary tradition, historical identification is peculiarly difficult, and is long in finding general acceptance. This is seen in the cases of the master attempts of Vigfusson-Powell, (Siegfried-Arminius) and Heinzel (Hagen-Aëtius).

The Hagen-Aëtius identification of Heinzel and the Hagen-Aigyna parallels given above, though in themselves not conclusive in every particular, do show this: that the historical back-ground furnished ample material for the development of such legendary characters, and that there is a strong presumption that the historical saga has combined in such legendary personages, as we know it has in the case of historical personages, the epic elements of characters widely separated in point of time and even locality. Hence there would be no inconsistency in supposing that certain traits of the character of Aigyna served to fortify the conception of Hagen-Aëtius the contemporary of Attila; particularly inasmuch as the grouping of events in the Walther Saga points to a period considerably later than the time of Attila. Heinzel³⁷ himself concedes the possibility of such anachronism:

"Die Erben der römmanischen Generale Aëtius, Aegidius und Syagrius in Gallien waren die fränkischen Könige. Es wäre demnach nicht auffällig, wenn die Sagengestalt Hagens Eigenschaften zeigte, welche auf die Merovinger wiesen. Das scheint bei dem Namen Hagen von Tronje der Fall zu sein."

This much seems clear concerning the legendary character, Hagen, as portrayed in the Walther saga:

³⁴ Cf. G. F. 1, 2, 1.

³⁶ Cf. Fregegar, C. 19 ff.

³⁵ Cf. Gudrun, 1936; Prose Edda; Grimm, Hs. 373 ff.

³⁷ 'Walthersaga,' s. 79.

1. The historical background contained the essential elements found in the character of Hagen;

2. The geographical localization of the character as Hagen von Tronege (Tronje, Troia) is justified by the actual existence of Trhonia, the modern Kirchheim in Alsatia, the identity of which has been clearly shown by Heinzel.³⁸

The form Troia in the 'Waltharius' might be explained as poetic confusion with the ancient Troja of his model Virgil; or as following up the tradition, that the Franks were sprung from Trojan origin,³⁹ or as coming directly from Nova Troja (Kirchheim).

3. The later appearance of the name Hagen in the documents of the eighth century point to the earlier existence and localisation of the name, and thus to the early development of the saga.

Heriricus.—Gregorius Turonensis⁴⁰ gives the following account of King Chararicus which is probably the Frankish form of Heriricus:

"Posthac ad Chararicum regem dirigit. Quando autem cum Siagrio pugnavit, hic Chararicus evocatus ad solatium Chlodovechi cuimus stetit, eventum rei expectans, ut cui eveniret victoria cum illo et hic amicitiam colligaret. Ob hanc causam contra eum indignans Chlodovechus abiit, quem circumventum dolis cepit cum filio, vinctosque totondit et Chararicum quidem presbyterum, filium vero ejus diaconem ordinari jubet. Cumque Chararicus de humilitate sua conquereretur et fleret, filius ejus dixisse fertur: In viridi, inquit, ligno hae frondes suecisae sunt, nec omnino arescunt sed velociter emergent ut crescere queant; utinam tam velociter qui haec fecit, intereat. Quod verbum sonuit in aures Chlodovechi quod scilicet minarentur sibi caesariem ad crescendam laxare, ipsumque interficere. At ille jussit eos pariter capite plecti. Quibus mortuis regnum eorum cum thesauris et populo acquisivit."

Chararicus is lauded by Malbrancus⁴¹ as *Rex Morinorum*. The Morini are mentioned by Virgil,⁴² Cæsar,⁴³ and in Cæsar's time occupied the country along the English Channel extending inland. Ptolemy⁴⁴ mentions two cities of the Morini, Gesoriacum or Bononia (Boulogne) and Taruenna (Thérouenne). D'Anville⁴⁵ says of their territory:

"En y joignant le Castellum Morinorum, on voit qu'outre le diocèse de Bologne le territoire des Morini embrasse les nouveaux diocèses de St. Omer et D'Ifre, qui ont succédé a celui de Terouenne."

If the territory of the Morini at this early period extended to Cassel, we may reasonably suppose that with the Frankish conquest of Gaul, they were pushed even farther inland and that in the traditional terminology of the fifth and sixth centuries the name still survived to designate the ethnical successors of this nation. Hence, there would be no incongruity in calling Chararicus the Frankish king *Rex Morinorum*, to indicate some political or ethnical relation of this king to that people.

³⁸ 'Walthersaga,' s. 80 ff.

³⁹ cf. Gregorius Turonensis

⁴⁰ Lib. ii, c. 42.

⁴¹ Lib. iv, c. 38.

⁴² Aen., viii, 727.

⁴³ R. G., iv., 21.

⁴⁴ ii, 9 § 8.

⁴⁵ 'Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule,' p. 466.

Further we have mention in Gregorius Turonensis ⁴⁶ of Chararicus king of the Suevi in Spanish Gallicia, and father of Theodemirus. It was in the time of Theodemirus, who was made king about 559, that the Suevi were converted to the Catholic Faith.⁴⁷ There may have been some confusion in the popular mind between Chararicus king of the Morini and Chararicus king of Gallicia. The geographical position of the latter would suggest such confusion.

It seems not at all improbable that Chararicus, as Frankish King ruling over the Burgundian territory after its subjection to Frankish authority, should have come to be regarded as King of the Burgundians. This is the more plausible, as the confusion of Frankish and Burgundian relations is already evident in the Walther Saga, where the Burgundian Gundicarius is represented as King of the Franks. If, then, we have succeeded in identifying the Heriricus of the saga with the Chararicus of Gregorius Turonesis we shall have established another bond of the close relationship of our saga with its historical background.

Hildegunde.—In the case of Hildegunde, whom the Saga calls the daughter of Heriricus, the actual historical background is not so clear. The name itself, however, together with the name of Hilde, Alker's queen, and presumably Walther's mother, points unmistakably to Burgundian-Frankish origin. The name Hilde is an almost constant quantity in Burgundian-Frankish history of the Merovingian period, as indeed of the Sagas connected with the period. We need but recall some of the most prominent Chlotchilde, Brunhilde, Balthilde, not to mention the names of men, Childebert, Childerich. So, too, the second part of the name occurs in Fredegunde and the ethnic name itself Burgunde.

The coincidence of the first part of the name Hildegunde with Hilde, the presumable mother of Walther, suggests the close ethnical and political relationship of Burgundians and Aquitanians at the time when the Alemannic version of the Saga developed. Compare the fact that Heriricus and Alphere had betrothed their children in early childhood. This may indicate also a family relationship existing between the two Kings.

One other point remains to be noted here: that the form Hildegunde contains the stem element of the name Hildico ⁴⁸ (Ildico) Attila's last spouse. It is not unlikely that this may have given rise to the name of this royal hostage, Hildegunde, who held such a responsible position at Attila's court. Then, too, the last fatal feast of Attila on the night of his nuptials with Ildico, may have left its traces in the feast which Walther and Hildegunde prepare—note in particular the potion, the long sleep.

⁴⁶ 'De Virtutibus' S. Martini, Lib. i, c. 11.

⁴⁷ 'De Reg. Gothorum,' Cap. 90.

⁴⁸ The masculine form corresponding to Hildico is borne by one of the two Vandals, *Præpositus* Heldicus and Cubadus. Cf. Dahn, 'Könige der Germanen,' i, 217, 232, 236.

The name of *Childechinda*, the daughter of Chilpericus I occurs in early Frankish history.⁴⁹ While this form can scarcely be identified with that of Hildegunde, it indicates together with those mentioned above, that the name Hildegunde belongs to Frankish-Burgundian soil; and hence need not be a poetic creation, pure and simple (as Heinzel would seem to suggest,) in imitation of the forms Hilde, Hildeburg, Hildeswidh, Helisant, in similar tales ("in den ähnlichen Erzählungen nachgebildet");⁵⁰ but like these is doubtless traceable to Burgundian-Frankish tradition of the sixth century. This, at least, is evident: that the Hildegunde of the Walther Saga harmonizes with the historical elements and conditions out of which the Saga grew, and is not in any version of the Saga a vague, mythical character, but a genuine, legendary personage of flesh and blood, reflecting actual history.

Alphere.—The name of Alphere, father of Walther, and king of the Aquitanians, (according to the Waltharius) seems to have escaped the old chroniclers. San-Marte⁵¹ recognizes the name in Alf or Half, son of Hialprek and spouse of Hiordisa, Sigurd's mother. This Alf is not to be confounded with Alf the Old, son of Ulfr, mentioned in Helga-Kvida i, 215, and Hyndluliod.⁵² The Nornagest Saga⁵³ gives us more reliable information concerning Hialprek. It calls him king in Frankland, and this evidently refers to the historical Hilpericus (Chilpericus, 561–581). Compare also Hilpericus who ruled contemporaneously with his brother Gundiocus as king of the Burgundians, from about 437 to 470.⁵⁴ Here again we find ourselves in the midst of Burgundian-Frankish events, as in the case of the names Hagen, Heriricus and Hildegunde discussed above.

Whether there be a family connection between this Alf of the Edda and Alphere must remain a matter of conjecture. Jacob Grimm⁵⁵ cites names of similar ending (Folchere, Gunthere)—which, by the way, belong to the Burgundian-Frankish region—and suggests that M. H. G. form Alphêr, instead of the regular form Alphere (=Goth. Albharis) may be due to confusion with Alpkêr (=Goth. Albgáis).

There remains, however, another point to consider: whether the name Alphere is to be connected with the Lombard heroic cycle of which Alboin (Ælfwine, Elfwine) is the central figure. A number of considerations make it quite probable that there was some connection between the two:

1. The similarity of the first element of the names Alphere (<Alb-hari) and Alboin (Alb-wine).
2. The frequent intercourse between the Lombards, Burgundians and Franks.

49 Cf. Bouquet, iii, 68 D, 209 C. 50 'Walthersage,' S. 82.

51 'Walther von Aquitanien,' S. 36 ff. 52 Cf. Simrock, 'Edda,' S. 119–120.

53 Chap. 3 and 4.

54 Cf. Binding, 'Gesch. d. burgundisch-romanischen Königreichs,' S. 38 ff.

55 Haupt, *Zeitschrift*, 5, 3.

3. The fact that the first element (see below) in the name of Alphere's son, Waldhere (Waltharius), and even the full name Waltari itself appear in Lombard Chronicles; compare Waldrada,⁵⁶ the second daughter of Wacho and Austrigusa, and wife of Scusuald, King of the Franks; and *Waltari*, son of Wacho and Sigelenda, and Wacho's successor as King of the Lombards. Note also the name of the Lombard Justinian, Rothari, in this connection. If then this connection be established, we have Alphere related to the great sagacycle of the Lombard kings.

We have already seen family intercourse between the Lombard and Frankish royal houses in the marriage of Waldrada and Scusuald. If we turn again to Frankish-Aquitania history⁵⁷ we find about six generations after Alboin or Ælfwine, the name Waifarius on Aquitanian soil. This Waifarius appears as Aquitanian *Princeps* between 758-68, A. D., and has under his command the Wascons of the little Wasco-Toulousan State (or Kingdom?) founded by Felix 660-70, A. D. The name Waifarius looks like a near relative when placed by the side of Alpharius (Alphere), and Waltharius. May we not have here a lost link in the Lombard-Aquitania (or Lombard-Frankish) relationship?

It would seem from this that J. Grimm⁵⁸ was not so far wrong in suggesting that there may have been a saga of Alphere as well as of Walthere:

"Aber auch die Saga von Alphere, seinem [Walthere's] vater, ist uns nicht verschollen, und ich zweifle kaum dass es davon epische lieder gab."

As evidence of such an Alphere Saga he cites from the Kolocz Codex, S. 189-240.

"ich bin *Alpharius* genannt
und hân ouch bürge und lant
enhalbe (enenthallen) über Rin."

Waltharius.—In this part of the treatise are given the occurrences of the name Waltharius in Lombard and Franco-Gallic history before 1000, A. D. Perhaps the earliest considerable account of the name is that given by Paulus Diaconus:⁵⁹

I, 21. "Habuit autem Wacho uxores tres, hoc est, primam Ranicundam, filiam regis Thuringorum. Deinde duxit Austrigosam, filiam regis Gepidorum, de qua habuit filias duas. Nomen uni Wisegarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theodeberto, regi Francorum. Secunda autem dicta est Walderada, quae sociata est Cusupaldo, alio regi Francorum, quam ipse odio habens uni ex suis, qui dicebatur Garipald, in conjugium tradidit. Tertiam vero Wacho uxorem habuit Herulorum regis filiam nomine Saligam. Ex ipsa natus est filius, quem Walthari appellavit, quique Wachone mortuo super Langobar-

⁵⁶ Cf. Introduction to the 'Edictus Rothari'; Paulus Diaconis 'De Gestis Langobardorum,' lib. vi; Meyer, Sprach u. Sprachdm. der Langobarden,' S. 120-121.

⁵⁷ Cf. Fredegar 'Chr. Contin.' P. iv., c. 124-135; Perroud 'Des Origines du Premier Duché D'Aquitaine,' 115 ff.

⁵⁸ Haupt *Zeitschrift*, 5, 4 ff. ⁵⁹ 'De Gestis Langobardorum,' Lib. vi.

dos jam octavus regnavit. Hi omnes Latingi fuerunt; sic enim apud eos quaedam nobilis prosapia vocabatur. I, 22. Walthari ergo cum per septem annos regnum tenuisset, ab hac luce subtractus est. Post quem nonus Audwini regnum adeptus est, qui non multo post tempore Langobardos in Pannoniam adduxit."

Essentially the same account is found also in the "Origo Gentis Langobardorum,"⁶⁰ 'Chronicon Gothanum.'⁶¹ The name of Walthari occurs also in the introduction of the 'Edictus Rothari,'⁶² where he is called the ninth king of the Lombards instead of the eighth, as he is called in the passage quoted above.

Having thus traced the name "Waltharius" in Lombard history, we find it appearing next in Frankish-Galic records as follows:

1. Waltharius mentioned in "Diploma Pippini Regis pro Nundinis S. Dionysii," Anno 753.

2. Waltharius is mentioned as one of the signers in "Pippini Praeceptum pro constructione et dotatione Monasterii Prumiensis," Anno 762. (August thirteenth of the ninth year of Pippin's reign.)

3. Waltharius chorepiscopus, mentioned among those present at the synod *in ecclesia noviomensis*, Anno 814.

4. Waltharius vir nobilis (uxor Suanahilda, filia uxor Odalrici) circa anno 825, is attacked by Purchardus, leader of the Alamanni (ex 'Translatione Sanguinis Domini').⁶³

5. Waltharius abbas Augensis, circa 850.⁶⁴

6. Waltarius, "Regi Lothario a secretis," Anno 866.⁶⁵

7. Waltarius is mentioned in the document 'Ad Episcopus Regni Lotharii,' Anno 867.

8. Waltharius together with Gauslenus Fulco and Lautwinus executes the capitularies sent by King Charles to Burgundy.⁶⁶

9. Waltharius Walerus juvenis episcopus senonensis, nepos Waltherii Aurelianensis episcopi.⁶⁷

10. Walterus Aurelianiensium episcopus, sent by Hugo to King Ludovicus, Anno 879.⁶⁸

11. Walterius vir illustris in biturica civitate, Anno 917.⁶⁹

12. Walterius fidelis Richardi, Anno 918.⁷⁰

13. Walterius praefectus victuriaci castri, mentioned in Flodoardi Annales.⁷¹

14. Gualterius, sacerdos et monachus; mentioned in "Chr. Mon. Casinensis," as having the church or the monastery S. Mariae in Luco, Circa anno 950.⁷²

15. Valterus exchanges his possession in Villa de Losa for a part of S. Michaelis in Villa Torralias, circa 959.⁷³

16. Walterus (Gualterus) Augustudunensis episcopus, anno 991.⁷⁴

17. Walterus episcopus spirensis, anno 1004.⁷⁵

⁶⁰ Meyer 'Sprache u. Sprachdenk. d. Langobarden,' S. 110. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, S. 115.

⁶² *Ibid.*, S. 16. ⁶³ Pertz, iv, 448. ⁶⁴ Pertz, ii, 38. ⁶⁵ Pertz, i, 458, 472.

⁶⁶ Bouquet, vii, p. 667 D. ⁶⁷ Pertz i, 524, 525, 599. ⁶⁸ 'Annales Vedastini,' Pertz, ii, 197.

⁶⁹ Bouquet, ix, 715 D. ⁷⁰ Bouquet, ix, 717 C. ⁷¹ Pertz, iii, 401. ⁷² Pertz, vii, 634.

⁷³ Chr. St. Michaeli's in Pago Virdunensi, Pertz, iv, 81.

⁷⁴ Pertz, iii, 644, 646, 647, 658, 659, 663, 665, 689. ⁷⁵ Pertz, iii, 70.

Besides the name Waltharius, may be added here others closely resembling this in form, but of apparently very different etymological origin: Walcherius, Walgarius (Waldgarius), Waldericus, Walaricus (Walericus), Walaërius.

1. Walcherius, vir illustris, recorded "una cum fidelibus nostris": "id est Hagione, Theodberto, Remedio, Gerehardo Fulcario, Bovilone, Walcherio, Rauchingo, et Ermenaldo Comite palatii nostro." ⁷⁶

2. Walgarius father of Gervoldus, Episcopus Ebroicensis abbatis coenobii Fontanellensis, mentioned anno 787. ⁷⁷

3. Waldgarius, Episcopus Ferdensis, mentioned in Vita S. Anskarii, circa a. 848. ⁷⁸

4. Waltgarius "comes, nepos Odonis regis" mentioned in the "Regionis Chronicon," anno 892. ⁷⁹

5. Waltgarius Fresno, filius Guelfi, anno 898. ⁸⁰

1. Waldericus, Dux Francus, is mentioned by Fredegarius anno 636:

Anno xiv, regni Dagoberti, cum Wascones fortiter rebellarent, et multas praedas in regno Francorum, quod Charibertus tenuerat, facerent, Dagobertus de universo regno Burgundiae exercitum promovera jubet, statuens eis caput exercitus, nomine Chadoindum, Referendarium, qui temporibus TheudERICI quondam regis multis proeliis probatur strenuus: qui cum decem Ducibus cum exercitibus; id est: Arimbertus, Amalgarius, Leudebertus, Wandalmarus, Waldericus, Ermenus, Barontus, Chairaadus, ex genere Francorum, Chramneleus, ex genere Romano, Wilibadus Patricius ex genere Burgundionum, Aigyna ex genere Saxonum, exceptis comitibus plurimus, qui Ducem super se non habebant, in Wasconia cum exercitu perexissent, et tota Wasconiae patria ab exercitu Burgundiae fuisset repleta, Wascones de inter montium rupibus egressi ad bellum properant. ⁸¹

2. Walaricus (Walericus), Dux Francus, anno 711.

"Anno dccxi Walaricus duxit exercitum Francorum in Suavis." ⁸²

"Quand Walaricus duxit exercitum Francorum in Suavis contra Vilaris." ⁸³

3. Walaricus (Gualaricus) Leuconaënsis abbas. ⁸⁴

4. Walaeruis, comes Burgundionum, mentioned as one of the signers of the compact with Gundebaldus, King of the Burgundians. ⁸⁵

From the occurrences of the name of Walther, here cited, it may be possible to arrive at some conclusion as to the origin and nationality of our hero who is to be discussed more at length toward the close of this treatise. The facts are collected here with the other material setting forth the historical elements of the Saga. It is not meant that all the occurrences of the appellation Walther, as presented, have a connection with that of our hero, but that this enumeration shall serve

⁷⁶ Bouquet, iv, 714. ⁷⁷ Pertz, ii, 291; Bouquet, v, 315 A. ⁷⁸ Pertz, ii, 706, 707.

⁷⁹ Pertz, i, 604. ⁸⁰ Pertz, i, 608. ⁸¹ Clar. Codex, lxxviii.

⁸² 'Ex alliis Franc. Annal,' Bouquet, ii, 642, D. ⁸³ Bouquet, ii, 644.

⁸⁴ Ex Vita S. Walarici Abbatis Leuconaënsis; Bouquet, iii, 496. ⁸⁵ Bouquet, iv, 256.

⁸⁶ Chron. cap. 78.

as a record of the designation in history, and thus furnish some indication as to where the name, or group of names, left the most lasting impress on the historical record.

Walther's Opponents. Of the eleven knights, or warriors of Guntharius, who meet Waltharius in single combat, we have but vague information. As W. Müller⁸⁷ has pointed out, there are seven who belong doubtless to Frankish or Frankish-Burgundian territory: Camelo of Metz (581); Kimo, son of Camelo's brother, called also Scaramund (686); Hadawart of Worms (782, 831); Patavrid, son Hagen's sister (846); Gerwitus (or Gerwicus), formerly count "in Wormatiae campis"; Trogunt (or Trogus) of Strassburg (1009); Tanastus of Speier.

Attempts have been made to identify some of these warriors more closely. The name Camelo, is generally admitted to signify 'der Alte,' and its bearer was also called Ortwin according to J. Grimm,⁸⁸ Müllenhoff⁸⁹ and Scheffel-Holder.⁹⁰ Thus Ortwin, 'der Junge' of the Nibelungenlied, would correspond to Camelo's nephew Kimo (=Keim, 'der Jung'?) San-Marte thinks that Kimo's additional designation, Scaramund, points to other legendary accounts, and refers to the termination *-mund* in such names as Sigmund (who is a Frank in the Edda) and Faramund, the first Frankish King.⁹¹ To Tanastus is assigned by San-Marte⁹² a Frankish, or Celtic-Frankish origin, as is seen in Windegast, Wisogast, Arogast, Salegast. Some of the remaining names have been tentatively located: Ekevid, the Saxon, refers according to W. Müller⁹³ to the war between the West Goths and Saxons in the time of Euric. This author bases his view upon the account of Sidonius Appolinaris (8, 6, 9), who reports that Euric, the West Goth, vanquished the Saxons, who had come in ships to Aquitania. Lachmann would assign Randolf and Helmnod (or Eleuther) to Worms. J. Grimm and W. Müller, with better reason, would identify Randolf with Randolf of Milan (vassal of Ermenrich, according to 'Biterolf') and Randolf of Ancona (one of the Berner's men, according to 'Dietrichs Flucht'); and Helmnod with Helmnot ("Helmnot von Tuscan," cf. 'Alphart') who, in the 'Nibelungenlied' and in 'Alpharts Tod,' is a vassal of Dietrich. W. Müller concludes that they were Romans, or East Goths:

"Da nun beide durch ihre Herkunft nach Italien weisen, so darf man in ihnen Römer oder Ostgothen sehen, mit welchen beiden Völkern die Westgothen Kriege führten. Der 'contus ferratus' deutet bei Randolf auf die Ostgothen, der griechische name Eleuther ('*Ελευθερος*) bei Helmnod auf einen Angehörigen des römischen Reichs.⁹⁴

W. Müller's⁹⁵ attempt to make the last warrior *Ewurhardus* a Hun is not so successful.

87 'Mythol., d. d. Hs.,' 24. 88 'Lat. Ged.,' 116. 89 *Zs. f. d. A.*, vi, 440.

90 'Waltharius,' 3, 178; but cf. W. Müller, 'Mythol. d. d. Hs.,' 24.

91 San-Marte, 'Walther v. Aquitanien,' 40. 92 *Ibid.*, 40. 93 'Mythol. d. d. Hs.,' 24 ff.

94 'Mythol. d. d. Hs.,' 25-6. 95 *Ibid.*, 26.

2. RELATION OF THE VERSIONS.

I. ORIGINAL FORM OF THE SAGA.

The first step in determining the original form of the Saga, is to ascertain what elements, or episodes, are common to all the versions: or, if none are constant throughout all the texts, to find what episodes are most permanent. A glance at the analysis of the texts will show that certain incidents are uniform almost without exception, and others with but few variations. There are at least four episodes which recur consistently in all of the complete and most of the fragmentary versions of this Saga :

1. The sojourn at a foreign court. Walther and Hildegunde are together at court outside of Walther's land. (W, N C, Nl, probably G F and V F, BD, Ths, BC, P, B, N, PC, Woj.)

2. The escape. Walther flees with Hildegunde [and takes treasure with him] (W, NC, Nl, VF, BD, Ths, BC, P, B, N. PC, Woj.) The taking of treasure is a natural accompaniment of such escape and doubtless belongs to this episode, though it is not equally emphasized in all the versions.

3. Pursuit and combat. Walther fights with his pursuers in single combat. (WF, W, NC, doubtless in Nl, VF, BD, Ths, BC. P, B, probably N and P, Woj.) In BD the combat is between Walther and Rüdigere because of the abduction of Hildegunde; but this is doubtless a reminiscence of the same motive as that of the combat with the Huns in the Ths and VF.

4. Triumphant return home. Walther, victorious over his pursuers, continues his journey homeward with Hildegunde (W, wanting in NC doubtless by accident, VF, Ths, BC, P, B, implied in N and PC, Woj.) The NC account seems to break off abruptly before reaching the return of Walther and Hildegund.

There is also another episode or group of episodes, which many of the versions contain in some form or other. This is the account of Walther's exploits after his return. (W, NC, implied in VF, BD, Ths, BC, Woj.)

The fact that these general outlines are so consistently preserved in the great majority of the texts, and are contradicted by nothing in the fragmentary accounts of the Saga, furnishes a strong presumption that these episodes, the first four at least, belong to the original form from which the extant versions developed. It is to be noted, however, that while the general sketch of the Saga remains essentially the same, the details of the separate incidents vary greatly in the versions; for example, according to the first episode, the foreign court is

that of Attila in the Waltharius, Novalician Chronicle, Nibelungenlied, Vienna Fragment, Biterolf und Dietleib, Thidreksaga and, probably, in the Waldere and Graz Fragments, while in the Polish version it is the court of the king of the Franks. Again, the pursuit and combat in the Waltharius take place at the hands of Gunther and his men; while in Thidreksaga it is Attila's men who pursue and attack Walther; and in the Polish version, the Prince of Alamannia. Thus, in the German version of the Saga we have two combats mentioned; one with the Huns, the other with the Franks* (Burgundians). The question then arises whether one, or both, or neither, of these contests belonged to the original form of the Saga. The account of the combat with the Huns occurs in the Vienna Fragment, Biterolf und Dietleib and the Thidreksaga; while the contest with the Burgundians is mentioned in the Waldere, Waltharius, Novalicien Chronicle, Nibelungenlied, 'von dem übelen Wibe.' The fact that the notice of the battle with the Burgundians is found in the Waldere and Waltharius, shows that it had a place in the Saga as early as the ninth century. If, however, we allow time for the development of the essential differences between the Waldere and the Waltharius and assume with Symons,⁹⁶ that the Waldere is as early as the middle of the eighth century, we may reasonably date the separation of the Waldere and Waltharius forms at the beginning of the eighth century. If this be correct, it precludes the possibility of the very late development of the story of this combat. It is not improbable that the original form of the Saga from which the Low German and Alemannic versions (Waldere and Waltharius) developed, contained also the account of the contest with the Huns. That there was a faint reminiscence of such a struggle may possibly be inferred from the reference in Waltharius⁹⁷ to the vengeful rage of Attila, and his promise of rich reward for Walther's capture. Whether the combat with the Huns is "nur eine variation der ersten [der alemannischen gestalt] und gewis fränkisches ursprungs" as Mullenhoff⁹⁸ maintains, or is the more original, as Heinzel⁹⁹ thinks probable, is not yet clear. It seems more likely that both combat-episodes developed about the same time and were afterwards separated in the growth of the Saga. This much, however, seems certain from the almost constant occurrence of the battle incident in the versions, that the story of the combat was contained in the original form from which the extant texts have developed. Thus, the primitive setting of the narrative consisted not simply of an account of the escape home without notice of either contest ('Flucht in die Heimat'), as Heinzel¹⁰⁰ supposes; but of the sojourn at a foreign court (that of Attila); the escape with the maiden (Hildegunde); the pursuit and combat (with the Burgundians and, possibly, with the Huns), and the triumphant return. The story of the exploits of Walther after his return may have been added later to

⁹⁶ Pauls 'Grundriss,' ii, 10. ⁹⁷ v, 372 ff. ⁹⁸ Zeitschrift, xii, 273. ⁹⁹ 'Walthersage,' 62.
¹⁰⁰ 'Walthersage,' 62. * 'Franci Nebulones' in W.

these first four; but it must be remembered that these exploits, too, are implied, and in fact referred to, in the close of the *Waltharius*: ¹⁰¹

"Omnibus et carus post mortem obitumque parentis
Ter denis populum rexit feliciter annis,
Qualla bella dehinc vel quantos saepe triumphos
Ceperit, ecce stilus renuit signare retusus."

Having determined approximately the essential episodes of the form of the Saga which constituted the original of the extant versions, it remains to follow the development of this germ and thus trace the relation of the various versions to this original form and to one another.

In order to fix a point of departure, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain which text is the oldest. The analysis given above has shown conclusively, that the *Walther Saga* is based upon unmistakable historical events and is to be regarded accordingly as a historical product. Hence we are justified in applying historical criteria in ascertaining the age of the versions of the Saga.

Waltharius.—Referring again to the analysis of contents, the following may be deduced as a third generalization in the series of conclusions arrived at above: ¹⁰²

Of all the versions, *Waltharius* represents most faithfully the historical events contained in the saga, and is, therefore, apparently the oldest. ¹⁰³

1. Alemannic Version. Attila, King of the Huns, pushes his conquests westward, and attacks the nations beyond the Rhine: Franks, Burgundians, Aquitanians. All of this is essentially historical as recorded by the early chroniclers.

2. Old Norse Version. Attila, King of the Huns with his residence at Susat (or Susa), forms a league with Ermanric. Anachronism and confounding of the persons and plans are apparent, whatever explanation be given of the Ermanric and Susat here mentioned; ¹⁰⁴ such confusion indeed as we are accustomed to see in the epics of the thirteenth century.

3. Polish Version. Attila, Ermanric, the Burgundians and Aquitanians are all omitted; in their place appear Franks, Alemania (Ari-naldus) and Polonia (Wyslaus and Rynga). Here we lose all the details of the historical setting of the Saga and have a new ethnic element (the Polish) to account for.

It is evident from this summary that only in the Latin poem, *Waltharius*, is a strictly consistent grouping of historical events and characters preserved: the sharp outlines of Attila's conquest of western Europe; the participation of Burgundians, Franks, and Aquitanians in the struggle with the Huns; the relation with the Burgundians and Franks; the ultimate victory over the Huns; the historical

¹⁰¹ V., 1449-52. ¹⁰² Page 155-6. ¹⁰³ Cf. Müllenhoff, *Zeitschrift*, x, 163 ff.; xii, 274.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Holthausen, 'Soest in der *Thiðrekssaga*.' *PBB*, ix, 450 ff.

characters, Attila, Gibicho, Guntharius, Hagano (if we accept Heinzel's identification of Hagen with Aëtius); the unusually faithful representation of the geographical situation, as Attila's campaign westward beyond the Rhine; the position of Franks, Burgundians and Aquitanians; the localities west of the Rhine: Worms, Châlons, Metz.

So, too, the hero's career receives the most consistent treatment in the Latin poem. All the principle episodes of his activity are in keeping with the trend of actual events underlying the Saga. Nor is the hero called upon to play rôles which lie without the sphere of his skill as seems to be the case in the contest with Thetleifr in the Thidrekssaga. Moreover, in the Latin poem there is a clearer discrimination in the treatment of Saga cycles; a conspicuous absence of that indiscriminate jumble which permits Ermanric, Attila, and Theoderic of Verona, to appear as contemporaries in the Thidrekssaga. All these points combined, would lead us to look to the Latin poem as the clearest and earliest extant form of the Saga; and as an evidence of the great age, and excellent preservation of the original elements, which belong to the fifth century.¹⁰⁵

Waldere.—The MS. of the Waldere Fragments dates from the ninth century, which gives this version of the Saga the appearance of a greater age than that which can be claimed for the Waltharius. The question then is: which is older, the Waldere or the Waltharius form of the Saga? If we now compare the Waldere with the corresponding episode of the Waltharius we shall find that, while there is essential agreement, there are important differences between them. The situation of the Waldere is apparently this: Walther returning with treasure from the Huns is attacked by Gunther (unjustly, because Walther has made generous terms of peace); one after another of Gunther's men has fallen in single combat with Walther; at length comes Hagen's turn to fight with Walther. Here we begin to encounter difficulties; two different points of view regarding the speaker in A, are presented. The one which has most general acceptance is, that Hildigunde addresses Walther.¹⁰⁶ If this be assumed, the speech would seem to have reference to the moment in the combat when Hagen has attacked Walther (W., 1287 ff.) and shivered the latter's sword (W., 1374-5); whereupon Hildegunde inspires Walther with fresh courage, reminding him that the choicest of gifts lent him for his and her aid yet remains, referring probably to the sword which Gunther had refused.

According to the other view of the situation as represented by Heinzel, the speaker is a companion warrior of Walther and not Hildegunde, since the references in the speech to Walther's former combats do not fittingly come from a woman. If the speaker is not

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Heinzel, 'Walthersage,' S. 62 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Haigh, 'The Anglo-Saxon Sagas,' 130; Scheffel-Holder, 'Waltharius,' 171; Fischer, 'Zu den Waldere-Fragmenten,' 13.

Hildegunde, there would seem to be but one probable alternative, as Heinzel¹⁰⁷ believes; namely, it is Hagen who speaks. If this be assumed, the references to the virtue of Mimming, Weland's work, to Walther's valor in the sword-play, to Walther as *zwine min*, would be quite in place; the words *gifede to eoce unc* (A 25) would refer possibly to the sword given when Walther and Hagen were knighted by Etzel (BD, 770-71); the situation would represent the moment when Hagen has utterly refused to fight with Walther and given him the Sword Mimming, leaving him and Gunther to end the combat. This explanation would preclude the necessity of reconciling the references and courageous words in A with Hildegunde's timidity which is so prominent in the Waltharius. This explanation would make Hagen remain true to his old companion as the latter evidently had expected him to do (W, 1239 ff.). The passage contains real difficulties, but such as are of minor importance, and the general agreement in situation between WF. and W. is placed beyond question. In any case Stephens' order of the Fragments must be retained.

The Waldere Fragments contain, however, besides these variations of motive mentioned above, some references not found in the Waltharius: Gunther is called "wine Burgenda" (B. 14) not king of the Franks, as in W.; and reference is made to Theoderic or Deodric (B. 4), which shows a connection at this early period between the Saga of Walther and that of Theoderic; while in W. no trace exists of any such connection. This reference to Gunther as friend or lord of the Burgundians accords more closely with history and would seem to indicate a clearer, and hence earlier, conception of Gunther. The same point of view is found in Widsið, who represents Gifca as ruling the Burgends. With this conception of Gunther as a Burgundian, it is not easy to locate Hildegunde. We are left to conjecture, that she may have represented some province of Gothic or Frankish Gaul.¹⁰⁸

If we now turn to the Waltharius, we shall find that there is already clear recognition of the Saga of Weland in the reference to Waltharius' coat of mail as "Welandia fabrica" (965), which is a parallel to "Welandes geworc" in Waldere (A, 2). The question here is twofold: was the original given to Ekkehard I. by his master Geraldus,¹⁰⁹ a different version from that of the Waldere; or, did Ekkehard I. and his successors change their original by adapting it to Frankish conditions of a later time (tenth century¹¹⁰)? The following seems to be the most likely: The original of Ekkehard I. was an alliterative poem in German speech. The arguments for this are:—

1. Traces of such alliteration in the Latin Waltharius. Jacob Grimm¹¹¹ suggested such traces by translating the Latin back into German; as, for example, *Waltharius vocor ex Aquitanus sum generatus* (597)=*Walthari fona Wascôm; Hagano spinosus*=*Hagano*

¹⁰⁷ 'Walther Saga,' S. 11. ¹⁰⁸ Cf. *infra*. ¹⁰⁹ Scheffel-Holder, 'Waltharius,' 130.
¹¹⁰ Heinzel, 'Walther Saga,' 23-24. ¹¹¹ 'Lat. Gedichte d. x u. xi Jh.,' 99 ff.

Haganln, and others. Since Grimm's time, this view has gained ground. The results of Schweitzer¹¹² fortify afresh this theory by the addition of other examples; as, for example, *Caput attolens scrutatur* (535)=*Hebet das haupt und horcht*; *Absit quod rogitas mentis depone pauorem* (551)=*Ferne sei . . . forderest . . . forcht*. So, too, verses which correspond to lines in the *Waldere* and *Nibelungenlied*:

Svâtfâg and sœordvund æcg æfter ôðhrum—

Cruentus et laesus vir alter post alterum (cecidit).

Lif forle san odhdhe lange dôm . . .

Vitam relinquere vel longam gloriam . . .

Das liebe mit leide ze jungiste lone

Amoris dolorem novissimam mercedem esse;

2. The actual existence of such alliterative fragment of the Saga as preserved in the *Waldere*;

3. The survival of the Saga in the heroic form of the M. H. G. epic; as, in the *Graz* and *Vienna* Fragments;

4. The indirect evidence derived from the association of this Saga with other M. H. G. epics.

It seems probable that Ekkehard I. chose for his Latin poem the central episodes of his original (chief among which was the combat), and omitted such as did not harmonize with his conception of epic treatment. This is clearly indicated at the close of the poem; for example, where he sums up all of Walther's subsequent exploits of thirty years in half a dozen verses. In like manner, he may have omitted such references to the *Theoderic* and *Weland* Sagas as the *Waldere* contains. But that he essentially changed, or invented, episodes is the less likely as his main purpose seems to have been skillful translation into epic form rather than literary creation. That he should clothe the Saga with the classical adornment of Virgil or Prudentius as Peiper¹¹³ has shown, and give it the coloring of Monastic life of his time, as Geyder¹¹⁴ has presented, and invest it with the geographical and historical setting of a later period, is what we should naturally expect. But when due allowance has been made for such accretions and modifications, we shall have left what may be regarded as the essential kernel of the original German version of the Saga. This original was probably the Upper German (Alemannic) form, while the *Waldere* represents the Low German (Saxon?) form. Heinzel's¹¹⁵ objection that the primitive type of the 'Waltharius' cannot be of Alemannic origin because the poet represents Attila as passing the Araris and Rhodanus on his way from Worms to Châlons is, as the critic himself admits, only one evidence of the author's unfamiliarity with the geography of the region. Thus, we have in the 'Waltharius' a tenth century adaptation of an original German version, either contemporary with that of the *Waldere*, or slightly later.

¹¹² 'De Poemate Latino Walthario,' p. 50.

¹¹³ 'Ekkehardi Primi, Waltharius,' p. 80; W. Meyer, MSB (1873) 385 ff.

¹¹⁴ *Zeitschrift*, 9, 145 ff. ¹¹⁵ 'Walthersage,' 25.

2. LATER VERSIONS OF THE SAGA.

The *Novalician Chronicle* in Lib. ii, written before 1027,¹¹⁶ represents the form of the Saga as found in the Waltharius, but connects it with the life, or local tradition, of an old warrior who entered the cloister in Novalese. The first part of the Novalician account follows closely the St. Gall version, which had migrated thither evidently through monastic intercourse. The career of Walther in the cloister of Novalese has a parallel in the Legend of St. William, or in the *Chanson de Geste* of 'Guillaume au court nez.' The latter was like Walther an Aquitanian and, like him, abducted a princess from a heathen land. Heinzel¹¹⁷ suggests, that the germ of the account of the monks Walther and William, is possibly to be found in the life of King, or Duke, Hunwald of Aquitaine the son of Eudo, Waifhari's father, and King Pippin's opponent, who abdicated in the year 745 in favor of Waifhari and entered a cloister; but, after the death of his son, left the cloister, as an old man, and renewed his opposition to Pippin; and finally fled to Italy and fought on the side of Desiderius against Charles the Great. This and other similar legends may have given color and even episodes to the account of Waltharius, the Monk; but we doubtless have in the second part of the Novalician Saga the local tradition of a monk Waltharius whose early life was that of a warrior, and which local tradition was associated later by the Novalician Chronicler with the account of Waltharius *mannu fortis*,¹¹⁸ of the St. Gall version. It is not impossible, too, that we have in the Novalician Walther echoes, or associations, of the Lombard King Walthari; or even of a Lombard variation of the Walther Saga. If such be the case, it would explain the chronicler's presumably unjustifiable¹¹⁹ excerpts from the Waltharius. We have already referred to the possible, even probable, connection of the names Alpharius and Waltharius with the Lombard Walthari.

Graz and Vienna Fragments.—In these two M. H. G. Fragments, we have doubtless, the remains of a M.H.G. Epic of Walther and Hildegunde. The situation in GF, according to Heinzel's order of the leaves (which is evidently the correct one), is this: Hagen, having taken leave of Etzel and his Queen, distributes gifts to the Huns, and overhears Hildegunde making complaint to Walther, who is on the point of leaving her, and declaring her willingness to follow him.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Peiper, 'Ek. Prim. Walth.', xliv, et. seq. ¹¹⁷ 'Walthersage,' 26-7.

¹¹⁸ 'Casus St. Galli,' Cap. 9 (*Mon. Germ.*, ii, 117.) ¹¹⁹ Heinzel, 'Walthersaga,' 27; *Ans. f. d. A.*, xi, 67 ff.

Hagen interrupts the conversation and counsels Walther to marry her, saying that he (Hagen) was present when they two were betrothed. Whereupon Walther, sorry that Hildegunde has so long been without his attentions, assures her of his fidelity.

The narrative in VF, is as follows: Walther and Hildegunde are returning from the Huns, and come to Gunther's land (situated along the Rhine, with Worms, presumably, as capital), where they are received by Volker. The latter has come with sixty of his thanes from the Rhine, probably after the hostile encounter and the reconciliation with Gunther mentioned in W (though nothing is said of such encounter in the Fragment), to conduct them through the *Wasechen Wall* to Lengers; thither messengers are already sent in advance to announce Walther's arrival to Alker, his father. As they approach the city, they are welcomed by Alker and his retinue, whereupon preparations are made for the wedding of Walther and Hildegunde.

I cannot agree with Heinzel¹²⁰ that 1, 13 is a superfluous interpolation in the poem. The reference is clearly to the combat with the Huns, which is mentioned in the Thidrekssaga. Indeed, the correctness of the situation is clearly shown by Walther's hesitation (2, 16) to invite Etzel and Helche to the wedding feast. In the invitation to Etzel and Helche we may find an echo of the reconciliation between Attila and Ermanric, after the combat (Ths 244); and in the escort of Volker, that between Gunther (and Hagen) and Walther at the Wasgenstein (W, 1405 ff.).

Thus we have in the fragments, episodes of the earlier and later parts of the epic: in GF, preliminaries to the flight from the Huns; in VF, the return through Gunther's land to Lengers, and the reception by Alphere and Hilde preparatory to Walther's wedding and coronation. Thus, I would be inclined to regard these Fragments as parts of one and the same M. H. G. poem. The only argument against this is the apparent difference in strophic structure. The strophic forms, however, of these two Fragments have so close a resemblance to one another that the strophes of the separate poems differ scarcely more than single strophes in each fragment, hence they might belong to the same epic. Indeed, we have here what would seem to be a transition strophic form between that of the Nibelungenlied and that of the Gudrun, characterized by the cæsural and final rhyme of the former, and the closing long line of the latter. If the entire poem had been preserved, we should have found in it, perhaps, a third strophic form of the popular epic. It is likely that we have here the disconnected remnants of the great German epic of Walther, or Walther und Hildegunde, which is so familiarly referred to in 'Walther von der Vogelweide,' 'Nibelungenlied,' 'Biterolf und Dietleib,' and other epics of the 'Heldenbuch.'

If we now look for the relation to WF, and W of the form of the Walther Saga preserved in this original M. H. G. poem, we shall find

¹²⁰ 'Walthersage,' 17.

that the ethnical situation agrees essentially with that of WF. In VF, Gunther is called "vogt von Rine" (1, 19), and his land is "der Burgōnde lant," as in WF, B 14, he is called "wine Burgenda," while in W he is "King of the Franks." Thus, VF corresponds in situation to N1, BD, DF, and Rs, and belongs, doubtless, to the older form of the Saga. It is scarcely probable that the M. H. G. poem descended directly from the form of the Saga as contained in the Waltharius. The former would rather seem to be a more direct successor of the original popular form of the Saga, of which the Waldere poem was the Low German (Saxon) version.

Thidrekssaga.—The Old Norse Thidrekssaga belongs, doubtless, to the first half of the thirteenth century, to the reign of King Haakon Haakonson. The language and style clearly indicate that it cannot be later than this period.¹²¹ From the mode of treatment and order of the tales, it is evident that the Old Norse narrator drew from different versions of the Saga. No particular written form is mentioned as the source of the Old Norse version, but it appears from the prologue, which has been regarded as the work of the author of the Old Norse recension,¹²² that at least two different sources furnished material for the saga :

1. Sagas or accounts of German men ;
2. Old poems, or songs ;

both of which sources are mentioned in the prologue as follows :¹²³

"Thessi saga er samansett eptir sogn þyðeskra manna, en sumt af þeirra kvæðum er skemta skal rikum monnum ok fornort voru þegar eptir tiðindum sem segir i þessari sögu. Ok þo at þu takir einn mann or hverri borg um allt Saxland. Tha munu þessa sögu allir a eina leið segja. en þui vallda þeirra hin fornu kvæði."

This period represents the high-water mark of saga telling. As another passage from the prologue indicates, the fame of this Saga traversed almost all the lands of Europe :

"Saga þessi hefzt ut a Pul ok ferr norðr um Lungbardi ok Fenidi. i Svava. i Ungaria. i Pulina land. i Ruzia. i Vindland. i Danmork ok Sviþiod. um allt Saxoniam ok Frakland ok vestr um Valland ok Hispaniam."

The Thidrekssaga contains some peculiar and striking divergences : Walther is the son of Ermanric's sister, and not of Alphere, as in WF, W, VF. Hildegunde is the daughter of Iarl Ilias of Greece. Ermanric, Attila and Theoderic are regarded as contemporaries. All this harmonizes in the main with the anachronisms of the German Theoderic epics of the thirteenth century.

If we now look for the relation of the Thidrekssaga to the Waldere, we shall find a possible connection in the references to the Weland and Theoderic stories. The probable relation may be stated somewhat as follows : the Low German version, the Saxon form of which is found

¹²¹ Unger, p. iv ; Müller, *Sagabibliothek*, ii, 276 ff., places it in the fourteenth century.

¹²² Müller, *Sagabibl.* ii, 278. ¹²³ Unger, p. 2.

in the Waldere, connected the sagas of Walther, Weland, and Theoderic, and lived on in the German songs referred to in the prologue of the Thidrekssaga. In the thirteenth century, particularly from the time of Haakon Haakonson forward, the intercourse between Scandinavia and Southern Europe resulted in a new importation of German sagas to the north. On the other hand, the intercourse with Novgorod, through the commerce of the Hanseatic League, brought the north of Europe into touch with Russia and Byzantium. Hence we find, as might be expected, in the Thidrekssaga, a thirteenth century fusion of all these sources into the prose narrative of Theoderic.

The Old Swedish version is evidently very closely related to the Old Norse Thidrekssaga. According to Hyltén-Cavallius,¹²⁴ it is an abbreviated translation of the Old Norse text or MS. ("en förkortad öfversättning af den fornnorska sagan, märkligt nog, utarbetad efter just samma skinbok") worked out between 1449 and 1476, probably soon after the former date.

Polish Versions.—The so-called Chronicle of Boguphal, or Great Polish Chronicle as it has been called since Warmiski, has been found by the researches of Warmiski¹²⁵ and Kętrzyński¹²⁶ to be a compilation of the fourteenth century. For the earlier periods, this compilation drew from Vincentius Kadłubek, or sources derived from him; and for the period between 1217 and 1272, from the Great Polish Annals, in the composition of which Boguphal, Bishop of Posen (d. 1253), seems to have had a smaller share than Godyslaw Baszkø, the *Custos* of Posen, who lived till the end of the thirteenth century. Though Vincentius served as a source of chapter twenty-nine of the Chronicle, it must be remembered that the section of this chapter containing the Walther saga is one of a large number of accounts for which no source has as yet been agreed upon. There is some probability that the account of Walther and Hildegunde was interpolated at a later period, as it is related with events of the twelfth century, and not with the legendary accounts of the early heathen period,¹²⁷ to which the chronicle refers this saga. Heinzl¹²⁸ is, perhaps, not far from the truth in supposing that the chronicler drew, in part at least, from oral sources—a prose tradition, or even a lay after the order of the Danish "Kæmpeviser."

But when we examine the later Polish accounts of Walther and Hildegunde, we find reference to other sources. Paprocki mentions as his authorities an Anonymus (thought by Semkovicz,¹²⁹ to be the same as the Great Polish Chronicle, but considered by Heinzl, with better reasons, to be one of the originals of the Chronicle) and Andreas of Zarnow, to whom are to be ascribed variations found in

¹²⁴ 'Didrik af Bern,' p. iv; Unger, 'Saga Thidriks Konungs af Bern,' p. viii.

¹²⁵ 'Die Grosspolnische Chronik.' Krakau, 1879.

¹²⁶ *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*, 1880, 269-280; 1882, 863.

¹²⁷ Cf. Röpell, 'Geschichte Polens,' i, 51 ff.

¹²⁸ 'Walthersaga,' 36.

¹²⁹ Cf. Antoniewicz, *Ans. f. d. A.*, iv, 111.

Paprocki, but not in the Chronicle; such, for example, as the name Arinaldus for Walther's rival; and Rynga for Wislaw's sister; and Wislimier for Wislaw; and other matters of detail.¹³⁰

Bielski, in the first part of his account, may have made use of either Paprocki or the Chronicle; but in the second part he agrees with the Chronicle rather than with Paprocki, particularly in mentioning Wislaw as Prince of Wislica, and in the details of the encounter with Wislaw. Another item of Bielski's account, that Walther and Hildegunde take treasure with them, would seem to indicate a third source connecting Bielski's account more directly with the Waltharius version. The further touches peculiar to Bielski; as, the unwillingness of the Frankish King to allow Walther to have Hildegunde because he was a foreigner, could find a ready explanation in the animosity existing between Poles and Germans. Niesiecki, Wójcicki, and the later Polish chroniclers, drew their materials doubtless, from the Great Polish Chronicle, Paprocki, and Bielski.

A comparison of the Polish with the German versions shows:

1. That the general outlines of the Saga are preserved in the Polish, though the episodes and ethnical grouping are materially changed;
2. That the Polish version is a fusion of two evidently heterogeneous parts, a foreign, and a native; the first containing episodes of the Walther Saga; the second, a union of this Saga with that of Wislaw, or (as Paprocki, and presumably, Andreas of Zarnow, have it) of Wislimier;
3. That Walther combats against one foe, not many (twelve), as in W, Ths.

That the Polish form of the Saga cannot have been derived from Ekkehard's Waltharius, is evident from the fact that most of the characteristic details of the St. Gall version are wanting in the Polish.¹³¹ How, then, did the original, or originals, of the Polish versions come to Tyniec? Passing over Rischka's argument for the existence of the Saga in Poland before the *Folkwandering* as untenable (see below), we find no evidence that the Saga migrated to Poland before the second half of the tenth century (962) when Poland, under Prince Misaca, or Mscislaw, became tributary to the German Emperor, Otto I. Mscislaw married Dubrawka, the Christian daughter of Boleslaw I; and in 966 accepted Christianity, thus bringing Poland under Christian influence. Otto I. encouraged all efforts to missionize among the Poles. Thus the German sagas may have found their way to Poland in the time of Mscislaw, "the first historical Piast, the actual founder of Poland."¹³²

As to the founding of the Monastery at Tyniec there are two views; Długosz states that it was founded in 1044 by Kazimierz, who, according to tradition had been a monk at Clugny before he came to

¹³⁰ Cf. Heinzl, 'Walthersage,' 42-3. ¹³¹ Rischka, 22 ff.

¹³² Schieman (Onken), 'Gesch. Polens,' 390.

power, and established in the Monastery at Tyniec some Benedictine Monks from Clugny, placing over them as abbot a certain Frenchman, called Aaron. Röpell¹³³ claims, however, that the Monastery at Tyniec was founded earlier, by Boleslaw the Great. Here is possibly a second avenue, leading directly from France, by which German sagas may have reached Poland in the tenth century, a generation after Ekkehard wrote his Waltharius.

The term *Wdaly* applied in the Polish version to Walther, has been shown to be Russian.¹³⁴ This would suggest a migration of the Saga *via* Novgorod.¹³⁵ Nehring explains the transference of the Saga to Poland from chap. 241 of the Thidrekssaga as due to the confusion of Púl, Púll (Apulia), with Pulle (Poland). Thus he finds in the Polish version a combination of Walther's relationship to Ermanric, as in the Thidrekssaga, with the crossing of the Rhine, as in Waltharius. Of the parallel between the song of Walterus and of Horand in Gudrun, too much, perhaps, has already been made. It is at best an incidental touch in the saga.

To sum up, then: the Walther Saga may have come into Poland through Hanseatic intercourse between Germany and Novgorod, and from Germany or France, directly, through German intercourse with Poland. The form of the Saga thus introduced may have combined elements found in the original of Ekkehard's Waltharius, and in one or more of the originals of the Thidrekssaga, and may have had a separate existence in Poland until it was at length united with the saga of Wyslaus (or perhaps in another form with Wislimierz), and finally localized at Tyniec. The immediate occasion of this localization may have been, as Nehring and Heinzel think, the epitaph of a certain Helgunda, which was seen there by Andreas of Zarnow, as late at 1242. This, however, does not necessarily preclude the earlier existence of the Polish saga in this region, as Heinzel and Knoop maintain. Indeed, it seems not improbable that in the second part of the Polish saga, we have traces of the version found in the Middle High German poem 'Von dem übelen Wibe.' This would furnish the reason, in the two parts of the Polish version, for an earlier connection, than Knoop¹³⁶ is inclined to admit when he refers the Polish saga to the period of the Polish reaction against the Germans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Wislaw, of the Polish saga, has been correctly identified with Wizlan of Greece (Russia), in Dietrichs Flucht; ¹³⁷ with Wizlan King of Bohemia, in Biterolf; ¹³⁸ and Wenezlan King of Poland, in Dietrich and Wenezlan.¹³⁹

¹³³ 'Gesch. Polens,' i, 639 ff.

¹³⁴ Cf. Karłowicz and Nehring, *Athenaeum*, 1881, 233; 1883, 393.

¹³⁵ Cf. Müllenhoff, *Zs. f. d. A.*, xii, 344. ¹³⁶ 'Die deutsche Walthersage,' etc., 12 ff.

¹³⁷ Heinzel, 'Walthersage,' 91. ¹³⁸ Nehring, *Athenaeum*, 1883, 360.

¹³⁹ Zupitza, 'D. Heldenbuch,' 5, liv.

3. WALTHER OF AQUITAINE.

Before attempting any interpretation of Walther, it may be well to review briefly previous attempts in this direction.

Mythical interpretation of Walther.—At the outset, let us clear away the mists which have collected around the Saga by the work of Rischka and Rydberg. Rischka's ¹⁴⁰ argument that the Polish saga of Walther is the primitive form, developed from the German myth found in the sagas of Odhur and of Hothar and Baldur—Waldgierz being Odin, and Hildegunde, Freyja—rests upon the following assumptions:

1. That the Heroic Saga is developed out of a myth or divinity ("und so entsteht aus einer Göttergestalt eine Heldensage," S. 32. Here he follows Simrock);

2. That coincidence of episodes is a sufficient criterion of identification of mythical and heroic characters;

3. That the *Folkwandering* was the occasion of the migration of this saga to the most widely separated regions;

4. That the Polish form of the Saga was probably developed among a part of some Germanic people remaining in the territory afterwards occupied by the Slavs (Poles), and having united with Slavic elements, was localized.

The futility of Rischka's attempt as regards both method and matter, has been demonstrated by Bugge ¹⁴¹ and by Heinzel. ¹⁴² This might seem in itself sufficient refutation of Rischka's argument. But this method of saga-treatment, which confuses heroic saga with myth, and brings all saga material into an interminable jumble with remote mythical cycles, is so serious in its results, that it must be summarily disposed of at the outset. The following considerations may serve to show the weakness of Rischka's treatment: unproved assumptions, as we have seen above, form the basis of the argument. Rischka magnifies unduly the pre-migratory German element surviving on Polish soil, and ignores the more important subsequent German influences from the end of the tenth century forward. The disparity between the first and second parts of the Polish saga, he fails sufficiently to recognize. The most characteristic features of the saga found in the German versions are wanting in the Polish. The spirit and character of the Baldur and Necklace myths are too far removed from the Walther Saga. The supposable similarity between

¹⁴⁰ Rischka, 34 ff. ¹⁴¹ 'Stud. ü. d. Entst. d. Nord. Götter- und Heldensagen,' 176.

¹⁴² 'Walthersaga,' 97 ff.

the Saga of Walther, and that of Hotherus rests upon a misunderstanding of the name Mimming.¹⁴³

Much that has been said against Rischka's method applies with equal weight to Rydberg's¹⁴⁴ mythical interpretation, which makes Walther represent Ivaldi in Grimnismal and Snorra Edda, with the following coincidences: the names Walther and Ivaldi; Walther's skill as a spearman; the abduction of Hildegunde; the combat with Gunther. This interpretation, like that of Rischka, rests upon the assumption that the Heroic saga develops out of myth; or, as Heinzel¹⁴⁵ puts it:

“auf der meiner Meinung nach unbeweisbaren und nach aller Erfahrung höchst unwahrscheinlichen Voraussetzung, dass es in weit entfernten Urzeiten ein festes System germanischer Mythologie oder eigentlich Theologie gegeben habe, in der es keine Analogiewirkungen in den Vorstellungen, keine Unklarheiten und Widersprüche gegeben habe.”

Apart from Heinzel's refutation of Rydberg's argument, suffice it to say that the fact that two Northern myths furnish sufficient coincidences for the basis of such superficial identifications is in itself a strong argument against both Rischka and Rydberg.

Müllenhoff's interpretation of the Saga of Walther as a recasting of the mythical Saga of Hilde('Zs. f. d. A.' 12, 274; 30, 235 ff.) rests upon accidental coincidences, and has in reality no real claim upon our consideration here. Heinzel (Walthersaga 93) has demonstrated the weakness of the argument by showing that these coincidences are to be explained by the influence of a mythical upon a historical Saga.

Historical Identification.—Fortunately, the tendency now toward the historical method of saga-treatment is gaining ground. All the more prominent interpretations of the Walther Saga have rested, more or less firmly, upon a historical basis. The eyes of most investigators have turned toward Aquitaine for the home of Walther. The most trustworthy traces of the Saga certainly point toward the West or South, not toward the East or North. Fauriel's¹⁴⁶ view that Walther was a Gallo-Roman, was opposed by Geyder¹⁴⁷ on the ground that the Germans would not likely have celebrated a hostile hero, which Walther must have been, if he had been a Gallo-Roman. Müllenhoff's¹⁴⁸ modification of Fauriel's view—that Walther was originally the ruler of Gaul in the epic age—is, if anything, less definite than Fauriel's original explanation. It might be objected to both of these views, that none of the versions of the Saga make any specific reference to Gallo-Roman, or Gallic, personages or events as having importance in the issues treated in the Saga.

¹⁴³ Bugge, *ibid.*, 176. ¹⁴⁴ 'Undersökningar i germanisk mythologi,' i, 742 ff.

¹⁴⁵ 'Walthersaga,' 100. ¹⁴⁶ 'Histoire de la Poésie Provençale,' i, 408.

¹⁴⁷ *Zs. f. d. A.* ix, 145, 153. ¹⁴⁸ *Zs. f. d. A.* x, 163 ff; xii, 274.

Scherer's ¹⁴⁹ attempt to identify Walther with Aëtius, seems to have been suggested by Fauriel. In the light which Heinzel has thrown upon the subject by his attempted identification of Hagen with Aëtius, Scherer's view must fall, whether Heinzel's Hagen-Aëtius theory be accepted or not.

The view that Walther was a West Goth has found strong defenders. J. Grimm ¹⁵⁰ expressed this as follows :

"Walthere muss als ein ursprünglich westgothischer held betrachtet werden, der sich von burgundischen und fränkischen unterscheidet."

This view has been further supported more recently by W. Müller ¹⁵¹ who differs from Scherer and Heinzel, however, in that he does not see in Walther "nur enstellte Geschichte," but rather an ideal figure "da Walther keine nachgewiesene historische Person, sondern nur eine ideelle Figur ist." The supreme objection to this view is, that the German heroic saga is intensely real in its origins, as the historical element of the Saga has shown. The ideal figures are a later invention of an idealizing age.

Heinzel's ¹⁵² view of the shifting nationality of Walther in the development of the Saga is expressed thus :

"Vielleicht galt Walther bis zum 7. Jahrhundert, wo die Basken, aus Spanien kommend, in einem Theil von Aquitanien Fuss fassten und ein *Wascóno lant* bekannt wurde, noch für einen Boiken,—dann als durch das Auftreten der Basken in Frankreich dieses Volk dem deutschen Gesichtskreis näher rückte, für einen solchen. . . . Später galt er ebenso für einen alten französisch-burgundischen König in Langres, wo allerdings die burgundischen Könige und Herzoge ebensowenig residirten als die merovingischen. . . . Die Auffassung Walthers als eines Burgunden ist wohl durch seine Verbindung mit Hildegund veranlasst, wenn diese erst als Urugundin, dann nach 451 als Burgundin galt."

We have seen in the course of the discussion that there were probably two well-defined versions of the Walther Saga as early as the eighth century ; hence we are to look for the date of the origin of the saga at a still earlier period. A fully developed literary form, such as that actually found in the *Waldere*, and implied in the original of the *Waltharius*, presupposes a considerable period of growth. Allowing time for such growth, we may safely assume that the saga originated between the middle of the fifth and the end of the seventh century. If we turn to the *Waltharius*, which, as was shown above, has preserved the saga in its clearest historical outlines, we find that the essential elements belong to the second half of the fifth century, and hence point to this period as the time in which the Saga originated. Thus the earliest form of the Saga belonged to the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century. The fact that the *Waltharius*, so faithful in its general historical outlines, calls Walther an Aquitanian, draws our attention to Aquitania as his native land.

¹⁴⁹ Mittheilungen des Vogesenclubs, 1874, N. 2.

¹⁵⁰ *Zs. f. d. A.* v, 3. Cf. also 'Lat. Ged. d. x. xi. Jhs.' 121, 125.

¹⁵¹ 'Dietrichsage,' 172; 'Mythol. d. deutsch. Heldensage,' 11 ff.; 'Zur Mythol. d. griech. u. deutsch. Heldensage,' 124 ff. ¹⁵² 'Walthersage,' 71-2.

Let us trace, then, the conception of Aquitania during this early period.

Aquitania¹⁵³ of Cæsar's time, Aquitania Propria, or Novempopulana (of Diocletian's provincial division), occupied the country between the Atlantic, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees, and extended eastward nearly to Tolosa. Aquitania north of the Garonne, in Diocletian's time, extended northward and eastward nearly to the Liger, and southward almost to the Tarnis, and was divided by Diocletian into two provinces: Aquitania I, in the east, and Aquitania II, in the west. The West Goths, having pushed their way from Rome to Aquitania Propria (Burdigala), about 413, occupied, from 419 to 475, the three Aquitanias mentioned above, extending their domain eastward to the borders of Burgundia. Thus Aquitania and Burgundia were border provinces or kingdoms at the time of Attila's campaign to the West (451), and Aquitania Propria of earlier times was now Novempopulana; while Vasconia lay between Novempopulana and the Iberus, with Pampilona as its chief city. In 507 West Gothic Aquitania (I and II) came by the defeat of Alaric II, into the hands of the Franks under Chlodovech. At the death of Theoderic (526) Burgundia was fast coming under Frankish control, and after 534 was a part of the Frankish realm. At the death of Justinian (565), Burgundia formed the western border of the Lombard kingdom in Italy, and extended to the Mediterranean. Thus, we see that the general historical conception of Aquitania from the second quarter of the fifth century through the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, was that of a province (country, hence, kingdom) lying immediately west of Burgundia. Such, too, is the conception in Waltharius, the earliest complete, and historically most faithful, full extant version of the saga.

The popular tradition of Walther, as transmitted by the epics, is, that he was of Germanic origin, and there seems to be no reason for questioning this belief. If he was of Germanic descent, and an Aquitanian, to what Germanic nationality did he belong? As an Aquitanian, he would have belonged, *politically*, to the West Goths before 507, and after that date to the Franks, if he was from Aquitania north of the Garonne; but, if he was from Aquitania Propria, to the West Goths until Chlothar II, who united this province to the Frankish realm. This does not mean that Walther must have been of West Gothic origin; indeed, he may just as likely have been a representative of some other Germanic race which passed into, or through, Aquitania at this period. This much may be claimed, however: *that Walther, in the oldest form of the saga, was a Germanic-Aquitanian under West Gothic supremacy.* The conception of Aquitania as a kingdom, does not, even in this early period, interfere with this point of view, inasmuch as the idea of kingship was one of

¹⁵³ Cf. Droysen, 'Historischer Atlas.'

shifting significance, and the West Gothic rule a general territorial supremacy. That Alphere's kingdom, at this early period, was included, or even centered, in Aquitania Propria is quite possible; but the general notion of Aquitania extended over the province north of the Garonne, as we have seen. The designation of Alphere's realm as "*Regna Aquitanorum*," in the Waltharius (v. 77), evidently applies to Aquitania in the larger sense, and not to Aquitania Propria alone.

Whether Walther, in the earliest form of the Saga, had the same political importance as that given to him in the Waltharius, we have no means of determining; it is natural to surmise that he had. Neither can we say with certainty whether he was a West Goth or belonged to some Germanic people closely allied with the Burgundians. That he was a Boisk, as Heinzel maintains, seems an unfounded hypothesis. It would be more reasonable to connect him with some branch related to the Lombard line whose king, Walthari, bears the same name a generation later. This would give us another link in the chain of evidence for the existence of the Lombard saga of Walthari and Alphari. The name Alpher occurs in Rabenschlacht, 265-267, where Alpher is sent by Friederich of Ravenna as messenger to Dietrich of Bern. But perhaps it is enough to have ascertained the political relations of Walther at the time of the origin of the saga. It will now be in order to review, briefly, the different conceptions of Walther.

Walther as a Wascon.—The conception of Walther as a Wascon, an epithet which may have been applied to him in the original of the Waltharius, cannot be earlier than the seventh century, when the Wascons broke forth from their mountain retreat in ancient Wasconia, in Spain, into Aquitania Propria and formed what the Geographer of Ravenna¹⁵⁴ calls "*Wasconum patria, quae antiquitus Aquitania dicebatur*." The establishment of these mountaineers in Aquitania Propria was practically completed by 626 A. D.,¹⁵⁵ though the troubles between the Wascons and the Aquitanians continued till a much later period. Thus there is no reason for regarding Walther as a Wascon, except in so far that all Aquitanians were regarded as Wascons after their country had come to bear the name of the latter.

Walther as the son of Alphere (King of the Aquitanians). Turning to the versions of the Saga, we find three of them calling Walther the son of Alphere,—WF, W, NC; this title still distinguishes him in the M. H. G. Versions,—VF, BD, and presumably GF. Here we have, doubtless, the early conception of our hero as an Aquitanian, and a distinct reminiscence of his royal line. But with the M. H. G. versions other titles appear.

Walther of Spain.—The conception of Walther as "*von Spâne*," "*von Spanjelant*," is preserved in N1, VF, BD. This idea of Walther

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Heinzel, '*Walthersaga*,' 70.

¹⁵⁵ Perroud, '*Des Orig. du prem. Duché d'Aquitaine*,' 22 ff.

grew up, doubtless, after the establishment of the Spanish Mark by Charles the Great, 801. The confusion of Spain with the Spanish Mark, is one that could easily be made by the popular mind. It is to be noted, too, that he is called both 'der künec von Spanjelant' (BD, 576) and 'der vogt von Spanyge' (VF, 1, 10, 1); thus preserving reminiscences of his early rank as 'Künec' brought out in the *Waltharius*.

Walther of Kerlingen.—Walther is designated by the title 'von Kerlingen' in BD, AT, 'geborn von Kerlinc' RFr, and DF. This conception developed, doubtless, in the time of the Carolingians and was perfectly consistent with that of Walther as 'von Spâne,' when the latter was regarded as identical with the Spanish Mark. But just here there seems to have come in a serious confusion; for in BD Walther is called 'Alpkêres Kint,' 'Künec von Spanjelant,' and 'der von Kärlingen,' but resides at Paris (see Analysis). It is plain that the hero's royal titles were all before the BD poet and that to him Kärlingen meant France, whose capital was Paris. Thus the confusion of Spain, a part of Kerlingen, with the whole Frankish realm is easy and natural.

Walther of Lengers.—It is worthy of note that the designation of Walther as 'von Lengers' and 'der Lengesaere,' occurs only in VF, DF and Rs respectively. Heinzel¹⁵⁶ suggests two possible explanations of the choice of Lengers as Walther's residence: it may have been due to the fact that this city became prominent through its Bishop Walther, son of Duke Hugo II. of Burgundy, and a possible confusion of Bassiniacum with Wasconia; or the saga may have been attached to Lengers through the Sarmatae who settled there in the fourth century and were regarded, like Walther, as fugitives of the Huns. It seems more likely, however, that Lengers came to be regarded as the home of Walther at the period when it formed the most prominent border city of Carolingia (Kerlingen) on the old time-worn route through the Vosges, when Carolingia, the realm of Charles, bordered Lotharingia, that of Lothar (cf. Droysen, *Hist. Atlas*). That Lengers was a Burgundian city of the Vosges may have favored its choice as Walther's home (cf. Heinzel, 'Walthersage,' 70).

Walther of the Wasgenstein.—This designation is found in R, Ths, and doubtless came from the scene of Walther's combat with Gunther's men. Vosagus, as the pass is called in W, is traceable to the Vosegus¹⁵⁷ and Vogesus of Roman times. Compare Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 397-8:

"Castraque quae Vogesi curvam super
ardua rupem
Pugnaces pictis cohibebant Lingones
armis"

¹⁵⁶ 'Walthersage,' 73.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. 'Vosego,' 'Mons Vosegus,' Bouquet, i, 142; 'Nec non Argentoratum vicinum castellum ad Vosegi radices' (A.D. 356) Bouquet, i, 725. For the location of the Wasgenstein near the village Niedersteinbach on the border of Alsace-Lorraine, cf. Scheffel-Holder, S. 158 ff.

with the description in W (490 ff). The defile seems to have come to be regarded later as extending over the whole *mons Vosegus* as a district. Hence Wasgenstein as Walther's land in Ths is only natural and consistent with the later confusion, of which Ths affords many examples. With the Wasgenstein as Walther's land is connected, doubtless, the name of W's sword 'Wasge'; the account of his being set over Gerimsheim (Gernsheim in Hassen?) by Ermanric (Ths c. 151); of his presence (as guest?) in Breisach (AT, 307); of his German origin (AT, 426); and of his relation as vassal of Theoderic (AT, 11). This last conception of Walther is to be traced probably to Upper Germany, particularly to Alemannia, where Theoderic was regarded as the protector of the Upper Germans against the Franks.

Walther as Ermanric's Nephew.—The conception of Walther as the son of Ermanric's sister in Ths, and that of Hildegunde as the daughter of Iarl Ilias of Greece is due to the later confusion of Saga elements by the combination of different cycles into a great composite narrative such as we have in the Thidrekssaga.¹⁵⁸ Walther came to be regarded as Ermanric's kinsman, doubtless after the latter appeared in the Saga as Theoderic's foe, that is, from the tenth century on.¹⁵⁹ The view that Walther was connected with the Lombard cycle is consistent with this, inasmuch as Lombard heroes were regarded as being at Ermanric's Court.¹⁶⁰ Indeed, the Lombard conquest of Italy, united in the popular mind with the East Roman overthrow of the East Goths by Justinian, is doubtless reflected in the conception of Ermanric as Roman Emperor and Theoderic's foe.

Walther as a Pole.—The general characteristics of the Walther Saga which have passed over into the Polish versions, have preserved reminiscences of Walther's origin from Kerlingen, and of his companion, the fair Hildegunde, at the court of a Frankish (—Burgundian) king, and of the hero's great prowess in combat.

Walther the Hun.—In the 'Chanson de Roland' (cf. App. ii.) mention is made of 'Gualtiers de l'Hum,'* as one of the faithful defenders of the cause of Charlemagne. Heinzel makes use of this as an argument for the conception of Walther as of Hunish origin. But it is rather to be interpreted as meaning 'Walther from or of the Hun (or Huns),' and thus designating the most characteristic fact of his career; namely, his exile among the Huns. That this Walther from the Huns should fight, as king of Aquitania, upon the side of Charlemagne against the Infidels, is perfectly intellegible. Compare Hadubraht's scornful words to Hildebrant, 'alter Hûn' ('Hildebrantslied,' v. 38). So, in 'Rolandslied,' 'Walthere the Wigant,' who

¹⁵⁸ For the French elements in Ths, cf. Heinzel, 'Über d. Ostgoth. Heldensage,' W.S. B. cxix, 83. ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 55. ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 9. *Or de Hums.

is slain in combat and avenged by Roland (6590 ff.), has a parallel in 'Walther der wlgant' (BD, 6423, etc.); in 'Walthêr der degen' (AT, 317, etc.); in 'Walther der ellensrîch' (DF, 7360, etc.). Compare also, 'Manu fortis' of Ekkehard, and 'Robustus,' 'Wdaly,' and 'Udatny' (Procosius) in the Polish versions.

In the course of the discussion based upon a score of clearly defined literary survivals of the Walther saga, we have shown that the elements of the Saga are essentially historical, belonging, for the most part, to the period of heroic struggle of the Germanic peoples of the West with the Huns; that the original form of the Saga probably developed as early as the fifth century; assumed a strongly Frankish-Burgundian color of the Merovingian period in the Waltharius version; became itself the theme of a M. H. G. epic; was connected with the great heroic cycles of the 'Nibelungenlied,' of the epic accounts of Ermanric, Theoderic, and Charlemagne. Thus we have justified the view that Walther of Aquitaine belongs to the historical group of heroic characters with whom all mediæval tradition associated him, and not to the realm of myth and fable.

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ERRATA.

Page 1 read *Nibelungenlied*,—p. 3 (v. 20) *ðu to*,—p. 4 (v. 23) *ponne yfle* W,—p. 5 (note) *incipit*,—p. 9 (128) *magna*, (141) *cepitque*,—p. 12 (251) *exilii*, (266) *Panno-*,—p. 13 (299) *auram* for *aurum* P,—p. 14 (318) *bacchica* for *bachica* P,—p. 15 (381) *merentia* for *maerentia* P, (384) *harena* for *arena* P,—p. 16 (416) *strages*, (421) *accersitas*, (429) *Pannonica*,—p. 18 (481) *tardate*, (490) *tum* for *tunc* P,—p. 20 (585) *uolat rapidoque*,—p. 21 (615) *recepto*,—p. 22 (631) *praelia* for *proelia* P, (634) *consistant*, (638) *propinquum* for *-quum* P,—p. 24 (710) *pre-* for *prae-* P,—p. 25 (756) *Sax-*,—p. 27 (821) *Hec* for *Haec* P,—p. 29 (924) *tela*, (931) *cuspis* for *cuspes* P,—p. 35 (1130) *Phebus* for *Phoebus* P, (1141) *conpexibus*, (1160) *hac* for *ac*,—p. 36 (1165) *ad* for *at*, (1188) *Olimpo* for *Olympo* P,—p. 37 (1204) *pre-* for *prae-* P, (1231) *Protinus* for *Protenus* P,—p. 38 (1257) *Quippe*,—p. 40 (1328) *citius*, (1330) *saewi*, (1350) *Ilico*,—p. 41 (1386) *leuis* for *laeuis* P,—p. 42 (1404) *Auarenses*, (1406) *tergentes* for *tergentis* P.

Read *con-* for *com-* P in W vv. 140, 141, 144, 274, 287, 1126; and *in-* for *im-* P vv. 178, 1336.

Page 44 read *stegmate*, *perpulcrum*, *monacorum*, variants,—p. 45 *scole*, *monacorum*, *extenditque*, *vero*,—p. 50 *horreret*,—p. 52 *reliquorum*, *Vespere*,—p. 53 *oculos*, *Ilico*,—p. 54 *nunciare*,—p. 56 *monasterio*, *oportunis*, *skillia*,—p. 57 *sumptui*, *invasionem*, *ut celerius*,—p. 58 *ferens*, *Waltharius*, *inquit*, *summens*, *predatores*, *iniuriam*, *calciamenta*,—p. 59 *inportunis*, *calciamenta*, *ilico*, *penetentiam*, *leto*, *evo*, *vultu*,—p. 60 *discipline*, *que*, *in summitate*, *prenominata* for *premonita*, *teporem* for *temporem*,—p. 61 *ante* for *aute*, *pretaxata*,—p. 64 *unt*, *trāten*, caesura before *sō* in 358. 2. 3.—p. 66 omit) after *swīchen*,—p. 68 (6. 3) *gūte*, (7. 3) *gesehen*,—p. 69 (19. 4) *ōch*,—p. 70 (1. 4) *mūlich*, (2. 3) *kvene*, (2. 4) *krōne*, (3. 2) *güter*, (4. 4) *vō*,—p. 71 (9. 3) *verren vnde nahen* man der voge *le vie*,—72 (16. 4) *vñ*,—p. 73 *der* for *de*,—p. 74 *hiubel an der hant*, *sāzen* for *szāen*,—p. 75 *fridemeister*,—p. 76 *die sint*,—p. 77 *mir die tohter*,—p. 78 *alsō gemuot*,—p. 80 *müezens uns die*, *getān*,—p. 81 *Walthêres*, *drīzic*,—p. 82 *Dietrichen*,—p. 83 *münech*, *hin*,—p. 84 *münich*,—p. 86 *größer*, *Wasgensteine*,—p. 87 *mit*,—p. 88 cf. *Graff Wallther von Waxenstein* (*Zeitschrift* 11. 243 ff.); and *Walthr ein helt vō Kerling* (*Zeitschrift* 11. 552). *Eckwart*,—p. 93 *Thidreks-saga*,—p. 96 U. for N., *vil* for *vill*, *herra havuð*,—p. 97 *Nv* for *Ov*, *þiðricr* for *þiðicr*, *rið* for *riþ*,—p. 99 *oc* for *ok*,—p. 106 *fluminis*,—p. 107 *anxiata*,—p. 108 *amasio*,—p. 110 *Paprocki*, *pisaná*, *ono szczęście*, *Tam mu*,—p. 111 *Niemiec*, *królewicowi*, *dodawała*,—p. 112 *Walcerowój załujác schronił do komory*, *także*,—p. 113 *ale*, *uczynił*, *zraki*,—p. 115 *poimawszy*, *nad nim*,—p. 116 comma after *Paprocki*, *przy* for *przyy* and *prry*, *na kamieniu*, *w roku 1242*, *St.*

Benedicti, *nauká* (in note),—p. 123 *hagenbüechtn*,—p. 124 add note : Reprinted from Gautier, 'La Chanson de Roland,' Douzième Edition, —p. 125 *Respunt* for *Rcspunt*,—p. 127, 3271 for 3217, (3376) *werthen*,—p. 131 (3) who is too young,—p. 158 *patentes* for *potentes*(?),—p. 160 *Theoderic*,—p. 161 for variant dates of Attila's rule ; cf. Jahn, 'Gesch. d. Burg.,' i, 340 ff.,—p. 162 *περίβολον, εὐθύτητα, γαμετῆς, θεράπειναι, ἀντικρὺ, ὑπεξῆειν, οἰκήματα, ὧν τοῖς, φρουροῖς, τόπον, Ἀττήλα*,—p. 163 *ἡμᾶς, δὲ τὸ, δειπνον*,—p. 166 cf. the names *Agano* of St. Maurice anno 523 (Pardessus 103, 104 (genuineness of document questioned) and *Agione*. P. Diac., D.G. L., vi, 1. 3,—p. 168 *römischen Generale*,—p. 169 cf. *Hervert* (Beowulf, 2207),—p. 171 *Ælfhere* (Beowulf, 2605),—p. 173 *Frankish-Gallic*,—p. 174 *promovere*,—p. 175 'der Junge,' *Ἐλευθερός*.

*ADDITION TO PAGE 88.**

3.

I^b

Hie klagt Gi Kunig Gibich gegen
Graf Walhther von Waxenstein

17-114 Ach gott was soll Ich heben an,
Meiner fursten mag kayner bestan,
Ich ways noch ein rysen,
20 Der wierdt den streydt nit verliesen,
Er liess sy (*l. sich*) nie erschreckchen,
Walther ein gefurster graff ob allen rekgen,
Vnd ein lanndtherr zw waxenstein,
Eer fürcht weder gros noch klain,
25 Wallther Richstw mier mein hertznlaydt,
Ich gib dier ein kunigin hochgemaydt,
Zw ainem weyb mach ich dierr vnntertan,
Die allerpest als Ich sy Inn meynem Reich han,
Kunig gibich Graff Wallther von Waxenstein
(*mit dem scepter in der linken hand*) (*trägt als riese eine stange in der rechten*)

II

Anntwort Wallther von Waxenstein

Kunig Gibich Hinnwider

Genedigster kunig, Ich habs Ewern khunigklichen
genaden vor gesagt,
30 Da maynt ewr gnad Ich wär vertzagt,
Ich habs nit darumben than,
Gern will ich den meyn bestan,
Hielt man geulgt dem Ratt meyn,
Vnd hielt nit der khunigein,
35 Yern muetwillen gelan,
Das wär weyslicher getan

*Reprinted from *Zeitschrift* li, 243-7; 552.

Annder leytt haben auch khraft,
 Vnnser grosse hochfardt macht vns vnsighaft.
 Vnnd die verachtung die wier treyben,
 40 Ladt gott vngerochen nit beleyben,
 Nw̃ habt yer oft gehordt,
 Wie Troya wardt Erstordt,
 Von wegen hochfardt vnd des vbermuett.
 Der thuet hewt noch nymermer guet,
 45 Doch Es ist geschehen,
 Mann soll daz best dartzw yehen,
 Herrn yer sollt vnnerschrökhen sein,
 Ich thue ewch die hilffe mein,

Hie manndt Hillibrant der maister
 Hertzog Dietlieb von Stey[r]

Hertzog Dietlieb von Steyr nw wolher,
 50 Vernemt mich lieber herr,
 Ich bitt ewch yer welt bestan
 Graff Wallther den grossen man,
 Gar hart thuet er warten,
 Hie zu disem Rosenn Garten,
 55 Sein hertz Ist zornes vol,
 Herr Diettlieb Nw thuet allso,
 Wie Ich ewch gelernt hann,
 So mag ewch nyemandt widerstan,

Anntwurt Herrtzog dietliep von Steyr
 dem Berrner vnnd Hilliprant wider

Herr jer dorfft mich nit bitten,
 60 Ich bin doch darumb her gerytten,
 Das Ich manndlich wel streytten,
 Wie wol walltherr bey seynen zeytten.
 Gross sachen hatt getan,
 Darumb will Ich Inn gern bestan,
 65 Daran wag Ich meinen leyb,
 Von wegen aller schöner weyb,
 Ach zw geuallen dem allerliebsten pūelen mein.
 Mues es manndlichen gefochten sein,
 Wol herr gesell, vnd wer dich mein,
 70 Alls lieb dier dein leben mag sein,

Dann dw muest mich gewern,
Gar pald will dier scheern,

II^b

Hertzog Dietlieb
von Steyr

Graff Wallther

Krimhilt

(gibt jedem einen rosenkranz)

Hie Schaídt Kunigin Krimhillt die
zwen fursten. vnd gibt yedem ein cranntz

Hört Auff yer zwen fursten guet,
Es bryngt mier grossen vnnmwt,
75 Es gylt auch Ewr payder leben,
Ich bitt ewch yer wellt frydt geben,
Ich gib ewch bayden gewonnen,
Kainer Ist dem anndern enntrunnen,
Yer seydt bayd zwen Redlich Man,
80 Inn dem garten habt yer das pest getan,
Mein Cränntzelein tayl Ich ewch mit
Durch gott nw habt frydt.

III

Graff Wallther
*(auf den schild mit der
rechten gestützt)*

Kunig Gibich
*(mit dem reichsapfel und
scepter in den händen)*

Graff Völkher
von Altzen
*(mit der stange in der
rechten)*

Hie dannkht Kunnig Gibich dem
Fursten von Waxestain

Hab ymmer dannkht dw Edler furst von Waxenstain,
Mit ganntzen trewen Ich dich mayn,
85 Das best lanndt das ich han,
Will Ich dier mächen vnntertan,
Wann dw hast manndlich gestrytten
Vnd wass dw mich thuest bitten,
Das solldtw gewert seyn,
90 Von mier vnnd der khunigeyn,

III^b

Hie dannkht der von Waxenstain
dem kunig Seinner gab
Gott dannkh ewrn khunigklichen Mayestat,

Das mier ewr gnad geben hat,
 Ich hab mein bestzs hie getan,
 Vnnd wills ewr khunigklich gnad han,
 95 So will Ich noch mit ainem schlahen,
 Gar klain acht Ich den schaden,
 Der mir von yen möcht geschen,
 Dann gern wolt Ich Rechen,
 Die fursten die hie erschlagen sein,
 100 Sy rewen mich In dem herrtzen mein,

Anntwort Kunnig Gibich dem
 Fursten vonn Waxenstain

Nayn dw furst lobysan,
 Dw hast deinen Ern genueg tan,
 Dw soldt deiner Rue phlegen,
 Ich ways ainen Risen verwegen,
 105 Das jst ain starker furste herr,
 Mit namen graff Völkherr,
 Layd mag er vnns wol Ergetzen,
 Denn wil ich ann sy hetzen,
 Er hat erschlagen manichen man,
 110 Wolherr Graff lobysan,
 Nw gedennkh an den buelen dein,
 Vnnd thue mier hilffee scheyn,
 Gar furstlich wille ich dich begaben,
 Des solldtw kainen zweyffel haben.

4.

617-18 Wer bestat mir Walthr ein helt vo Kerling genant
 Den bestat Hartnit ein kug vſer rûſen lant.

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ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY PRESIDENT WELLING OF COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It gives me great pleasure to bid you welcome to the City of Washington; yet I fancy it must seem to you a work of supererogation, or indeed, as Shakespeare would phrase it, "a wasteful and ridiculous excess," if in the name of my colleagues in the Faculty, or in the name of the people of Washington, I assume to bid you welcome to your own Capital, which is more yours than ours. You are all sufficiently versed in the Constitution of the land, to know that the same clause in the Constitution which erects a district of our common country into the seat of the Federal Government, prescribes that it shall be under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States; and in the same breath and to the same extent it makes similar provision for the forts, the dock-yards and the arsenals of the land.

The forts, dock-yards and arsenals are held by soldiers, not for themselves, but for the country, and we denizens of Washington hold this capital, not for ourselves, but for you; and in order that we may perform our function with becoming grace, we are relieved by the Constitution and by our Congress from the burden of all political cares and concernments. Hence it is that we can devote ourselves exclusively to the agreeable task of

furnishing "good society" to the illustrious men whom you send from your States to reside with us for the time being—except perchance during the Christmas holidays, when we sometimes have besides the congenial society of scholars and students, such as I see before me to-night. And, therefore, I can at least presume to welcome you as auxiliaries in this task of "furnishing good society" to the magnates of the land.

I welcome you to this University, and to all its hospitalites. I presume that most of you live in "the quiet and still air of delightful studies" in your own colleges and in your own universities, and I somewhat fear, as you may have looked on our bulletin board, and have seen there that the air of this University during the next few days is to hurtle with learned papers in theology, in dialect, in history, in folk-lore, and in modern languages, that you may conceive you have inadvertently entered into some small section of the Tower of Babel. But I beg you not to be dismayed. If there be any confusion of tongues, it will come from this Society (laughter), because this is a society which represents a multiplicity of tongues and dialects. No, this is not a section of the Tower of Babel. It is rather a section of that "Solomon's House" which so filled the vision and so inflamed the fancy of Lord Bacon when, deploring the segregation of the Universities of Europe, as they lived in their separate cloisters, he looked forward to the day when the learned men connected with them should be gathered into confederation, as was done, he said, in the hierarchies of the church and as was done in the guilds of labor organizations.

What Bacon desired has come, and you are here to lend your co-operation to the other learned organizations which do us the honor to meet within our halls. You are here to create a section in this "House of Solomon" which Bacon said ought to be a house open to "God's first creature, Light, and Light bursting forth from all quarters of the world." We welcome you, then, because we know you come as torch-bearers in this great torch-

race of humanity—because you come to bring your contribution to the light which shall gladden our eyes while you abide with us during the next few days.

I welcome you for your work's sake. You are here as students of language—students of that divine medium, of that ambient, circumambient *menstruum* which holds in solution, as in pellucid amber, the best thought and the best expression of the best minds of the world; and which holds it there on “purpose to a life beyond life,” that is, on purpose to re-vivify and to re-kindle in your souls the thoughts that breathed and the words that burned in the souls of great men who have lived and thought and wrought before us.

Welcoming you as students of language, I welcome you as students of *Modern Languages*; not that I mean, in any words of praise I shall bring to the modern tongues, to utter or to hint one word in dispraise of the ancient tongues of the world. Nor do you wish that I should. In a certain sense and in a very high sense, the language and the literature of the world—the languages and the literatures of the world—when viewed along the lines of linguistic and literary evolution, are all one. Whether it be the literature of Egypt written in hieroglyphs, or whether it be the literature of Assyria written in wedges, whether it be Greek or Roman, whether it be Tuscan or Provençal, whether it be Italian or French or Spanish or German or English, literature, wherever found, is not only the common heritage of our race but its choicest possession. As students of language and students of *Modern Languages*, you are pledged to support this thesis, because the oldest languages of the world in point of time are the youngest in structure, and because the most modern language may be the oldest in point of linguistic maturity, and in point of intellectual content. The maxim of Bacon, *antiquitas sæculi, juvenus mundi*, has made this truth familiar to us all.

I welcome you, then, as students and teachers of the *Modern Languages*, because I am assured that you wish to establish no

line of discrimination against the ancient tongues, and because there is a bond of fellowship and of kinship between all literatures and all languages. But I welcome you the more heartily because I verily believe that you, more clearly than the teachers of ancient tongues, have seized the true principles of education, alike in the matter of literature and in the matter of language; and hence that the long divorce which in so many schools has separated Art from Nature in the instruction of ancient tongues—(a divorce which in separating it from the rule of nature has separated it from the rule of reason and of common sense)—has ended for you. You have seen that it is not only with the eye and with the memory, but also in the use of living speech that we must be inducted into the modern tongues if we would be duly instructed in the modern letters. And so it comes to pass that in doing a good service for your specialty, in doing a good service for modern language and for modern literature, you have done a good service for ancient language and for ancient literature, by bringing back a better method in the instruction of both. You have brought it back in both because you have brought it back in the instruction of those tongues and those literatures of which you are the especial votaries. Therefore it is that I bid you thrice welcome (applause).

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF STYLE.

Before a society whose members are so largely teachers of language, and conversant with the art of writing, it would be superfluous to insist upon the value of style as an element of power in literature. As the thoughts of the mind involve the highest of human interests, what can be more important than their fit expression? What are the enduring books, of which the reading world calls for continually new editions? Invariably they are the books which are the best written. The sense of the world is keen, and the survival of the fittest is as certain as that art is long. Considering that most books are written by sciolists or else by ignoramuses, and by authors who have never learned the rudiments of literary art, is it any wonder that they nearly all perish almost as soon as they are born? Perfection in style, indeed, is rarely or never found. As Alexander Smith sought through all literature—and sought in vain,—for

“A poem round and perfect as a star,”

so the perfect style is far to seek and hard to find. Style is not merely, as some conceive, manner independent of matter; it is not merely the dress of thought, but the living body of thought itself.

The first requisites of a good style (it is trite enough to remind you) are clearness, simplicity, and force; and first and most indispensable of these is clearness. An obscure writer may be read by scholars, and may produce books which are packed full of learning; but he will be left unread by the mass, even of intelligent readers. And as clearness of vision is essential to clearness of utterance, he who would cultivate a wide audience of readers must have insight and perceptive faculties of a high order. A confused brain can produce only a muddled and confused statement, while the mind in which thoughts lie in clear and natural order instinctively clothes them in language of corresponding clearness. “As for me,” says Montaigne, “may I never use any other language than what is understood in the markets of Paris.” And the perennial favor which the reading

world has bestowed upon the 'Essays' of this attractive writer is a tribute to his clearness of style, more than to the originality of his thought.

Simplicity in writing, judged by the example of many who take great pains to get as far away from it as possible, is of more doubtful merit. Yet the noblest compositions are, as a rule, the simplest in form—the most free from grandiloquence and exaggeration. Expert jurists will tell you that the worst statement that can be made of any case, is overstatement. This is the easily besetting vice of callow thinkers and undisciplined imaginations. They are perpetually straining after an effect; through some trick of words, or some high-sounding period, they seek to captivate the reader or hearer. They wander off into flowery meads of rhetoric, forgetting that the straight line is the shortest road between two points. There is no temptation so hard to resist by a young writer (and by many an old one) as the temptation of fine writing. Some seek out the most elegant and ornamental words, eschewing the plainer and more common; some "drive a substantive and six"; some interlard their English with phrases from foreign languages; some pile metaphor upon metaphor; some parade inapposite quotations from the poets by the yard; some load down their sentences by sesquipedalian phrases, or, as Goldsmith has it—by "words of learned length and thundering sound." The more of this pomposity they affect, the farther do they go from the simplicity of nature. Instead of adding weight or effect to their utterances, they become overburdened with extraneous ornament, and fail of impressing the mind, which a simple, straightforward style of composition unfailingly accomplishes. Even some great writers, like Dr. Samuel Johnson, have so cultivated the grandiose style, as to spoil what were otherwise good literature by a pompous and artificial diction. This was well satirised by Goldsmith, who, according to Boswell, said to Johnson, "Doctor, if you were to write a fable about little fishes, you would make the little fishes talk like whales." In the eloquence of the bar or the pulpit, the simplest idiomatic English is the most effective. All the rhetorical fireworks of Counsellor Charles Phillips cannot save his speeches from oblivion: but the chaste eloquence of Curran, and the rugged force of Grattan satisfy the taste, and linger in the memory.

The third requisite of a good style is force, or, as some would prefer to call it, strength. This characteristic is by no means divorced from the æsthetic element—but genuine beauty of style is commonly associated with strength, clearness and simplicity. The charm which is conveyed by a graceful, flowing, and nervous diction, whether in prose or verse, is most felt when the language has a natural power inherent in the perfect union of the sense and the sound. This element of force is never acquired by the too ambitious writers who strain after it: it resides in the apt expression of the thought by the very words which the thought obviously suggests. What some people call strong writing, and which consists in a piling up of superlatives, or the use of high-sounding adjectives, is actually the reverse of forcible. Such a writer is the weaker by every superfluous word which he adds to his sentence. “The empty vessel makes the greatest sound,” Shakespeare says: and many a sonorous sentence, closely analysed, convicts its author of parading in a lion’s skin, when he is in fact only an egregious ass.

As an example of the union in a single sentence of the three requisites of a good style—clearness, simplicity, and force, take the following, from an eminent writer of our own day:

“It is easy in the world to live after the world’s opinion: it is easy in solitude to live after our own: but the great man is he who, in the midst of the crowd, keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.”

Among the modern languages, the German is most frequently cited as wanting in adaptation to a literary style uniting the cardinal requisites of simplicity, clearness, and force. Its structure, involving, in the hands of most writers, much involution and many parenthetical sentences, tends to obscurity and heaviness, rather than to euphony, perspicuity and grace.

Among the writers of Germany, Goethe stands in literary skill pre-eminent. Dealing with a difficult language, whose cumbrous construction lends itself to the highest literary art reluctantly, he has redeemed it from the reproach brought against it as being a slow, circuitous vehicle of thought, and unfitted for works of poetry and imagination. A whimsical critic declares that no modern language supplies so many illustrations of the art of carrying things too far as the German. That language, he says, has seven deadly sins, namely:

“ Too many books in the language :
Too many sentences in a book :
Too many words in a sentence :
Too many syllables in a word :
Too many letters in a syllable :
Too many strokes in a letter : and
Too much black in a stroke.”

However much the vast literary fecundity of Germany, in Gothic-printed works which are written in a style the reverse of attractive, may justify this sardonic judgment, there is enough of genius and of clearly expressed thought in the modern German literature to silence cavil, and to illustrate the annals of any nation. Goethe, who ranks confessedly at the head of German writers, has suffered from the exaggerated and indiscriminate praise of his countrymen. Thus, Prof. Hermann Grimm calls ‘Faust’ “the greatest work of the greatest poet of all times and of all peoples”; and another German naïvely tells us,—“the Eternal created Goethe to be a guide to the universe.” On the other hand, a keen French critic, Edmond Scherer, finds him “heavy and fatiguing,” and will never forget the repeated acts of self-sacrifice which it cost him to finish ‘Wilhelm Meister,’ and the ‘Elective Affinities’: and even Niebuhr calls ‘Wilhelm Meister’ “a menagerie of tame animals.”

If we wonder at these opposite judgments, let us parallel them by one of Goethe’s own. He said of his reading of Dante’s great poem, that he found the “Inferno” abominable, the “Purgatorio” dubious, and the “Paradiso” tiresome. The exact truth is, that the great Coryphaeus of German literature often wrote under the inspiration of an unwilling Muse. If he has written some things with a perfection of style seldom achieved, he has also produced much with a feebleness quite unworthy of his fame. The second part of “Faust” is full of choke-pears even to him who is lost in admiration of the first. In its composition, the reflective, the symbolic, the abstract, and the didactic overlay the poetic art, and quite hide it from view. It well illustrates the intense idealism of the German mind, which is foreign to the simple and natural realism without which no creation of the intellect can attain effective expression. The philosophy of art has in Goethe too much absorbed the artist. His prose is often loose, weak, and diffuse; but it is in his lyric poems and in the first part of

“Faust” that the imagination interpenetrates and informs the style, and there is not a feeble line to be found.

The French language, while it may not be quite worthy of the very high praise of De Quincey, that “we may look in vain in its copious literature for one obscure or involved sentence,” is yet eminently adapted to the purposes of literary art. Its easy, natural, and graceful flow gives, as it were, wings to expression. Nothing can be clearer than the structure of the average French sentence.

Yet this free and flexible language, in the hands of a too ambitious school of writers, was put to unnatural uses, losing much of its native charm. Perhaps the most conspicuous examples of the artificial style are to be found in the classic French tragedy, upon which generations of literary Frenchmen were fed, until Victor Hugo supplanted it by the daring innovations of the free romantic school. The characteristic of this conventional style is its slavish subserviency to exact rules of composition. Corneille, Racine, and a host of lesser dramatists, carried the classic style of treatment to its ultimate in a pompous and monotonous diction, and a Procrustean versification, in which every line must be a precise Alexandrine, and be rounded out with a perfect rhyme. The result is seen in a consummately mechanical style, in which all native freedom, grace and spontaneity disappear, and the dull, unvarying round of monotonous lines tires the patience of the reader.

En tragédie on voit la dure nécessité
De balancer toujours, toujours balancer.

The French tragedy thus became a synonym for artificiality, and the unhappy student of the dramatic art, condemned to the ceaseless revolution of this literary treadmill, became first weary, then disgusted, and finally exasperated. It furnishes a pointed example of a style to be avoided, showing how even so lively and flexible a language as the French may be spoiled for effective literary art by too much rule.

Even so great a master of style as Voltaire was hampered in his tragedies by the gyves of this conventional and tyrannous system. But, in his prose writings, he exhibits a uniformly free, vigorous and pleasing style, of pellucid clearness and strength. His greatness, indeed, is now fully recognized as consisting not in the thought or originality of his works, but in that felicity of literary expression in which he is unsurpassed.

Another famous name in French letters, Rousseau, was pre-eminent in the descriptive power with which the beauties of nature and the human emotions are displayed in his writings. He was the first in his nation to give fit and powerful utterance to the language of sentiment; and while mingled with triviality and exaggeration, his ardent expression of the influence of natural scenery upon the feelings, gives a color and tone to his style almost unmatched in literature. So great a writer as John Ruskin owes much to Rousseau; and while it is fashionable to decry the sentimental school of writing, and it is quite true that it is full of bad models, yet we look in vain for the weaknesses and absurdities of its modern disciples, in the fascinating pages of its great founder.

In the style of Victor Hugo, we have an example of great power of language, combined in his best work with rare beauty and versatility. In his lyric poetry, "Les Orientales" display a richness of coloring, and a wealth of imagination which bring us face to face with the romance of the East. The French language had never before arrived at such a degree of flexibility and beauty of poetic diction. The poetry of Hugo is distinguished for harmony, delicacy, smoothness of rhythm, and profusion of imagery. In his prose writings, this author has marked and characteristic merits and defects. The style of his 'Napoleon le Petit' is bold, vivid, aggressive, intense, full of epigrammatic point, and adorned with literary and historical allusion. He deals often in climax and sometimes in hyperbole. He startles us by the boldness and the vigor of his thought, no less than by the intensity of his style. And in the best of his fictions, 'Les Misérables,' what life, what imagery, what color, what energy, are diffused throughout the work, instead of the pale and bloodless platitudes of the correct but comparatively barren school of fiction.

If we seek for examples of the best and highest style of which our own language is capable, we must even go back to the age of Elizabeth, teeming with writers of native energy, freedom, beauty of expression, flexibility, richness, dignity, sweetness, melody, and imaginative power. Among the galaxy of great writers who illustrated that period and the reign immediately succeeding in England, or from 1560 to 1625, Shakespeare was the greatest.

So vast a literature of criticism has grown up about Shakespeare's personal, poetical, and metaphysical characteristics, that the commentators have somehow failed to do entire justice to his style. Yet it is this which differences him from all the dramatists of his own wonderful age, and, in a still more marked degree, from all dramatic poets who have succeeded him. Shakespeare's style is singularly free from those vices of extravagance, obscurity, pedantry and feebleness, which have carried down to oblivion so many once famous writers. If he is not always natural, he comes nearer to the simplicity of nature than any other. In his finest passages, he attained a mastery of our language unapproached in literature. He has energy, grace, majesty, tenderness, eloquence, sweetness, pathos, melody, purity, flexibility, strength—every quality, in short, by which expression can move or please or captivate the mind. His power of condensation, of close and impressive statement, is marvellous. If you think him overrated, test him by trying to find a parallel, in any other writer, of the great and memorable thoughts enshrined in the fewest words, which so abound in Shakespeare. Men have foolishly tried to account for him by fathering all that magnificent literary brood upon Lord Bacon—a writer who may well be contrasted, but not compared, with Shakespeare. Try them both by that unerring standard, their characteristic styles. Bacon's is grave, sententious, heavy with ancient learning, often cumbersome and a weariness to the reader. Shakespeare's is free, graceful, light, flowing and conspicuously modern. These differences are not occasional, they are structural and organic. Nor is it in his graver philosophical works alone that Bacon's style is thus labored and unimaginative. In his 'Essays,' which he himself called his recreations, it is still stiff, archaic, Latinised and formal. As Emerson said of Swedenborg's writings,—“No bird ever sang in all these gardens of the dead.”

Bacon set so little store by our noble English speech—the speech of Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare,—that he spent his later years in translating his own works from English into Latin, fearful lest the language of his country should not long survive him. To conceive that such a mind, however great in its own chosen sphere, could have produced that marvellous series of compositions, instinct with poetic fire, that immortal gallery of original characters which we owe to Shakespeare, is like “a tale told by an idiot.”

The eminent philologist, George P. Marsh, records, that while in Shakespeare's vocabulary the words of Anglo-Saxon origin form from 85 to 90 per cent. of the whole, the little volume of Bacon's 'Essays' alone contains as large a number of words and phrases no longer employed in our language, as the whole of Milton's poetical works.

To him who has any adequate acquaintance with the writings of Bacon and the plays of Shakespeare, that saying of Carlyle will appear no hyperbole—that "Lord Bacon could as easily have created this planet, as he could have written Hamlet." We may grant that there is much trash in Shakespeare—so also there are many spots upon the sun. There are errors, anachronisms, and absurdities in the plays. There are moral blemishes hard to be excused. Almost every canon of good taste, almost every rule of grammar and of rhetoric, has been violated somewhere in their composition—though how much of this is due to the blunders of transcribers and printers will never be known. Yet with all their limitations, there is a wealth of imagery, a power of utterance, a breadth of view, a delicacy of sentiment, a play of humor, an exuberance of fancy, a force of passion, an elevation of thought, a reach of imagination, and a mastery of language which we look in vain to find united in the writings of any other author. No more cogent statement of the essential unlikeness of these two writers can be found than the fact, that while Bacon's style and methods have become obsolete, so that no man now thinks, or reasons, or writes in such channels—Shakespeare, on the other hand, who may almost be said to have founded the modern school of thought, language, and expression, is still the model of style and of proportion, whose supreme excellence all writers emulate, whose immortal words all nations still repeat. His works have become the text-book of the scholars of every land and language, the companions of the hearth and the cloister, the perennial delight of the stage, the honor and the glory of literature. In them is fulfilled that scripture, "There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard: their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world."

The place of Milton among the masters of English style is a great one. His poetry is full of fine and lofty thoughts, expressed in the most elevated and melodious language. In spite of the

wearisome didacticism of 'Paradise Lost,' and the scholastic treatment of its theme, so out of keeping with the taste of the modern world, it abounds in passages of superb and rhythmic beauty. But it is in his minor poems that the most exquisite flowers of Milton's poetic genius are to be found. His prose writings, though full of theological polemics, and repellent by the nature of the subjects treated, have scattered through them magnificent gems of expression which will be admired so long as the English tongue is read. The leading characteristics of Milton's style are its uniform elevation, its splendid imagery, its power of diction, and its unfailing rhythmic perfection.

There is much choice and impressive writing to be found in the works of many authors of this period, notably in Sir Thomas Browne, whose noble essay on "Urn Burial," though often overlaid with cumbrous rhetoric and far-fetched conceits, affords some of the finest examples of rhythmic prose in our language.

Alexander Pope stands at the head of that intermediate school of writing in which imagination and passion were retired in favor of an exquisitely finished style. His verse is one long succession of brilliant and balanced periods, and no writer has carried the art of mere form in literature to a higher degree of perfection. Its one reproach is that it is intensely conventional.

This school was accompanied or followed by the robust English prose of Swift, the vigorous and simple style of De Foe, and the homely, natural utterance of John Bunyan. At about the same period came Addison, so overpraised by Dr. Johnson, whose graceful and pure style does not save him from the neglect which overtakes the writer who falls short of the highest genius. Of a loftier type was Dryden, whose poetic power was the finest of the century succeeding Shakespeare and Milton. A more enduring master of style is Goldsmith, eminent alike in poetry and in prose, whose natural, unaffected manner is best exemplified in the 'Vicar of Wakefield,' "The Traveller," and "The Deserted Village."

There is one modern writer who has exercised a large influence, not wholly happy, upon the literary style of the last half of our century—I mean Macaulay. Critic, essayist, and historian, a writer of marked clearness, breadth, and force, he has yet a mannerism even in his best writing, which is far removed from nature. Emerson used to say that all the young scholars of his

day had to pass through their Burke period : and it may be said that the young writers of our time pass through the Macaulay period—from which some of them, indeed, never emerge. Everybody concedes that Macaulay's style deserves to be called brilliant : but his imitators, in striving for a brilliant style, without any of that wealth of learning which adorns Macaulay's productions, land in hopeless mediocrity. While his writings are full of continual pith and point, their constantly recurring antitheses and perpetual brilliancy rather tend to weary the reader with a surfeit of fine things. He seems to be always writing *en grand seigneur*, and the story told of his appearance at Court might serve to illustrate his literary characteristics as well. When attending Queen Victoria at Windsor as a Cabinet Minister, Macaulay was informed that there was a saddle-horse at his disposal. He replied—"Ah! If her Majesty wishes to see *me* ride, she must order out an elephant." More of a rhetorician than a historian, Macaulay's judgments are frequently unsafe, though pronounced with an *ex cathedra* air which overpowers the indiscriminating reader. Take an example of his arrogant self-sufficiency as a critic :

"Whatsoever things are false, whatsoever things are dishonest, whatsoever things are unjust, whatsoever things are impure, whatsoever things are hateful, whatsoever things are of evil report ; if there be any vice, and if there be any infamy, all these things were blended in Barère. M. Carnot comes forward to demand approbation for a life black with every sort of wickedness, and unredeemed by a single virtue. By attempting to enshrine this Jacobin carrion, he has forced us to gibbet it ; and we venture to say, that from the eminence of infamy on which we have placed it, he will not easily take it down."

See how the wielder of the literary tomahawk, not content with scalping, anatomising and pulverising Barère, executes a war-dance over the *dissecta membra* of his victim. And in his brighter compositions, like the Trial of Warren Hastings, where he paints fine pictures, and dispenses praise, the colors are laid on with so heavy a brush, that we distrust instinctively the fidelity of the artist. As he evolves his labored contrasts, and rounds out his stately periods, we say—here is a style brilliant, metallic, impressive, but never even by accident, simple, natural, or sympathetic.

One element in the art of writing not often considered, is the

effectiveness of bringing in the names of persons and places as illustrations. The writer or the speaker who varies his theme by frequent literary, or biographical, or historical allusions, greatly heightens the interest of his discourse. This breaks the monotony of a continuous argument or thesis, keeps attention alive, and conduces to the instruction of the reader. The pages of Macaulay owe much of their fascination to the wealth of personal, geographical, and historical illustrations which he brings so often in play, to illuminate his subject. In 'Paradise Lost,' as in the minor poems of Milton, the proper names brought into the rhythmic flow of the verse greatly enhance the effect. So in these lines of Shakespeare, put into the mouth of Henry V, before the battle of Agincourt :

“ Then shall our names,
Familiar in their mouths as household words,
Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster,
Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered :
This story shall the good man teach his son ;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered :
We few, we happy few, we band of brothers.”

- How strikingly the proper names here lend themselves to the resonant march of the verse. The whole speech is brimful of a fluent energy, alive and glowing with valorous purpose, couched in language that is blood-warm.

In the extensive galaxy of critics and essayists whose writings have adorned our age, we must place John Ruskin in the first rank. He may fairly be said to have created a new literature, the literature of art. His reverence for the true and the beautiful has never been surpassed, his eloquence in description has seldom been equalled. He re-wrote certain chapters of his 'Modern Painters' again and again, until their melody and cadence were such as to satisfy his fastidious ear. His books are full of fruitful suggestion, and not even his egotism, which is fairly colossal, can detract much from the just influence of his writings.

Among English essayists whose graces of composition are worthy of special note are De Quincey, the gifted and entertaining literary biographer and critic, whose episodic style, like

that of the discursive Montaigne, is more captivating than the logical sequence of other men; Leigh Hunt, whose essays and sketches of men and events are full of charm; Sir James Stephen, whose 'Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography' are written in a style as elegant and attractive as Macaulay's, but far less artificial; Matthew Arnold, whom some call the first of the later school of criticism, clear-sighted, analytic, and perspicuous; and Cardinal Newman, master of a pure, limpid and finished English style. What shall I say of Carlyle, that iconoclast of what are called the laws of composition, that creator of a style quite without parallel, alike the horror of critics, and the despair of imitators? More painter than essayist, more poet than historian, he suffuses all his writings with original forms of expression and provocatives to thought. With all the faults of temper and of cynicism displayed in his numerous works, Carlyle has done more to stimulate the intellectual life of the century than any English writer, and has left an indelible impress upon modern literature.

Of the brilliant array of writers of fiction which our century has produced, who best deserve the title of masters of composition? If we concede that the highest literary art is demanded in a work of fiction, and that its constituents are—characters drawn to the life, unflagging interest in plot and story, and a perfect style, then in whom are these qualities more thoroughly united than in Thackeray? Of Thackeray, whose style has an inimitable and ever present grace, it may be said that he was a great-hearted, thoughtful critic of mankind, with perceptive faculty of the highest order to see the virtues and the vices of society, and skill to describe them truly when seen. His humor is as subtle and delicate as that of Dickens is broad and overpowering. What novel of any age can be placed above 'Henry Esmond' as a finished and harmonious masterpiece of fiction?

George Eliot is unquestionably a great novelist; she is endowed with marvellous insight, sympathy, breadth and accuracy of view, and a style which is so painstaking as to give us no careless or unconsidered sentence—such is her conscientious regard for finished work. Her only drawback as a writer of fiction is perhaps the over-elaboration of her work—some of which would be better suited to a philosophical treatise than to a novel.

The freshness, fertility and originality of Dickens are beyond

dispute. He lacked the education of books, and there is less of literary allusion in his writings than in those of any notable author. But the very absence of learning in Dickens has helped his popularity; his books are the delight both of the uncultivated and the refined, so that he appealed to two publics, while authors of wider culture could appeal only to one. Grant that his style is sometimes slovenly, often turgid, and that his pathos is frequently affected and sentimental. Grant that all his books lack literary proportion—that quality so admirable both in Thackeray and in George Eliot. “I may quarrel with his art,” says Thackeray, “a thousand times, but I admire and love the man.”

Charles Reade is in some respects a novelist of his own school, though perhaps not unfairly styled the head of the sensational school of British fiction. His style is crisp, nervous and graphic to the last degree. It belongs to what may be termed the hyper-vivid order of writing.

The stories of Richard D. Blackmore—especially his masterpiece ‘Lorna Doone,’ evince no mean powers of art. His descriptive faculty is marvellous; the minute photographic likeness with which he depicts a country scene—a bit of moor, a snow-storm, a fishing fleet—is like the perfection of the Flemish painters of the old school.

Turning now to some American writers, and not confining the view solely to those who can be regarded as masters of style, our early literature may be said to begin with the Mathers. Cotton Mather wrote three hundred and eighty-seven books and treatises, many of which were sermons three hours long. The most extensive work of Mather is the ‘Magnalia Christi Americana’ (A. D. 1702), a work full of information laboriously gathered, quaint conceits, superstitions, puns, demoniac possessions, witch-craft, and other marvels. It may fairly be termed a thesaurus of all the errors of antiquity. The style is fantastic and pedantic to the last degree, bristling with Greek and Latin phrases and quotations.

Perhaps the most notable American author coming between the literature of the Puritans and that of the Revolution, was Jonathan Edwards. He has been adjudged by some writers as the keenest and most metaphysical intellect which America has produced, and he devoted all his great powers to the maintenance

and the defence of Calvinism. In point of style, his works represent a marked advance over that prevalent in the works of the Mathers and other Puritan theologians. No longer heavily overloaded with Latin quotations and far-fetched learning, the writings of Edwards are in pure English, though he himself lamented their lack of grace and of finish.

The meed of honor as the first pamphleteer of America must unhesitatingly be awarded to Thomas Paine. His plain, perspicuous style, homely illustrations, force of reasoning, and nervous strength of utterance, rising sometimes to eloquence, gave to his best writings, which were those on American Independence, great popular acceptance.

Benjamin Franklin's 'Autobiography' is a book which blends the most fascinating interest with the utmost simplicity of style, and which has been read by millions, being constantly reprinted. No man in America has left upon the whole a stronger impress upon his generation. He tells us how he learned his style, by first carefully reading an essay in the 'Spectator,' and then endeavoring to reproduce it in concise and elegant language. His favorite books were Bunyan, Plutarch, Addison, and the Bible.

The more familiar we become with his character and his writings, the higher will our estimate of Dr. Franklin rise. This poor boy, who began life by selling ballads on Boston streets, rose by industry and capacity to be a leader among men, whom two worlds have delighted to honor. After he was twenty-one, he taught himself Latin, French, Italian, Spanish and German, gathered the largest and best private library in America, was a life-long student and writer, as well as an active man of affairs, and learned to speak French after he was seventy years old.

It is curious to note the changing fashions of the world of letters. The American books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with a countless multitude of others, have long been gathered to the limbo of dead and forgotten authors. Now and then one of them is disinterred and read, but only by the literary antiquary. Who ever reads the works of the Rev. Joel T. Headley? Yet his so-called histories of 'Napoleon and his Marshals,' and 'Washington and his Generals' were the great literary phenomenon of the middle of the century. Published about 1846-50, they ran like wildfire, and the presses could

not turn out copies fast enough to feed the eager popular demand. Over a hundred thousand copies of the 'Life of Washington' by this writer were sold, and the fever to devour Headley's melodramatic and sensational biographies, in which battles were described in the bombastic style in which the ambitious reporter depicts a fire, ran like a nettle-rash through the community. The oblivion into which they have fallen is an example of the fate which attends the authors who struggle after fine writing. Headley and Rudyard Kipling may endure for a day, but Irving and Hawthorne are perennial.

The writings of Washington Irving exhibit all those qualities of fancy, humor, and a charming and engaging style which so win the reader. High praise was it, and well deserved, which Charles Dickens bestowed upon him, when he told an American audience:

"Almost every night when I go up to bed, I take with me a volume of Washington Irving: and when I do not take him, I take his own brother, Oliver Goldsmith."

Of the poetical writers of America, there is little time to speak. The imagination of Bryant was essentially contemplative. The sober tinge which colors all his poetry is well illustrated in the remark that in Bryant's poems it seems always autumn. Yet there are exquisite pictures of nature, and a refined poetic sentiment, while in the harmony and finish of his verse he leaves little to be desired.

John G. Whittier is one of the noted names of American literature. His later poetry is refined, imaginative, and full of local color. The scenery of the Merrimac and of the Massachusetts coast lives in his verse. His meadows and beaches have the sweetness and the salt of nature. The rural poetry of our language, rich as it is in fine ballads and idyls, has few things more charming than "Maud Muller," and "Telling the Bees." Nowhere is the life of New England depicted with more beautiful realism.

Longfellow, although more widely read than any other, is scarcely entitled to the palm of the most characteristically American poet. His refined culture, everywhere apparent, suggests, even where he improves upon, European models. Beginning with the exquisitely finished 'Voices of the Night,' in 1839, his well-earned fame embraces more than forty years of

literary activity. His sensitive and impressionable nature ever took on a vivid coloring of what he saw and what he read. In tenderness, purity and sweetness, his poems are unsurpassed, but for rugged force, soaring imagination, and lofty melody we must go to other bards than Longfellow. He is eminently the poet of the fireside and the domestic affections. The limpid and rhythmic flow of his verse has no obscurities such as often daunt the reader in Browning and Emerson, but his delicate verse and beautiful sentiment wend ever on their tranquil way.

Walt Whitman has been the object of very undiscerning adulation by a few writers—and of derision and denunciation by others. The novelty of form in which he puts forth his so-called poems, captivates some, while it repels the mass of readers. These extraordinary rhapsodies upon man, nature and the world, are sung in verses without rhythm and without melody. His tedious categories or catalogues of animate and inanimate things, his wanton breach of all the laws of reticence and of modesty in writing, his gross and defiant animalism, and his utter lack of poetic form, render his writings, in spite of an occasional elevation of thought and a prevalent spirit of humanity, something like choke-pears to most readers. In compositions where dissonance takes the place of harmony, the first elements of poetic survival are wanting. The popular sense is just, which refuses to accept Walt Whitman as a great poet.

Edgar Poe is in some respects the most marked of American poets. His vivid imagination, and keen ear for harmony in verse, are conspicuous in the best of his very unequal poems. His mastery of the rhythmic art is such as to win for him from some critics the title of the first melodist among American poets.

To Nathaniel Hawthorne is awarded, by general consent, the foremost rank among the novelists of his own country, and there are those who place him above the best of his British contemporaries. A full generation after his best stories first appeared, they still continue to gather new audiences of readers, and exhibit evidences of enduring fame shared by no other American writer of fiction. Hawthorne's stories are so unique and original that you look in vain for a resemblance to any model. His marvellous power of introspection and of what may be termed moral and intellectual anatomy lays bare for us the inmost soul of his characters. His imagination works by its own law, and his

creative power is of the highest order. Without any intricacy of plot, or the smallest artifice or sensationalism, his stories hold us by a subtle spell which bespeaks the hand of a master. This great artist passed from the world in the very zenith of his powers, but the literary legacy he left to us, composed in a style that is well nigh faultless—simple, rich, harmonious and flowing, would make the reputation of a whole galaxy of writers.

Of the new school of American fiction brought in by Howells and Henry James, there is no time to speak in detail. These are the novels written with a purpose, to restore the realism of life to the realm of fiction, instead of the dramatic plots, overwrought characters and situations, and happy endings of the old regulation novel. How well they have succeeded may be matter for discussion; but the marked simplicity of style and the delicate handling are worthy of all praise.

The best work of Mr. Howells, however, is seen in his earlier 'Venetian Life,' where the mellow and rich tints of the artist are in perfect harmony with the scenes which he describes, and the cadence of the charming prose has much of the effect of poetry.

Among our historians Bancroft excels in the analysis of character, and his summing up of the qualities which contribute to the success or failure of men is often masterly in terseness and discernment. A marked tendency toward metaphysical subtlety and too wide generalisation was apparent in his earlier volumes, with an occasional exuberance of rhetoric. But he devoted the riper judgment of a serene old age to a revision of his history so complete and thorough, as to prune off many rhetorical blemishes, and his work has thus gained in simplicity and in symmetry.

Motley's style is sometimes a little too rhetorical—exhibiting traces of some impress of the word-painting of Carlyle—but his volumes, with their scholarly thoroughness and frequent brilliancy, unite the suffrages of nearly all readers.

Essay-writing has long occupied a high place in literature. More than any other form, except poetry, it calls for condensation of thought and of language. Many eminent names among American writers have put their best work into essays or criticism. I may briefly name Irving, in the 'Sketch-Book,' Allston, in his 'Essays or Art,' Channing, a broad, earnest, graceful and eloquent writer; Everett, in numberless refined and finished compositions; Willis, fresh, breezy, and sometimes

though rarely, thoughtful; Holmes, the cheery 'Autocrat of the Breakfast Table,' alert, shrewd, discursive, and always entertaining, a writer whose nimble wit skips over creation, from the pyramids of Egypt to Boston State-house; Donald G. Mitchell, whose early books of sentiment, 'Dream Life' and the 'Reveries of a Bachelor,' were the delight of all young-lady-dom a generation ago, but whose riper literary skill is shown in 'Wet Days at Edgewood'; Charles Dudley Warner, the delicate humorist, whose charming books are wholesome and restful to tired intellects; James Russell Lowell, that lamented scholar whom I do not hesitate to call the foremost of American critics, equipped with wide and various learning, a lambent wit, and an exquisite style; George W. Curtis, whose 'Easy-Chair' sends forth so many wise and genial and humorous essays, whose literary skill is of the finest, whose catholic sympathies are of the largest, whose genial satire is of the gentlest, whose charity is almost too charitable for this world; Henry D. Thoreau, the gifted son of the woods, whose naturalism pervades all of his writings, whose books are racy of the soil, the sun, and the dew,—a little russet man who found poetry in the flattest regions of bleak New England; Henry Ward Beecher, whose 'Star Papers' are full of gems of thought and expression, the work of a keen observer of nature, and master of a genial philosophy of life; and John Burroughs, a prose-poet of rare gifts of fancy, who knows all the birds of the air by heart, can tell of the subtle chemistry of grasses, leaves and flowers, and weaves into his essays the colors of the sky and the sweetness of the fields.

Of the long roll of American essayists, Emerson stands easily at the head. In him, poetry and philosophy meet and mingle. He belongs to no school, and his genius refuses to be classified. The most ideal of writers, born into the most materialistic of ages, his rare intellectual and spiritual gifts inform all his writings with a character entirely their own. Without being consecutive or logical (for Emerson never argues, he announces) his style has marked individuality,—often aphoristic, dealing much in antithesis and in paradox. He has absorbed much of the wisdom of antiquity, but his learning never overlays his thought. A close observer of nature, he draws upon all her kingdoms for illustration. No man ever put into such eloquent speech his reverent sense of the miracle of the universe. Believing that in their better and normal moods, all men are idealists, he proclaims with

lofty impressiveness the spiritual laws, and the characteristic trait of his philosophy is that it is profoundly ethical. One of the most sententious of writers, a whole anthology of quotations might be compiled from his essays. It is their very terseness and pith which combine with their constant and kaleidoscopic change, and abrupt transition, to make them hard or obscure reading to those who want their literary recreation, like a clear and prattling brook, to flow on forever. As an intellectual tonic, there are few writings equal to a course of Emerson. The true test of his place in literature is that he grows in popularity with each advancing year; and his intellectual magnetism is such as to attract thinkers of the most diverse gifts and creeds, who are beholden to him for perennial stimulus and suggestion.

To bring to a close these imperfect and discursive sketches,—it will be seen that I have attempted no close analysis of style as an art to be learned. Though this might perhaps more nearly have befitted the objects of your Association, I have so little skill in that direction that I have preferred to trace the characteristics of style in the writings of some of the more notable names in modern literature. Whether our own age has gained, on the whole, in the elements of a good English style, over the preceding ones, may be open to debate. Before we insist too much upon the superior grace, ease, and finish of the works of living writers, it might be well to compare them with some of the master-pieces of the age of Elizabeth, or even of Queen Anne. Something might be said of the newspaper style of the day, notably the reporter's English most in vogue; and I had an anthology of specimens, of which I spare you the infliction. Our language acquires a rapidly increasing influx of new words, many of which are of more than doubtful parentage. It is not needful to be a very rigid purist in style, in order to reject and discountenance the badly written books and the illegitimate words which tend to debauch our literature and to degrade our language. If it be one of the objects of this Association to elevate the standard of thought and of expression, it may well aid in erecting a barrier against the tide of vulgar slang, which is coming in like a flood, and threatens to submerge our noble English tongue. We can render no higher service to letters than to recall attention from the frivolous productions of the hour to the study of the great masters of thought and speech.

A. R. SPOFFORD.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Yielding to the solicitation of our Secretary, who we all know is a man not to be denied or put off, I venture to submit to your consideration a few remarks in honor of our lamented president, James Russell Lowell. The time of preparation at my disposal has been scant, the theme is great, my inadequacy shall be self-confessed. I do not flatter myself with the belief that I could do justice to such a man as Lowell under any circumstances. But fortunately the present occasion does not call for justice. The daily, weekly, and monthly press of our own country and of England has poured forth a mighty volume of criticism, eulogy, and reminiscence. The entire Anglo-American race has had abundant means of measuring its profound loss. As individual Americans, we can do little else than add our modest voices to the universal outburst of regret. Yet as an organized body of instructors, proud to do honor to one who honored us by accepting our leadership and retaining it so many years at no little inconvenience to himself, it is only fitting that we should try to tell the world in general what Lowell was to us in especial.

Lowell, then, was throughout his long and active life, always the scholar. He never ceased to read both widely and closely. "The tumult of the times disconsolate" did not divert his vision from the eternal verities enshrined in the best books of the best men. Even while serving his country at a foreign court, he had an eye and an ear for poets, philosophers, and historians. This catholicity of reading engendered in him naturally a like catholicity of thought and feeling. It is impossible to read even the slightest of his writings without discerning its genuine cosmopolitanism.

Yet Lowell was, for all his ancient and foreign culture, none the less a genuine American of the nineteenth century. Those who impute to him any undue liking for the foreign as foreign talk wildly of what they know not. True, Lowell told us more than once in plain speech what he thought of the abuses in our social and political life. But if that be un-American, then I for

one do not know what is American. Did Jeremiah cease to be a Hebrew when he poured forth the vials of his wrath upon his degenerate race? Did Carlyle cease to be a loyal British subject when he described the United Kingdom as containing thirty millions of people chiefly fools? Was Goethe not German when he told his countrymen that in trying to be polite they were apt to lie? Lowell was not a prophet like Jeremiah, not a cynic like Carlyle, not a satirist like Goethe. He was herein only a man who knew the right from the wrong and feared not to call each by its true name. The Americanism, more distinctively still the Yankeeism, underneath Lowell's ripe culture, is to me so self-evident that I do not understand how others can fail to perceive it at once. Others of our own race, I mean. For to the Englishman this Yankeeism is still and probably will remain a puzzle. English critics, both before and after his death, called him shy. He had to them the air of one who was holding himself back and measuring them. This is only partially true. Lowell was shy in the sense that we Americans are all shy. We need not be ashamed of the trait, it is characteristic of our youthful civilization. It is the unvoiced expression of a need to preserve one's individuality as a condition of gaining adequate and final recognition. In Lowell's case certainly it could never have come from any desire to gauge his surroundings and compare them with himself.

As a truly representative American scholar, then, Lowell may serve as our model. We members of this Association are also striving to be scholars. Not a few of us have enjoyed the advantages of study abroad. We have no cause to complain of our unfamiliarity with the languages and literatures of modern Europe. But are we working in quite the same spirit? Are we exerting ourselves as he did to keep back the dreary waters of ignorance and half-knowledge that perpetually encircle and threaten true culture? Perhaps I have no right to put the question thus bluntly. Yet the doubt comes upon me again and again and will not be laid to rest with smooth words. I might give the question another form: Do we ourselves read enough, do we encourage and stimulate our students to read enough? Or is our people slowly losing its relish for reading as reading? Now the question in this form leads me up to one of Lowell's own exhortations, having which at my back I feel more courage

to proceed. Lowell said, in his address before this Association two years ago :

“ There seems to be a tendency of late to value literature and even poetry for their usefulness as courses of moral philosophy or metaphysics, or as exercises to put and keep the mental muscles in training. Perhaps the highest praise of a book is that it sets us thinking, but surely the next highest praise is that it ransoms us from thought. Milton tells us that he thought Spenser ‘a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,’ but did he prize him less that he lectured in a Garden of Alcina? To give pleasure merely is one, and not the lowest, function of whatever deserves to be called literature. Culture, which means the opening and refining of the faculties, is an excellent thing, perhaps the best, but there are other things to be had of the Muses which are also good in their kind. Refined pleasure is refining pleasure too, and teaches something in her way, though she be no proper school-dame. In my weaker moments I revert with a sigh, half deprecation, half relief, to the old notion of literature as a holiday, as,

‘The world’s sweet inn from care and wearisome turmoil.’ ”

And near the close of the same address Lowell said :

“ I think that the purely linguistic side in the teaching of them [modern languages] seems in the way to get more than its fitting share. I insist only that in our College courses this should be a separate study, and that, good as it is in itself, it should, in the scheme of general instruction, be restrained to its own function as the guide to something better. And that something better is Literature.”

It was Lowell’s method to suggest rather than to state, to state in part rather than in full, leaving to his reader the working out of the final sequence. The passages just quoted illustrate his method perfectly. May I venture to state what he has only suggested, to state fully what he has stated only in part? Lowell wished to give to his countrymen, through us, a note of warning. He feared that we were overlooking the end in the means, mistaking the acquisition of a language for the enjoyment of the literary treasures locked up in that language. And on the other hand we were making literature itself too much of a study and not enough of a pleasure. Both mistakes have this in common : they favor the head at the expense of the heart. According to Lowell we are to read for pleasure and it is this *pleasure* that shall teach us. The truth is not a new one. Three centuries before Lowell, Sidney uttered it in his noble ‘Defense of Poesy.’

But truths as old as the hills need re-telling to each generation. It was Lowell's right and privilege to re-tell this truth to us. For one, I feel the timeliness of Lowell's warning every day. The unwelcome perception forces itself upon me that I am teaching a body of students who do not read for reading's sake. They perform their allotted tasks creditably enough, they know what I have a right to demand of them, they make no objections to a reasonable amount of what is called collateral reading. But they do not seem to go beyond the strictly needful, they do not jump over the wall of the snug college paddock and play the truant on the green hill-side. Is my experience different from that of my colleagues? I trust it may be, but I fear it is not. Lowell, you will observe, speaks of the *old* notion of literature as a holiday. Fortunately it was not too old to have become defunct in my college-days. At the risk of being dubbed a *laudator temporis acti*, a tiresome praiser of the good old days that never were, I venture to believe that our collegians thirty years ago, while they may have studied less than their present successors, read more and read better books. Those were the days when Longfellow and Emerson, Hawthorne and Lowell too were in their prime with Whittier and Holmes, and we read each fresh emanation of their muse with hearty unquestioning delight. Such readings were in truth our college holidays.

But perhaps I am in danger of being misunderstood, as if I were arguing for the conversion of the *study* of literature into mere recreation. Yet in strictness I am not arguing for anything. So far as the college study of English literature is concerned, my only regret is that it is not made more comprehensive and also more searching. I am no believer in reducing the study of a literary masterpiece to a mere appeal to the feelings. The more of intellectual discipline is put into the study, the better. My remarks were directed to private reading away from the class-room. Can we as teachers increase this reading in quantity, and also improve its quality? The problem is difficult and to be frank I see no royal road to its solution. I have no scheme of university-extension to propose. The matter does not call for schemes, but rather for personal example and influence. If we desire to make readers of our students, we should begin by setting the fashion, we should also—shall I say it—make ourselves personally interesting and objects of imitation. This last

assertion will doubtless be a surprise to all and a stumbling-block to some. I can hear one and another exclaim *sotto voce*: What! Is it down in the college programme that I am to be not only a good scholar and a good teacher, but also a *beau idéal*? The quality of being interesting can not be commanded, however desirable. What suggested it to me was the part that Lowell played as Harvard professor. I speak on this point with much diffidence. Not having enjoyed the privilege of sitting under his instruction, I am forced to rely wholly upon common report and upon the recently published reminiscences of him by Harvard graduates. These reminiscences, if I mistake not, agree in describing him as a most unorthodox teacher, but a most fascinating leader. One enthusiastic disciple, whose words unfortunately I carelessly neglected to preserve, but whose spirit I am confident has not escaped me, expressed himself to this effect: We, that is a few of us, were reading Italian literature, Dante, with Lowell. But we were never sure, before we met, what we were going to get from him. It might be Dante, it might be just as well Cervantes, or Shakespeare, perhaps even Homer. But whatever it was, it was always of Lowell's best, spontaneous, bright, profound. It always opened our souls to the possibilities of literary insight, it left us hungry and thirsty for more. And to read with and after him was a pleasure.

This I call teaching of the highest order. It may have counted for little in the Harvard registry-books, but its influence in moulding the characters of Harvard's literary *élite* must have been incalculable. Alas, we can not all be Lowells. The more's the pity. But can we not effect something in his spirit? What Lowell did was to infuse into his teaching his personality. Have we no personality worth imparting? Let us not confess it to our shame. There is not a teacher in our midst so young and inexperienced as not to know something well, to be interested in it with all his heart. Will it not be possible for him, then, to make his students feel that on that one subject, if on no other, he is always approachable and even glad to be approached? The discipline of the recitation-room is a wise institution. I am far from seeking to belittle it. But beyond and above discipline there is humanity, and the young are quick to perceive and act upon it. Our instruction, certainly our college-instruction, always seemed to me too formal, too routined. Yet I see no reason why

the humblest instructor should not be able to give a bit of himself, to let the class into the workings of his mind, give them an inkling of his doubts, his likes and dislikes, his studies, his opinions, and especially how he came by his opinions. This insight into his reading may be the surest way of teaching them to read. And, as Goethe wisely said :

“ Ein Werdender wird immer dankbar sein.”

The mention of Goethe leads me by easy transition to a third point in these remarks. It is in the nature of a stricture upon Lowell, although stricture is too harsh a term for what I am trying to express. I wish to touch as lightly as possible upon what seems to me a limitation of Lowell's literary sympathies. I do not hesitate to say that his culture was the broadest and richest that our people has yet exhibited. Yet in one element I think it could have been broadened and quickened. Namely in its appreciation of German literature, and especially of Goethe. No one would be so ill-advised as to suggest that Lowell did not know German literature well. Undoubtedly he had read many of its masterpieces repeatedly. Yet I question his thorough sympathy with it. As to Goethe in particular, I go so far as to believe that he never quite mastered the great German, that he never bestowed upon him the patient loving devotion that he gave, for instance, to Dante, or Cervantes, or Molière. Why this should have been, I do not know. Perhaps Lowell's tastes and habits had been fixed in favor of Romance before his attention was directed to German. Possibly even there was something in the temper of German that was not wholly to his liking. Be the cause what it may, the fact remains, that Lowell did not turn spontaneously and naturally to German for his illustrations. Let me cite one bit of evidence. Two years ago he addressed our Cambridge meeting. His subject was the place of Modern languages and literatures in our college-life. Of this address I need only say that it is in his happiest vein, genial, suggestive, humorous, temperate in tone, noble in style. Like most of his writings it is rich in apt quotations. The greater number are naturally from English. But there are five from other languages, that is, one from Homer, one from Virgil, two from French, one from Spanish. There is not one from German.

It is true, he speaks in one place of Goethe, but what he says only confirms my belief, already stated, that he had not really mastered Goethe. The passage is this :

“Goethe's *Iphigenie* is far more perfect in form than his *Faust*, which is indeed but a succession of scenes strung together on a thread of dramatic or moral purpose.”

Is *Faust* only “a succession of scenes strung together”? This might be said of the First Part, which has very little of the original Faust-story and could be very fairly entitled *Heinrich und Gretchen*. But the real Faust is contained in the Second Part, and that—so far from being a string of scenes—is an almost logically rigorous development of the Faust-idea. We of the present day are only beginning to comprehend the poem as a whole.

But it would be idle to find fault with the limitations of genius. It is much wiser to accept our man of genius as he is and make the most of him. We are to be thankful that providence has given us a Lowell to be at once our “guide, philosopher, and friend.” For he was in every sense a man, not a mere writer of elegant poetry and instructive essays, not a mere colporteur of international ideas. He lived the full life of a man who stooped to nothing sordid, who scorned whatever was ignoble in speech or in action. And herein certainly we are to follow him. Not every one can be the poet and critic, but it is in everyone's power to be the man. In Lowell's own words, “Heaven alone may be had for the asking.” We have lost one of our great leaders. How great, our children's children will know even better than we. But in the loss there is the consolation that Lowell did not live in vain. His image is in our hearts, serene and ineffaceable. I can think of no more appropriate motto for him than these lines from Goethe's memorable lament over Schiller:

“Denn er war unser! Mag das stolze Wort
Den lauten Schmerz gewaltig übertönen!
Er mochte sich bei uns im sichern Port
Nach wildem Sturm zum Dauernden gewöhnen.”

Indessen schritt sein Geist gewaltig fort
Ins Ewige des Wahren, Guten, Schönen,
Und hinter ihm in wesenlosem Scheine
Lag, was uns alle bändigt,—das Gemeine!

JAS. MORGAN HART.

A STUDY OF LANIER'S POEMS.

1. Two themes welded in perfect harmony will tell the story of our poet's life, music and love. Music-born with him, descending to him by a long line of inheritance, his life-long passion; love, broad, catholic and unfathomable, the source of his real living and the key note of his character. Love, the core of his inmost being, the very marrow of his daily thought. Music, the flower of his daily life and the fittest utterance of his secret soul. By good right, too, could he lay claim to the gift of music. In the days of good Queen Bess, one Jerome Lanier, a Huguenot refugee had been kindly received in England and he repaid this kindness by giving to England's sovereign his talents and by bequeathing to her successors, James I. and the First Charles, the talents of his gifted son, Nicholas.

This Nicholas was diplomatist, painter and musical director. Another Nicholas Lanier, the son of this first Nicholas was a musician at the court of Charles II. and was the first president of the Society of Musicians, an organization formed "for the improvement of the science and the interest of the professors." The list of the charter members of this society contained the name of four other Laniers. The family history in America dates from 1716, when Thomas Lanier with others settled on a grant of land, which contained the present site of Richmond, Va.

Sidney Lanier's mother was Mary Anderson, of Virginia family and of Scotch descent. This family, the Andersons, was famed for its talent for oratory, poetry and music.

Of the union of these two lines, in both of which music had always been a heavenly gift, sprang Sidney Lanier. He was born on the third of February, 1842, at the present home of his father Robert S. Lanier, a lawyer of Macon, Ga. The boy's first appeal to unusual attention and the first cause he gave his relatives and friends for prophecies or forebodings was his talent, almost a frenzy, for music. This talent showed itself in his ability to play on every instrument with which he became acquainted—including the organ, the flute, the piano, the violin, the guitar,

the banjo. His frenzy he himself indicates when he tells us that later in his college days the violin-voice would sometimes so exalt him in rapture, that presently he would sink from his solitary music-worship into a deep trance, thence to awake, alone, on the floor of his room, sorely shaken in nerve. His father recognizing his passion for music and the mysterious and almost dangerous influence exerted on him by the plaintive violin note, encouraged him to substitute the flute. But this was with his father a compromise. He would gladly have seen his son give up music as an unmanly occupation, and he himself, for a time, felt this same misgiving about an art, which a generation ago was in this country considered effeminate. In 1860 he graduated with first honors from Oglethorpe College, a Presbyterian institution near Macon. In a letter written years afterwards, he alludes to "the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college," but in the last weeks of his life he avowed that he owed the strongest and most valuable stimulus of his life to Prof. James Woodrow, then a professor at Oglethorpe College, and now a distinguished editor, professor and divine in Columbia, S. C. However poor may have been the college, Lanier laid there the foundation of a superior education. Upon graduation he was appointed tutor. He spent the next months in the study of languages and philosophy and in writing verse. Worried in mind about the province of music and more deeply disturbed about his own life's work, he was called from his reveries and reflections by the rude noise of war. He enlisted at the age of nineteen and remained a private in spite of three offers of promotion, because promotion meant separation from his younger brother, Clifford. His first year's service was in no wise onerous, and he found much time to pursue his linguistic studies and for the solace of music. When he and his brother were transferred to the signal corps and were stationed at Petersburg, Va., he enjoyed the advantages of a small local library. Here in the midst of war a secret enemy declared battle—a battle to last fifteen years and end in Lanier's fall. Consumption, the dread delusive disease, made its first premonitions felt. The doctors told him afterwards that music had been his chief ally in his warfare, for the regular, full inspirations necessary to flute playing had prolonged his life. In due time the separation of the brothers came. Each was ordered to take charge of a vessel

and run the blockade. Sidney's was captured and he was imprisoned at Point Lookout. He was released in February, 1865, and on foot he made his weary way to his far Southern home. He carried with him his earthly possessions—a twenty dollar gold piece and some little effects, which had been taken from him, when he was captured, and his flute, which he had hidden in his sleeve and taken into prison with him. He reached Macon utterly exhausted and for six long weeks was desperately ill. The cloud of his own suffering was not so dark as that which passed over the early days of his convalescence when his beloved mother died of consumption.

Lanier arose from his bed with pronounced congestion of one lung. He hastened south to regain his health. In December, 1865, he accepted a clerkship in Montgomery, Ala., which he held until 1867. In the summer of 1867 he went to New York to arrange to have his only novel 'Tiger-Lilies,' published. This novel had been written in April of that year. ¹Ward, Lanier's appreciative and admiring biographer, to whom all students of Lanier's poems owe a debt of gratitude that they would gladly pay, were it possible, says:

"It is a luxuriant, unpruned work, written in haste for the press, within the space of three weeks, but one which gave rich promise of the poet."

In the fall of 1867, Lanier took charge of an Academy in Prattville, Ala. In December of the same year he was married to Miss Mary Day, of Macon, who in addition to being an ideally devoted wife was the inspiration of some of his best songs and the confessor to whom some of his most sacred secrets were revealed. In January, 1868, he suffered his first hemorrhage. He returned to Macon and began the study of law with his father. He practised until December, 1872. In this period he had sought health in New York, but in vain. He went to San Antonio in search of a permanent home. Disappointed he returned to Macon in April, 1873. Not yet had Lanier settled that question, which came to him in his college days, as to his life's work. The work of the last years had been unsatisfactory to the poet-spirit and his stifled yearnings for music and literature now became a

¹ It is unnecessary to say to those who have read Ward's Introduction to Scribner's 'Edition of Lanier's Poems,' that the brief biographical sketch, which I have felt it necessary to insert here as an essential prelude to my paper, is a digest of that graceful memorial. I acknowledge explicitly and with gladness a debt, which, it is too apparent, I cannot repay.

living, burning desire. He was fully aware of the precarious state of his health, he spoke of his death even, but he resolved to fight off the monster as long as possible, and to fill the intervening years with consecrated devotion to music and letters. Equipped with flute and pen his only weapons in his intense struggle against poverty and death, he turned his face toward the north—to some point where he might enjoy the companionship of books and an "atmosphere of art." In describing this longing he wrote later to his literary friend and patron, Bayard Taylor:

"I could never describe to you what a mere drought and famine my life has been, as regards that multitude of matters, which I fancy one absorbs when one is in an atmosphere of art, or when one is in conversational relation with men of letters, with travellers, with persons, who have either seen, or written, or done large things. Perhaps you know that with us of the younger generation in the South since the war, pretty much the whole of life has been merely not dying."

After spending a few months in New York, Lanier in December, 1873, procured an engagement as first flute in the Peabody Symphony Concerts in Baltimore. To his practical and devoted father this move seemed unwise, and he urged his son to come back to Macon. To this request the son's answer is pathetically conclusive:

"My dear father" he writes in the body of his letter, "think how for twenty years, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college and of a bare army, and then of an exacting business life, through all the discouragement of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways—I say, think how in spite of all these depressing circumstances and of a thousand more which I could enumerate, these two figures of music and poetry have steadily kept in my heart so that I could not vanish them. Does it not seem to you as to me, that I begin to have the right to enroll myself among the devotees of these two sublime arts, after having followed them so long and so humbly and through so much bitterness."

This the father seems to have received as the final word upon his plan, and it was by the assistance of his father and brother that he was kept from abject poverty. But even with such help as they could render, his was a pitiable case, for his wife and babes must be fed, hunger must be kept from his own door, and yet he could find little time for serious toil between the frequent recurring hemorrhages. In May, 1874, he visited

Florida. On his return, while at Sunnyside, he wrote his poem "Corn," which attracted to the writer many admirers and won him the unfailing friendship of Bayard Taylor. He was busy in the next years reading and writing. In 1876, he was in West Chester, Pa.; later he returned with his family to Baltimore, but was compelled by the state of his health to go to Florida. In the following spring he returned to Georgia, thence to Pennsylvania, thence to Baltimore.

During the winters of 1877-78 and 1878-79, Lanier gave first a course of lectures on Elizabethan verse, and later a more ambitious course on Shakespeare. On his birthday in 1879, he received from President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, formal notice of his appointment in this institution as lecturer on English Literature for the following year. The *honorarium* attached to this lectureship was the first definite income that Lanier had received since he gave up the principalship of the Prattville Academy. When his appointment as lecturer at Johns Hopkins was made known to him, he had just been through a severe illness accompanied as was usual now by a hemorrhage. He spent six weeks in the summer of 1879, at the Rockbridge Alum Springs, and during this time began and completed his volume on the 'Science of English Verse,' one of the most suggestive, if not the most satisfactory, treatises yet written on this difficult and unsettled subject. In spite of illness near to death during the winter of 1879-80,

"he attended continuous rehearsals at the Peabody, gave weekly ten lectures upon English Literature, two of them public at the University, two of them to University classes and the other six at private schools,"

and besides all this wrote a number of poems. In May, 1880, the beginning of the end was evident. With his wife and her father he went for the summer to West Chester, Pa., where his fourth son was born. The fall climate there was too severe and he returned in September to Baltimore. From now on he waged a face to face battle with death, but with no thought of surrender. In December he was nearly overcome. In February he ventured out of doors, as a test of his ability to deliver his second course of lectures at the University. Ward says:

"His improvement ceased on that first day of exposure. Nevertheless by April, he had gone through the twelve lectures

(there were to have been twenty), which were later published under the title 'The English Novel.' A few of the earlier lectures he penned himself; the rest he was obliged to dictate to his wife. With the utmost care of himself going in a closed carriage and sitting during his lectures, his strength was so exhausted that the struggle for breath in the carriage on his return seemed each time to threaten the end. Those who heard him listened with a sort of fascinated terror, as in doubt whether the hoarded breath would suffice to the end of the hour."

"Sunrise," the last of his poems (save one rhymed note of thanks) was written, when he was too feeble to lift his food to his mouth, and with a fever-temperature of one hundred and four.

—till yonder beside thee
My soul shall float, friend Sun,
The day being done.

He was passing through the shadows of the declining day. In April, 1881, he was in New York making arrangements with the Scribners for the appearance of some of his books for boys. In May, his brother Clifford came and Lanier was carried to a point near Asheville, N. C., where camping out was to be tried. No improvement came and early in August they moved to Lynn, Polk Co., N. C. Clifford visited him there and believing him better, returned home. His father and his father's wife left five days later, with the intention of returning soon. Mrs. Lanier's words tell the story's end:

"We are left alone" (August 29th) "with one another. On the last night of the summer comes a change. His love and immortal will held off the destroyer of our summer yet one more week, until the forenoon of September 7th, and then falls the frost, and the unfaltering will renders its supreme submission to the adored will of God."

B. As we turn from his life, his outer life—gentle, courteous, chivalrous, submissive—to his inner life, and to his published volume of poems, wherein that inner life is best revealed, let us endeavor to discover some characteristics of this poet's mind, and trace the subtle means of its expression. In taking the measure of a man's true worth, we know much if we can determine his conception of God and His revelations, of his fellow-man and of himself. Lanier has answered in his life and in his letters, many of the momentous questions that naturally arise from these relations.

When I read in the "Marshes of Glynn,"

"Ye marshes, how candid and simple and nothing—with holding and free

Ye publish yourselves to the sky and offer yourselves to the sea!
Tolerant plains, that suffer the sea and the rains and the sun,
Ye spread and span like the catholic man who hath mightily won
God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain
And sight out of blindness and purity out of a stain,"

I recall how his soul had expanded in love of God until a "catholic man," he was no longer in perfect sympathy with the strict, religious, discipline to which his early years had been subjected, nor could he submit with resignation to the chafing limitations of denominational lines, but his faith in God was not shaken.

"As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold I will build me a nest on the greatness of God:
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the marsh and the skies:
By so many roots as the marsh-grass sends in the sod
I will heartily lay me a-hold on the greatness of God;
Oh, like to the greatness of God is the greatness within
The range of the marshes, the liberal marshes of Glynn."

Even more surely than in the greatness of God did Lanier rest in His love, and it was his lofty conception of this that made him record his "Remonstrance" against opinion and its creeds and mandates. With an intense earnestness this forcible protest ends,

"I would thou left'st me free, to live with love,
And faith, that through the love of love doth find
My Lord's dear presence in the stars above,
The clods below, the flesh without, the mind
Within, the bread, the tear, the smile.
Opinion, damned Intriguer, gray with guile,
Let me alone."

In the beautiful ballad of "Trees and the Master," we have a clear indication of Lanier's recognition of the Christ-man, while in the stronger poem the "Crystal," we have a still more elaborate view of this conception.

"But Thee, but Thee, O sovereign Seer of time,
But Thee, O poets' Poet, Wisdom's Tongue,
But Thee, O man's best Man, O love's best Love,
O perfect life in perfect labor writ,
O all men's Comrade, Servant, King, or Priest,—
What *if* or *yet*, what mole, what flaw, what lapse,

What least defect or shadow of defect,
 What rumor, tattled by an enemy,
 Of inference loose, what lack of grace
 Even in torture's grasp or sleep's, or death's,—
 Oh, what amiss may I forgive in Thee,
 Jesus, good Paragon, Thou Crystal Christ?"

- Time and again Lanier reverts to *love* as the means by which God is to be apprehended, and it is through this medium of love that he sees God revealed in all nature. Nowhere is Lanier's poetic instinct more apparent than in his interpretation of Nature's phenomena. With all the sensibility of an open-hearted man, he receives the impressions of nature, but through her phases and appearances he sees a deeper thought, a more mysterious and mighty truth. The Clover on which the browsing Ox is feeding may mean to Lanier the great men of earth consumed by Course of Time. Corn is a fit emblem of the true poet, and mirrors the coveted contentment. The Mocking Bird interprets all the songs, the dreams, the passion-plays of birds. The bee is the poet that comes to the world-flower with "starry stuff about his wings." Of the melancholy dove he sings;

"Nay if ye three, O Morn! O Spring! O Heart!
 Should chant grave unisons of grief and love;
 Ye could not mourn with more melodious art
 Than daily doth yon dim sequestered dove."

- A pet mocking bird killed by a cat suggests the cat-like Death that slew Keats, who set all Heaven's words in rhyme.
- From the "Marshes of Glynn" quotations have already been made, and it would be easy to multiply these until the most sceptical would recognize not only Lanier's deep and appreciative observation of nature, but the poet-spirit of his own deep soul, which he found continually mirrored in her face.
- In the quiet, peaceful description of a "Florida Sunday," his appreciation of nature is throughout interwoven with his confidence in God. Identifying himself with nature in all its phenomena, he writes:

"I am ye,
 And ye myself; yea, lastly, Thee,
 God, whom my roads all reach, howe'er they run,
 My Father, Friend, Belovèd, dear All-One,
 Thee in my soul, my soul in Thee, I feel,
 Self of myself."

or

“ And I am one with all the kinsmen things
That e'er my Father fathered.”

It goes without saying that this oneness with all created things was in no wise forgotten or left out of sight in our poet's conception of his fellowmen. With them in all stations and everywhere he stands in a union of closest kinship and unyielding love. In his one novel he had written in his remarkable allegory, wherein War is compared to a plant, these words :

“ Friends and horticulturists if war was ever right then Christ was always wrong ; and war-flowers and the vine of Christ grow different ways, insomuch that no man may grow with both.”

Lanier grew with the vine of Christ and his nature, formed of love, could brook no discord between man and man. Opinion, which set men in hostility over against each other was hated ; and vice of every kind, by which evil and enmity entered the world, was the legitimate subject of his attack. Into the alembic, where seethe the selfishness, the crimes, the hates of the world, he pours love as the pacific constituent. Of many a troublesome problem did he feel :

“ Vainly might Plato's brain revolve it :
Plainly the heart of a child could solve it.”

There seemed to be no limits to the breadth of his love. In his beautiful “Symphony” the violins breathe “we're all for love,” and the flute in its velvet note whispers “I'm for heart.”

“ The Time needs heart, 'tis tired of head.”

In this one poem he utters his burning protest against the heartlessness of trade, urges the universal application of the command, ‘Love thy Neighbor,’ almost shrieks the bitterness of merchantable love and sighs for nobler wooing, pleads for a maidenly purity in man and sums up all life in a fugue, whereof the ever recurring theme is Love.

From beginning to end of his volume of poems, his abiding interest in his fellowman and his comprehensive love are on every page revealed. When he looks into the “shining gray” of his wife's eyes, a love that links God and man is fixed in his tender verse. As he leans over his sleeping child, a magic tenderness is crystallized in a poetic vow of fatherly love. Grandfather and grandmother stand under an arch whose gold

is refined by the power of love. His heart goes out to friendly patron, master of music, interpreter of art, to students, to sweet ministering maidens, to earth's oppressed and to all aspiring. Wherever his poetry reaches, it breathes an aroma of tender gentleness and care, and woos to higher life and higher loving. No quarter, save that which heavenly mercy dictates, could he give to any vice or evil deed. His standard of morality was high and fixed. He stood as the avowed champion of virtue and the open enemy of vice. The ethical purpose of his writings were too clearly defined, were it not the simple, prevailing purpose of his daily life. But Lanier was no preacher of a code of morals, which he did not recognize as binding on himself. Indeed he was more exacting with himself than with his fellow-man, because he did not divorce talent and responsibility, and he of all men best knew his own high talent. In 1873, he wrote from Baltimore to his father :

"Several persons from whose judgment in such matters there can be no appeal, have told me, for instance, that I am the greatest flute player in the world ; and several others of equally authoritative judgment have given me an almost equal encouragement to work with my pen,"

and then he hastens to add in parenthesis

"Of course I protest against the necessity which makes me write such things about myself. I only do so because I so appreciate the love and tenderness, which prompt you to desire one with you, etc."

A little later he writes to his wife :

"So many great ideas for Art are born to me each day, I am swept away into the land of All-Delight, by their strenuous sweet whirlwind ; and I find within myself such entire, yet humble, confidence of possessing every single element of power to carry them all out, save the little paltry sum of money that would suffice to keep me clothed and fed in the meantime. I do not understand this."

But Lanier was no visionary egotist. From his early youth he had been a great reader and a general student. He had availed himself of the opportunity to read in Petersburg, Va., and he had revelled in the greater advantages offered by the libraries of Baltimore. He enumerates as his sweetest masters Dante, Keats, Chopin, Raphael, Lucretius, Omar, Angelo. Beethoven, Chaucer, Schubert, Shakespeare, Bach and Buddha.

What a strange medley of names and yet how significant of Lanier's sweep and sympathies of mind! In another poem ("The Crystal") with critical acumen and admirable discrimination he shows his familiarity with Homer, Socrates, Buddha, Dante, Milton, Aeschylus, Lucretius, Aurelius, A Kempis, Epictetus, Behmen, Swedenborg, Langlande, Cædmon, Emerson, Keats and Tennyson. The names of Langlande and Cædmon give occasion to recall that not only was Lanier broadly read, and a man of a rich fund of knowledge gathered from all quarters by general reading, but he was an earnest, painstaking and diligent student. His knowledge of Old English, as exhibited by his translations and his remarks on pronunciation, etc., in his 'Science of English Verse,' show how seriously he had taken his self-imposed task, and how thoroughly he had accomplished his purpose of learning his mother tongue.

In criticising Poe he had said "The trouble with Poe was, he did not know enough." Lanier had determined not to fail for this reason and with an industry and perseverance almost inconceivable in a man, whose constant companion was the shadow of death, he toiled in accumulating stores and in developing his mind. He exacted of himself labor and sacrifice that another would have been rightly called a tyrant for exacting. In his studies for the 'Science of English Verse,' he read deeply and fully in the theory of sound, and was very much interested in experiments he himself was making with reference to sound-co-ordinations.

The same enthusiasm and zeal he showed in his studies, he exhibited in his editorship of books, his preparation of lectures and his rehearsals for the concerts. Since we will have to revert later to his musical knowledge, it is not out of place to record here the eulogy pronounced by the leader of the Peabody Symphony Orchestra, Asger Hamerik:

"To him as a child in his cradle. Music was given; the heavenly gift to feel and to express himself in tones. His human nature was like an enchanted instrument, a magic flute, or the lyre of Apollo, needing but a breath or a touch to send its beauty out into the world. It was indeed irresistible that he should turn with those poetical feelings which transcend language to the penetrating gentleness of the flute or the infinite passion of the violin; for there was an agreement, a spiritual correspondence between his nature and theirs, so that they mutually absorbed

and expressed each other. In his hands the flute no longer remained a mere material instrument but was transformed into a voice that set heavenly harmonies into vibration. Its tones developed colors, warmth and a low sweetness of unspeakable poetry; they were not only true and pure, but poetic, allegoric, as it were, suggestive of the depths and heights of being and of the delights which the earthly ear never hears and the earthly eye never sees. No doubt his firm faith in these lofty idealities gave him the power to present them to our imaginations and thus by the aid of the higher language of Music to inspire others with that sense of beauty, in which he constantly dwelt. His conception of music was not reached by an analytic study of note by note, but was intuitive and spontaneous; like a woman's reason; he felt it so, because he felt it so, and his delicate perception required no more logical form of reasoning. His playing appealed alike to the musically learned and to the unlearned, for he would magnetize the listener; but the artist felt in his performance the superiority of the momentary living inspiration to all the rules and shifts of mere technical scholarship. His art was not only the art of art, but an art above art. I will never forget the impression he made on me when he played the flute-concerto of Emil Hårtmann at a Peabody Symphony Concert, in 1878; his tall, handsome, manly presence, his flute breathing noble sorrows, noble joys, the orchestra softly responding. The audience was spellbound. Such distinction, such refinement! He stood the master, the genius."

However confident, the deep souled, divinely gifted Lanier, may have been of his genius in music he was no less certain of his power as a poet. To his wife he wrote:

"I will make to thee a little confession of faith, telling thee, my dearer self, in words, what I do not say to my not-so-dear-self except in more modest feeling. Know then, that disappointments were inevitable and will still come until I have fought the battle which every great artist has had to fight since time began. This—dimly felt while I was doubtful of my vocation and my powers—is clear as the sun to me now that I *know* through the fiercest tests of life, that I am in soul and shall be in life and utterance, a great poet."

He then recalls how other great artists have waited for the world's belated plaudits and concludes:

"Have then no fears nor anxieties in my behalf; look upon all my disappointments as mere witnesses that art has no enemy so unrelenting as cleverness, and as rough weather that seasons timber. It is of little consequence whether *I* fail; the *I* in the matter is a small business. '*Que mon nom soit flétri, que la France soit libre!*' quoth Danton; which is to say, interpreted

by my environment; let my name perish—the poetry is good poetry and the music is good music, and beauty dieth not, and the heart that needs it will find it.”

And yet his was a noble conception of the poet and his creation. In the letter just read he classed himself with the great artist and the great artist he described in these words:

“For indeed, we may say that he who has not yet perceived how artistic beauty and moral beauty are convergent lines which run back into a common ideal origin, and who therefore is not afire with moral beauty just as with artistic beauty—that he, in short, who has not come to that stage of quiet and eternal frenzy in which the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty mean one thing, burn as one fire, shine as one light within him; he is not yet the great artist.”

or in words no less striking he speaks again to his student hearers:

“Cannot one say with authority to the young artist, whether working in stone, in color, in tones, or in character-forms of the novel; so far from dreading that your moral purpose will interfere with your beautiful creation, go forward in the clear conviction that unless you are suffused—soul and body, one might say—with that moral purpose which finds its largest expression in love; that is, the love of all things in their proper relation; unless you are suffused with this love, do not dare to meddle with beauty; unless you are suffused with beauty, do not dare to meddle with love [truth?]; unless you are suffused with truth, do not dare to meddle with goodness; in a word, unless you are suffused with truth, wisdom, goodness and love, abandon the hope that the ages will accept you as an artist.”

But the poet was to Lanier even more than one in whose mind rest “beauty of holiness” and “holiness of beauty”: or one suffused with “truth, wisdom, goodness and love,” for these might exist latent and unimpressed upon those around. See this picture of the poet:

“Look, out of line one tall corn-captain stands
Advanced beyond the foremost of his bands,
And waves his blades upon the very edge
And hottest thicket of the battling hedge.
Thou lustrous stalk, that ne’er mayst walk nor talk,
Still shalt thou type the poet-soul sublime
That leads the vanward of his timid time
And sings up cowards with commanding rhyme—
Soul calm, like thee, yet fain, like thee, to grow
By double increment, above, below;



Soul homely, as thou art, yet rich in grace like thee,—
 Teaching the yeomen selfless chivalry
 That moves in gentle curves of courtesy ;
 Soul filled like thy long veins with sweetness tense
 By every god-like sense
 Transmated from the four wild elements.
 Drawn to high plans
 Thou lift'st more stature than a mortal man's,
 Yet ever piercest downward in the mould
 And keepest hold
 Upon the reverend and steadfast earth
 That gave thee birth ;
 Yea, standest smiling in thy future grave,
 Serene and brave.
 With unremitting breath
 Inhaling life from death,
 Thine epitaph writ fair in fruitage eloquent,
 Thyself thy monument."

Hang over against this picture of the poet its companion piece from his poem "The Bee":

"To thee
 Come I, a poet, hereward haply blown,
 From out another worldflower lately flown.
 Wilt ask, *What profit e'er a poet brings?*
 He beareth starry stuff about his wings
 To pollen thee and sting thee fertile ; nay,
 If still thou narrow thy contracted way,
 —Worldflower if thou refuse me—
 —Worldflower, if thou abuse me,
 And hoist thy stamen's spear-point high
 To wound my wing and mar mine eye—
 Nathless I'll drive me to thy deepest sweet,
 Yea, richlier shall that pain the pollen beat
 From me to thee, for oft these pollens be
 Fine dust from wars that poets wage for thee."

C. If we turn to the preface to Lanier's 'Science of Verse' we read these significant words :

"If Puttenham in the sixteenth century could wish to make the art of poetry "vulgar for all Englishmen's use," such a desire in the nineteenth must needs become a religious aspiration. For under our new dispensation the preacher must soon be a poet, as were the preachers before him under the old. To reach an audience of a variety so prodigious as to range from the agnostic to the devotee, no forms of less subtlety than those of tone can be effective. A certain wholly unconscious step already

made in this direction by society gives a confirmation of fact to this view which perhaps no argument can strengthen; I mean the now common use of music as a religious art. Music already occupies one end of the church; the same inward need will call poetry to the other."

Then dismissing the weak notion of poetry involved in its classification as polite literature, Lanier continues:

"That all worthy poets belong substantially to the School of David, that it is the poet's business to keep the line of men touching shoulders with each other, that the poet is in charge of all learning to convert it into wisdom and that therefore a treatise on the poet's method is in its last result a sort of disciplinary preparation and *magister choralis* for the congregation as well as for the preacher of the future—these will not be regarded as merely visionary propositions, and perhaps will be here accepted at least as giving a final unity to the principles now to be set forth."

We have outlined without satisfactory completeness, but it is hoped, with adequate suggestion, Lanier's qualifications of mind, heart, and body for the mighty rôle of poet. We have seen how, in his love of all creation and his yearning for the beautiful, the poetry of his nature was ever apparent. Even his bodily sufferings but chastened his heart and made him the more lovable, the more loving and the more beloved.

In breadth of sympathy, in intensity of love, in sublimity of thought, in the fullness of his artistic inspiration, in his heart-beat responsive to the throbbing of the great world-heart, in his deep desire for infinite revelations, in the sweet submissiveness of his will, in his firm reliance upon the All-Good, in the prophetic raptures awakened in him by Nature, I believe, in Lanier's own words, that in soul he was a great poet. When I think of his conception of life, his unswerving devotion to duty, his eagerness to know his brother-man in life or books, and his greater eagerness to bless all men's living; when I catch faint glimpses of his filial love, the unfathomable depth of his conjugal confidence, the patient tenderness of his fatherly heart; when in all the lengthening years of his intensest suffering I find but one slight plaint, and that unselfish, I am constrained to add in Lanier's words that he was a great poet in life.

Was he a great poet in utterance? Before answering this for ourselves, or summoning to our aid the critics' views, let us consider the dress, wherein he clothed his thought.

Lanier's earliest poems were conventional in form and largely so in sentiment. His first published poem was, "To —" (p. 222—1863²); the measure was according to usual notation Iambic tetrameter or, to use his own notation, it was three-rhythm and the metre consisted of four bars. The theme of this poem was love and the spirit hopeful. The "Wedding" (p. 223—1865), a kind of crude sonnet, with three-rhythm and of alternate four and three bars and then of four bars, is melancholy. The "Wedding Hymn" (p. 233—1865) in the rhythm of the first poem, is uneven and somewhat flat. The "Last Words of Stonewall Jackson" (p. 230—1865) consists of six verses of four lines each, three lines being of five bars and the fourth of three. In the same rhythm and without material variation from these forms are: the full-voweled, sonorous "Night" (p. 236—1866), with end-stopped lines; the freer poem "To Wilhelmina" (p. 232—1866) with run-on lines; the musical "Birthday Song" (p. 219—1866); the faintly poetic, "Night and Day" (p. 218—1866). "Strange Jokes" (p. 209—1867) is more whimsical both in metre and contents, though the rhythm is the same three time movement. The weird poem "In the Foam" (p. 234—1867) shows the first noticed example of improper rhyme, the words thwart: heart. This is the more worthy of notice, because our author is very clear in his discussion of rhyme and rarely fails to meet his own requirements.

In the first lines of the poem "Barnacles" (p. 235—1867) I detect what seems to me to be the first conscious use of alliteration, though this would be difficult to prove. In the long poem, the "Jacquerie" (p. 183), which bears the date 1868 but which was written probably at different times, we have several indications of his later skill. It begins with heroic verse in rhyme couplets but soon drops into heroic blank verse with occasional internal rhyme. There are numerous examples of repeated run-on lines while the words of the lines begin to be knit together by phonetic syzygy; onomatopœia is now used to good effect and alliteration becomes frequent. This poem is sometimes faulty in narration but it is very dramatic (for example, in the friar's scene) and nobly expressed.

The trippingly musical song for the "Jacquerie" (p. 204—

² Page refers to Scribner's Edition of Lanier's Poems, and the date to the year in which the poem was written.

1868) is written in three-rhythm with the accent on the first note of the bar. Note that the third line is not the classic dactyl, which would be a four-rhythm, but is still a three-rhythm.

The other song for the "Jacquerie" (p. 206—1868) is choral and symbolic, but not altogether successful.

The "Betrayal" (p. 205—1868), iambic, of four bars with cæsura after the second bar, is very rhythmical and musical. In the "Golden Wedding" (p. 207—1868) there are the following bad rhymes—have: brave, heaven: given, but the poem is graceful and well-worded.

The unclear but pleading "Ship of the Earth" (p. 89—1868); the sad, despairing "Tyranny" (p. 93—1868); the poem "Life and Song" (p. 94—1868), with its beautiful climax, present no special peculiarities. "Baby Charley" (p. 214—1869) is a beautifully tender and simple poem. In "Nirvâna" (p. 210—1869) the liquid sounds prevail, giving to this yearning melody a peculiar smoothness, while the same smoothness due to liquids and sibilants aided by alternate rhyme is present in "Resurrection" (p. 221—1868). The somewhat daring poem to "Nilsson" (p. 217—1871) and the unpraiseworthy poem to "Huntingdon's Miranda" (p. 107—1874) still preserve the characteristic three-rhythm (bad rhymes—rare: hair and flare: air). In 1874 Lanier wrote his poem "Corn," which, when published the following year, caused much comment and won for its author much praise. I presume that it is in allusion to this that Mr. Stedman classes it among Lanier's overpraised ventures. The poem opens with a poetic description of summer; attention is then drawn specifically to the "stolid vehemence" of the contest between the corn—the sign of culture, and the sassafras and brambles—signs of carelessness and neglect. Then one tall corn-captain typifies the poet in his rôle of leader (vid. p. 45), his growth from beneath and above. The figure then changes and he sings of corn as the

"(O) Steadfast dweller on the selfsame spot
Where thou wast born, that still repinest not—
Type of the home-fond heart, the happy lot"!

This emblem of contentment is then contrasted with the old deserted Georgian hills,

"By restless-hearted children left to lie
Untended there beneath the heedless sky,
As barbarous folk expose their old to die."

The desertion of these old fields is then explained by the example of one

"Who sowed his heart with hopes of swifter gain,
Scorning the slow reward of patient grain.

The spirit of gambling in cotton led to disaster and eventual ruin. The poem ends with a bow of promise.

The movement of the poem is, in type, iambic, of five bars, but the metre is irregular. The rhyme is at first in triplets, later in couplets and then without fixed order. The rhymes bright: opposite, fall: whimsical are to be noted. The poem abounds in alliteration and phonetic syzygy; liquids and sibilants are freely used. In spite of the commonplace theme and an even more commonplace application in the latter part, the poem seems to me not only full of thought and fine feeling, but no less full of poetical parts and impressive lines. The poem lacks artistic unity and it is truth, but not what Arnold in Aristotle's term would call "high truth."

It was at the suggestion of Bayard Taylor and on account of the poem "Corn," which had attracted such favorable notice, that Lanier was selected to write the Centennial Cantata, for which Dudley Buck was to write the music. The selection of Lanier for this task was his first general introduction to the larger number of Americans, and naturally they were inclined to judge him by the result. Lanier thoroughly versed in the fundamental principles of music as well as in the details of technique, counterpoint, thorough-bass, etc., wrote not only as a poet but as a musician. Of it he wrote to a friend:

"Necessarily I had to think out the musical conceptions as well as the poem, and I have briefly indicated these along the margin of each movement. I have tried to make the whole as simple and as candid as a melody of Beethoven's; at the same time expressing the largest ideas possible, and expressing them in such a way as could not be offensive to any modern soul, etc."

To him, musician and poet as he was, the music and words must be complementary, but unfortunately the words were published in advance of the music. The result was disastrous. It was abundantly ridiculed, but generally in good nature. But the criticism, the very nature of the criticism pained the delicate soul of the artist, who felt how little he had been understood and how utterly misjudged.

He was not embittered, however, and he writes in May, 1876, to his father :

" My experience in the varying judgments given about poetry has all converged upon one solitary principle, and the experience of the artist in all ages is reported by history to be of precisely the same direction. That principle is, that the artist shall put forth, humbly and lovingly, and without bitterness against opposition, the very best and highest that is within him, utterly regardless of contemporary criticism. What possible claim can contemporary criticism set up to respect—that criticism which crucified Jesus Christ, stoned Stephen, hooted Paul for a mad-man, tried Luther for a criminal, tortured Galileo; bound Columbus in chains, drove Dante into a hell of exile, made Shakespeare write the sonnet, 'When in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,' gave Milton five pounds for *Paradise Lost*, kept Samuel Johnson cooling his heels on Lord Chesterfield's doorstep, reviled Shelley as an unclean dog, killed Keats, cracked jokes on Glück, Schubert, Beethoven, Berlioz and Wagner, and committed so many other impious follies and stupidities that a thousand letters like this could not suffice even to catalogue them."

It would be needless to criticise the poem without the music, for it was never intended for a separated existence and with the music it was, I learn, successful. The years 1874, 1875, 1876 were very rich in poems from Lanier, varying in merit from unsuccessful ventures to a rarely equalled artistic perfection. Of the latter class was "My Springs" (p. 71—1874), a beautiful lover-like tribute to his wife's eyes. The poem is full of tender feeling, and the grace with which the poem is bound together by answering letters and related consonants is worthy of great praise. Scarcely less satisfactory is the poem "In Absence" (p. 74—1874) the theme of which is Love and the form four English sonnets. Less poetical than this is "Acknowledgment" (p. 76—1874-75), which has the same form and a kindred theme. "Laus Mariae" (p. 80—1874-75), another English or illegitimate sonnet, cannot be pronounced very successful. "Rose Morals" (p. 52—1875) is poetical but indistinct, while "To — with a Rose" (p. 107—1876) is very dainty both in sentiment and verse effect. The imperfect rhyme say: pay: day, is not to be commended.

The irregular sonnet, consisting of three rhyming quatrains followed by a rhyme-couplet, dedicated to "Charlotte Cushman" (p. 44—1875) is not strong, while the over-drawn tribute to the same actress in the poem "At First" (p. 139—1876) is also

uneven in metre.—Of peculiar interest is the poem "Special Pleading" (p. 81—1875) because the author of it says:

"In this little song I have begun to dare to give myself some freedom in my own peculiar style, and have allowed myself to treat words, similes, and metres with such freedom as I desired. The result convinces me that I can do so now safely."

The result is not so convincing to others. By freedom in the use of words he meant no doubt such compounds as 'heart-break,' 'times-to-come,' 'Now-time,' 'Lonesome-tree' 'dusk-modestly,' 'star-consummate,' 'rose-complete,' 'dusk-time.' By freedom in similes such as the following:

"Poor Now-time sits in The Lonesome-tree
And broods as gray as any dove, etc."

"When Day and Night as rhyme and rhyme
Set lip to lip dusk-modestly, etc."

Indeed all the similes are indistinct, and almost impossible to realize in pictures.—The movement is iambic, but the time is somewhat irregular or equalized by pauses, insertion of extra short syllables, etc. The whole poem shows a freedom, that limited by good taste and a sensitive ear, as Lanier generally curbed license, could lead to admirable results, but left uncurbed or unregulated, as here, detracted greatly from the poem. The sentiment is too unclear to be strong.

The long poem "Symphony" (p. 60—1875) is in all essential respects more artistic and its defects are of a different nature. The *motif* of the symphony is Love. It opens with three-rhythm, of four bars with cæsural pause. The violins said "we'er all for love" and all stringed instruments range themselves on the side of the violins in a protest against the heartlessness of trade. The description changes to iambic fives, then back to fours, and the flute sings in irregular iambic metre. The flute song is somewhat long, and monotonous in the luxuriance of unleashed imagination, but it is always tuneful and earnest. Its theme is universal love and with its keynote, "I'm for heart," it sings the shameless manner of trade. The melting clarinet breathes with tearful pleading the story of mercenary love and sets the standard of the knight's *devoirs*. In measure suited to its task, the knightly horn defends time-honored chivalry. The rich round vowels which abound in this horn song breathe into it a soaring soulfulness, while the refrain "Fair Lady" is a note of

graceful contrast. The verse is a four-lined iambic measure, three lines having four bars and the fourth line three, and then the refrain, "Fair Lady." This song is one of the prettiest pleas for purity yet written in English verse. The haut-boy with the innocence and candor of childhood teaches the outcome of love in humility, while the ancient bassoons chant rhythmic runes. Then the symphony is interpreted as the fugue of life wherein the ever-recurring theme is love, recurring so oft that love becomes music and

"Music is Love in search of a word."

This poem shows, perhaps, a greater freedom than the poem "Special Pleading" but it is a wiser freedom, a freedom conscious of itself and well in hand. Only in the flute song is there confusion and then it is the multitudinous music of unnumbered flute notes. This seems to me the most successful of Lanier's long poems. It is rich in thought and word, surpassingly musical in method, and with the unity of a masterly composition. Lanier's two talents are here indissolubly interwoven.

The next long poem "Psalm of the West" (p. 114—1876), bolder in design and more difficult in conception, lends itself to very easy division into separate parts. In fact it is far more a number of related pictures placed near each other than one picture with many parts. The poem opens with a tableau in which the West represents Eden, America is the tall Adam of lands and lithe Freedom is his Eve. Then follows a eulogy of Freedom. In form a more complex three-time rhythm, the most striking peculiarity is the internal rhyme such as, hail: bewail; will's high adoring: ill's low exploring; stream of the light: dream of the night, etc.

In the description of the flight of a soul, the shuttle of poetic words flies so rapidly that plan and purpose are lost in the woof of musical sounds. In vain the mind tries to catch and keep the rapid pace struck by the poet's fancy. Wearied at last, it draws a despairing breath and soothes itself with the echoes of the poem's music. Yet even the music seems artificial: alliteration is conscious and overdone; words of sweet sounds are often repeated; the soft *s*'s lend a charm that is heightened by consonants that answer each other's pleasing tones. In ballad form follows a confused description of the Norseman's coming, and the chain of stanzas is connected by lines too often

"brambled-tangled in a brilliant maze." Here, too, however there are some lines of irresistible beauty. Columbus speaks, and in legitimate sonnets with variations in the minor portion, narrates the story of his trials. This narration is in dramatic effect in the best manner of the "Jacquerie." Again we note the beauty of the words.

The "Mayflower's Coming" is measuredly total in trochaic rhythm of four bars. Four stanzas of ten lines each, and one of fourteen lines, complete this picture; then with rapid iambic measure the first battle for freedom is depicted. Following this is the declaration of independence and the wars with England. The prelude to the civil war unfolds itself in modulated trochees. In six quatrains the story of the war is written down, and the refrain strikes a keynote of perfect reconciliation. The Land then counts his flock of years and reads in brief line the tale of his century of life. Nine six-lined stanzas, filled with prophecies of the young Adam's manliness, end the poem. In continuity it stretches from a remote past to an unknown future, but the poem is not an organic whole and it leaves no idea of completeness. In spite of the beautiful lines, the quotable phrases, and the well-told stories, it remains as evidence of our author's failure to write as *aus einem Guss*—with one moulding. The poem is strong in its parts but, like the young Adam it describes, it lacks equal and rounded development.

I confess that I feel a pleasure in turning from this effort to interpret a nation's life, to the "Waving of the Corn" (p. 23—1876) wherein nature's life is so beautifully interpreted. This poem is particularly happy in the lines in which, not inferences but facts, are simply and unaffectedly recorded.

"Clover" (p. 19—1876) is our author's first complete poem in heroic blank verse. There is a great preponderance of run-on lines, while syzygy is of more frequent use than alliteration, though the latter is often used. The poem opens with a landscape in which the commonplace figures in the foreground are not wanting, and then becomes symbolic. The cousin clover stands for kindred spirits of the author, whom he recalls by name. The patient grazing ox is made the image of the Course-of-Things destroying all the great of earth. Forced to moralize on the meaning of this vision he writes:

" God's clover we, and feed His Course-of-Things
 The pasture is God's pasture ; systems strange
 Of food and filrement He hath, whereby
 The general brawn is built for plans of His
 To quality precise : Kinsman, learn this :
 The artist's market is the heart of man
 The artist's price some little good of man.
 Tease not thy vision with vain search for ends.
 The End of Means is art that works by love.
 The End of Ends in God's Beginning's lost."

In the year following (that is, 1877) Lanier was seeking relief from suffering by whiling away his time in Florida and Georgia. From his experiences we have several additional examples of how much he saw in nature. "From the Flats" (p. 26—1877) is a song of three eight-lined stanzas rhyming in couplets. It is a monotone chant, well representing the dull, dead sameness of the scenery of Flats. In pleasing contrast with this is the "Tampa Robins" (p. 28—1877), a gaily colored grove painting with "sunlight song and orange blossoms" in profusion. Its spirit, as its coloring, is bright and hopeful. The "Stirrup-Cup" (p. 45—1877) to death is resigned and almost joyous in the prospect of the poet's release from suffering. The "Mocking Bird" (p. 27—1877), a legitimate sonnet, is poetic in thought but restrained and formal in expression. Freer far in movement, and far more irregular in metre, is the graceful and suggestive poem, the "Bee" (p. 83—1877). In the music of this poem and in the masterly use of alliteration and syzygy, this poem is an adequate prelude, if not a fair companion piece to one of the most musical of English poems, the "Song of the Chattahooche" (p. 149—1877). The music of a song easily eludes all analysis and may be dissipated by a critic's breath, but let us try to catch the means by which the effect is in part produced. In five stanzas of ten lines each, alliteration occurs in all save twelve lines. In eleven of these twelve lines internal rhyme occurs, sometimes joining the parts of a line, sometimes uniting successive lines. Syzygy is used for the same purpose. Of the letters occurring in the poem about one-fifth are liquids and about one-twelfth are sibilants. The effect of the whole is musical beyond description. It sings itself and yet nowhere sacrifices the thought. Poe's "Ulalume" and Tennyson's "Brook," or whatever other poem you may choose with which to compare this highest achieve-

ment of our artist's musical art, will find in this a fair and unyielding competitor. In all the range of English song I know nothing more worthy of comparison with it than Buchanan Read's "Bay of Naples," and the measure of the difference in merit is the difference between the rapid leap and fall of babbling brook, and the blue inlets and crystal creeks of a gently, billowing bay.

With iambics of five bars, with alternating rhyme, a "Florida Sunday" (p. 143—1877) reflects in its measure and its meaning the peaceful, quiet, God-reliant soul of the author. The "Dove" (p. 105—1877) is rich in charming sound-effects and is in spirit sad, plaintive and melodiously mournful.—In the narrative in quatrains entitled "Hard Times in Elfland" (p. 152—1877), we have an apt picture of earth's methods transferred to the spirit land. It is impossible not to note the abominable rhyme, bar for her: barrier. The tribute to "Richard Wagner" (p. 95—1877) is itself Wagnerian in its earth-confusion resolved into the harmonies of music. The poem is intricate and indistinct. Wagner is taken as the representative of his times.

Perhaps there is nothing stronger or more dramatic in the whole volume of poems than the ballad, the "Revenge of Hamish" (p. 33—1878), in which regularity of accent gives place more and more to time as the true basis of metre. In this we have not only run-on lines but also run-on verses. The rhythm is four-time; not as usual the three rhythm. In beautiful contrast to the picture of despair in this poem is the dainty little "Song of the Future" (p. 50—1878). Song is represented as the dove from the ark of hope. The "Harlequin of Dreams" (p. 85—1878) is a thoroughly successful legitimate sonnet, in which the balance between major and minor portion is well preserved. The three legitimate sonnets "To our Mocking Birds" (p. 104—1878) is very suggestive in its interpretation of nature. The theme of love is very skillfully introduced in the poem, "How Love Looked For Hell" (p. 89—1878-79). Sense finds hell in space, mind finds hell in the heart, but wherever love comes there is no hell, hence love can find it nowhere. The construction of the verse is six-lined stanzas with changing refrain. In more conventional iambics Taylor's freedom is contrasted with Lanier's embarrassments in the lines to "Bayard Taylor" (p. 39—1879). The poem is filled with deep soul yearning. To the

"Hymns of the Marshes" belong the three: "Individuality," "At Sunset" and the "Marshes of Glynn." Of these "Individuality," (p. 10—1878-79) exhibits a growing boldness in run-on lines, which now become run-on stanzas; the theme is the artist's freedom as contrasted with the cloud's lack of will. "At Sunset," (p. 13—1779-80) is original in rhyme order and poetical in effect but it lacks distinctness of meaning. The "Marshes of Glynn" (p. 141-1878) is extremely beautiful, filled as it is with soft sounds. Alliteration is very frequent while the verse structure becomes more and more free and is clearly based on time. This poem is marked by a peculiar grace and prettiness.

The plea of the soul for freedom from the thrall of opinion is strongly presented in the poem "Remonstrance" (86—1878-79). The mental mark of this is intense earnestness and force, which is supplemented by the resignation and charity in the beautiful poem "Opposition" (p. 57—1879-80). Here the charms are the hopefulness of tone and the simple grace of form. Alliteration is abundant but not strained.—The "Ode to Johns Hopkins University" (p. 108-1880) seems sincere in sentiment, but trammelled and perfunctory in manner. The winsomeness of the simple verses in "Ireland" (p. 148-1880) and the exquisite tenderness of "A Ballad of Trees and the Master" (p. 141-1880) deserve cordial praise.—The "Owl against Robin" (p. 47-1880) is not particularly inspiring, but it contains a large number of Lanier's characteristic charms of manner—frequent and skillful use of alliteration, lavish use of rhyme both end and internal.—The keen and incisive criticism, the progressive thought, the lofty conception of Christ make the "Crystal" (p. 29) one of the most instructive and inspiring of our poet's efforts. The form is blank verse and the characteristic letters are sibilants.—The swan-song of our poet is "Sunrise" (p. 3—1880). Save one rhymed note of thanks, it is the last poetic utterance of our bard. Written when he was too feeble to lift his food to his mouth and during a fever temperature of one hundred and four it is a world-marvel. It is a fitting climax of a progressive genius, not that it represents the best that he wrote, or that it suggests the limit of his art, but in that it shows a clearer conception than ever of quantity as the basis of verse and an unreserved allegiance to this theory. The poem too is climacteric, ending in his triumphant death note already quoted.

D. Lanier in the 'Science of English Versification' after discussing the four possible sound-relations, duration, intensity, pitch and tone-color, shows that only three exact co-ordinations are possible; namely, duration, pitch and tone-color, or their effects, rhythm, time, and color. He then points out that music and verse differ only in the means by which the co-ordination of rhythm, time and tone-color are made, namely in the case of music by *musical sounds* and in the case of verse by *spoken words*. Rhythm is then discussed, the principle of accent as the basis of rhythm is discarded and time is postulated and defended as the essential basis. This established, the quantity of a syllable, the grouping of sounds into bars, as units of measure, and the broader grouping by phrases, by lines or metres, by stanzas and by poems are treated fully. The phrase grouping may be effected in various ways, for instance, by logical pause, by alliteration, by logical accent, etc.

The essential difference of Lanier's theory from that generally received is this; that rhythm in verse is precisely the same as rhythm in music and that rhythm in music consists of exact time relations among sounds and silences. Hence the office of accent cannot begin until rhythm is established, and then its office is limited simply to grouping into bars. But both bars and accents are unessential to verse. Rhythmic pronunciation and logical accents must not be confounded. Using the musical notation, the author shows that bars contain a given number of notes of a fixed length. In making out the proper number of units of time, absence of sounds must be supplied by pauses of definite length. The bar may contain any number of units of time in theory but practically, rhythm containing three units or three rhythm, and rhythm containing four units or four rhythm, are the ones occurring, and of these the three rhythm is by far the most popular in English.

This is enough of Lanier's theory to reveal how much more freedom the poet here gains than he could ever have, if he must provide for an ever recurring accent at given intervals. Indeed with rests and short syllables not only is there a liberty in words, but a liberty that may have no other limitations than the capacity of the human ear to comprehend or co-ordinate the grouping of sounds. As we have seen, Lanier's poems preserving as they do, almost universally the beloved three rhythm, illustrate, particu-

larly in his later days, full recognition of the time element and an utter disregard of fitting lines for mechanical scansion. The theory in its application seems to have all the flexibility of the sister art of music and to leave the poet utterly untrammelled, responsible to his own genius alone, and to be judged only by his power of making himself understood in song. But bringing verse and music so close together, he did not hesitate to bring them closer by calling attention to the prevalence and universal tacit recognition of tune in ordinary speech.

"Once we get a fair command of all these subtle resources of speech-tunes", he writes, "once we have trained our ears to recognize and appreciate them properly, once we have learned to use them in combination with the larger rhythm, which are easily within the compass of our English tongue, what strides may we not take towards that goal, of the complete expression of all the complex needs or hopes or despairs of modern life—which ever glitters through the clouds of commonplace before the eyes of the fervent artist!"

Our artist died too young to have finished the scientific experiments with reference to speech-tunes, too early to have mastered the details of a problem he had set himself to solve. But how plainly do we see in some of his finer poems the singular harmony between the thought and its dress. The discriminating ear and unfaltering purpose might have taught us plainer lessons of this organic union of word and music. No poet seems to have recognized more fully the colors of verse and how the colors were to be attained. Other poets may have succeeded almost or fully as well in producing the effects, but Lanier examined the reasons and used the means with clear purpose. In his opinion the music of poetry, or rather poetry as music, could use and must use all available means to impart to itself the true and desired color of tones. Rhyme wherever occurring, the judicious and pleasing arrangement of sonorous vowels, the selection of consonants that would lend the quality appropriate to the theme, that would not clog with awkward combinations of letters the easy flow of vocables, the union of parts of lines by similarity of initial sounds—all these were not for him accidental phenomena but the essential attributes of color—effects in word painting. We saw repeatedly how frequently and with what skill our author illustrated his theory. Special attention is due to the harmonious effect, the charming beauty imparted to

Lanier's poems by that happy faculty with which he linked words together by recurring consonants. This differs from alliteration, in that the consonant in question need not be initial.

For the musical composer of English verse there seem to be no clogs of established form or fixed principles, in this far-reaching and suggestive theory of verse. Let him find the tune with all its accompaniments of appropriate color and suit it to a typical rhythm and naught but his own power and taste, naught but his hearer's capacity and ear stand in the way of a perfect poem. To overcome these difficulties are, however, present tasks of sufficient gravity to command the attention of the poetic mind. The dangers, however, are as potent as the possibility of achievement is clear.

First, until our ear is trained to catch the subtleties of these rhythmic forms, or until the poet reads full well the power of his hearer, elaborate form may seem but formlessness. This formlessness, which I think I discover in several places in Lanier's poems, is due in every case, I believe, to the exactions of his musical conception. He had no sympathy with that formlessness which is the "lawlessness of art." His formlessness was that of a composer, the music of whose soul cannot be forced into a formal score or rendered on the ordinary instrument of language.

The second danger is a tendency to strain for form effects and leave the substance unexpressed. If I mistake not this fault is present, too, in our author. Yet he had no sympathy with that perfection of form, wherein no substance is found. Lanier was a poet as well as an artist, and if at times his artistic temperament seemed to eclipse his poetic thought, grant that to the poet mind the very manner of expression may indicate the thought that lies beneath, while to the duller ear the thought must come in completed form.

These two seem to me to be the faults natural to Lanier's theory, and faults which he did not escape. Other faults are present, too. Stedman says

"That Lanier's difficulties were explained by the very traits which made his genius unique. His musical faculty was compulsive. It inclined him to override Lessing's law of the distinctions of art and to essay in language feats that only the gamut can render possible."

To Stedman then his poems often seem nebulous, mere recitative; he fails to make his impressions, sometimes even his outlines clear, but his chief mistake was that of wandering along in improvisation like some facile dreamy master of the keyboard. Some book-reviewer in the Boston Advertiser says of his poetry: "much of it is hard to read and not easy to understand. It lacks simplicity. The poet has tried to express too much and his luxuriant imagination sometimes hides his meaning."

I believe that these charges must stand unanswered, but I would read over against them these merits of his verse that seem to supplement his faults. It is true that his musical faculty made him attempt that which as yet seems impossible for poetry, but his attempts to remove this impossibility and to clothe his thoughts in a garb of music, gave us such poems as "Tampa Robins," the "Mocking Bird," the "Song of the Chattahoochee." This same keen appreciation of thought and word in music wedded, make him in numerous passages like Chaucer or Keats in his "divine fluidity of diction," like Swinburne in his picturing words: like Ruskin in his artistic finish; like Milton in his rhythmic movement. We must acknowledge that parts of some of his poems do sometimes seem the ready utterance of an unrestrained imagination, but these very parts impress us with the richness, the luxuriance of an imagination that sometimes tangles thought in a net work of ideas. True, he does seem to improvise, but this proves him far more than a mere skilful artisan in metre and rhyme. It shows the natural utterance of his overfull soul—the spontaneity of his poet-spirit. We must bear in mind that Lanier complained, and complained earnestly, "that in poetry criticism was without a scientific basis for even the most elementary of its judgments"; that Lanier, who conceived his art as a divine gift and knew no higher aim than the pursuit of truth, set to work to seek the foundation and the laws of versification. We have seen the results of these investigations. He had adopted as one of the mottoes of his book these words of Dante: "But the best conceptions can not be save where science and genius are." He believed in his own genius, he was now confident that he had mastered the science. His fidelity to truth left him no alternative. He must apply it. Lanier's mistake, I believe with Stedman, was his attempt to illustrate laws. He was sometimes under the sway of a theory,

when he might have been free ; he was now and then constrained when he might have been natural. Perhaps this was didacticism, as Stedman suggests, but Lanier seems to me to be didactic in another sense. The poet becomes too often an avowed teacher of morals—the sermons were no less valuable because in pleasing verse, but the poetry was too often burdened with the lesson it must teach. The moral purpose is not only inferred but it too often proclaimed itself.

The quality that ranks Lanier by the side of the great poets is his "high sense of beauty." His loftiness of mind, the serenity of his soul, the high aim of his living, his deep and firmly rooted love transmuted the "beauty of holiness" into the "holiness of beauty" and unsealed his eyes so that he recognized this divine stamp of beauty in creator and creature alike. But if his sense of beauty made him a peer of our great poets, it was the heavenly gift of music that distinguished him from them. Milton, it is true, whom he most resembles in this respect, had a knowledge of music, but not the same passion for it. Milton's music was more a recreation, an accompaniment of reverie ; Lanier's was a fiery zeal, a yearning love, a chosen and adequate form of expression of his soul's deepest feeling. Combined with this passion for music was his technical knowledge of the art, and these combined formed at once the foundation and the framework of his poetry. He seems literally to have sung his poems, they are essentially musical, tuneful, and melodious. Surcharged with music he overflows in mellifluous numbers. Here, then, Lanier stands out differentiated in the choir of poets and here we find that distinctive quality which is the very flavor of his writing.

I said above that I believe in Lanier's own words that in soul he was a great poet. I ask again in conclusion, "was he a great poet in utterance?" I answer, yes. Certainly not the greatest because of his limitation of subject-matter and of form. Limitations, it is true, that he might have overcome, but, hampered all his life by a thousand discomforts that would have crushed the spirit of most men, he died too young to have fixed beyond controversy his own place. Stedman, our chief of critics, says that "one now sees clearly that he was a poet and bent on no middle flight." A recent writer calls him one of the most original of American poets. Ward believes that he will take his final rank

with the first princes of American song. He has by merit increased the number of his followers from one patient, confident soul to thousands of willing learners, and in the decade since his death his fame has spread beyond the confines of south, of north, of America and is now heralded by many ardent admirers across the waters. May the circle of his readers continually grow, and the praise of his real admirers be unstifled, for naught but good can come of knowing him, and naught but loftier living can come of loving him.

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ERRATA.

Page 54, l. 1, read "*bramble-tangled*" for "brambled."

" 54, " 7, " *told* for total.

" 55, " 1, insert comma after clover.

" 55, " 3, for *filrement* read *fiberment*.

" 55, " 6, add semicolon at end of line.

" 55, " 18, read *genre* for grove.

" 55, " 21, 1887 should be 1877.

" 56, " 2, insert *in America* after song.

" 56, " 5, add *a* before babbling.

" 56, " 29, dele *the*.

JEAN DE MAIRET.

The third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century, or more strictly speaking the years from 1625 to 1637, form a rather important period in the history of French literature. This is the time when the great Corneille makes his appearance and the "Académie française" is established. For this reason it is all the more striking that there exists, apparently, a great uncertainty concerning a number of the precursors and contemporaries of Corneille, not only with regard to chronology, but also as to their true merits. One of the poets of that time, about whom opinions seem to be divided as to his literary position and undecided as to the chronology, is Jean de Mairet of Besançon, who lived from 1604 to 1684. The chief works which Mairet wrote, are in chronological order as follows :

Chryséide et Arimand, a tragi-comedy ; Sylvie, a pastoral ; Sylvanire, also a pastoral, or as Mairet himself terms it, a *tragi-comédie pastorale* ; Duc d'Ossonne, a comedy ; Virginie, a tragi-comedy ; and the tragedies : Sophonisbe, Marc Antoine Soliman, and Roland furieux.

The dates of these dramas, that is, the years in which they were finished or for the first time performed on the stage, were formerly given according to the 'Histoire générale du théâtre français,' by the Parfaict Brothers, Claude and François, who published this useful work during 1745-1749. For more than a century the chronology established by Parfaict was considered authoritative ; and we find that Professor Adolf Ebert in his masterly work 'Entwicklungsgeschichte der französischen Tragödie' (Göttingen, 1856), adheres strictly to the dates as given by Parfaict. But within the last ten years the following scholars : Professor Gaspary, formerly of the University of Breslau, and Vollmöller, formerly of the University of Göttingen ; Doctor Richard Otto, of Munich, and especially Doctor Ernst Dammheisser, Professor at the Realgymnasium of Ludwigshafen, have made new investigations which not only questioned but overthrew the old chronology of Mairet.

This discrepancy regarding the dates of Mairet's dramas, has arisen from the poet's remarks in the "Epistre comique", which he wrote as an introduction to the 'Duc d'Ossonne.' He says there: "J'ai commencé de si bonne heure à faire parler de moi qu'à ma vingt-sixième année je me trouve aujourd'hui le plus ancien de tous nos poètes dramatiques." In the same "Epistre" he says:

"Je composai ma Chriséide à seize ans, au sortir de philosophie, et c'est de celle-là et de Sylvie qui la suivit un an après que je dirais volontiers à tout le monde: *Delicta juventutis meae ne reminiscaris.* Je fis la Silvanire à vingt-quatre, Sophonisbe à vingt-cinq."

The Duc d'Ossonne' was printed in 1636, and the writers on literature accepted Mairet's statement that he was twenty-six years old as an exact one, and, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that the poet was born in 1610: this mode of reasoning we find illustrated in Nicéron's (*Mém.*, vol. xxv) article on Mairet; however the Church Record of Besançon shows that Mairet was born in 1604, and as we have to suppose that Mairet knew, at least approximately, the date of his birth, we must charge him here with a falsehood. Now, to say simply that Mairet gave his age six years less than it really was, I consider an assertion which, if upheld with consistency, will lead to conspicuous errors; for that reason the chronology established by Gaspary in his article in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, v, (1881) p. 70 ss., cannot be sustained. The poet's object in misrepresenting the respective years in which his works were produced was to create the belief that he had written his masterpieces at a very early age. Dannheisser remarks correctly (cf. "Zur Chronol." etc., *Roman. F.*, V.) that Mairet cared very little whether the year of his birth was 1604 or 1610. I go a step further and maintain that Mairet himself did not expect that so late a date of his birth as 1610 would ever be accepted in good faith; for, if in reference to certain productions he thought that it were possible for him to deceive the world by representing himself, successfully, as six years younger than he actually was, why did he proclaim himself with reference to others of his works as being older than was necessary? If Mairet could dare announce himself as being twenty-six years old in 1636, and if Dannheisser is correct in giving, for example, 1634, as the date of the first representation of 'Sophonisbe,' why did the young genius so mod-

estly claim to have composed 'Sophonisbe' at the age of twenty-five? He should have held to be the author of this famous tragedy at the age of twenty-four!

Here we have, then, an inconsistency either on Mairet's side or on Dannheisser's part. The excuse which the latter gives, at the bottom of p. 50 in his article "Zur Chronologie" is very weak: he states there that Mairet had to modify his pretended age because a consistent procedure would have resulted in too tender an age for his first work, *Chryséide*. I think I have a better solution for the problem. It is not so difficult to misrepresent one's age by three or four years as by six; and I assert and will show in the following, that Mairet only wished to appear three or rather four years, younger than he actually was. If he intended to deceive, he must have had some plan by which to proceed, so as not to become entangled in contradictions. And on that supposition I believe I can show that the remarks which our poet makes about his age, lead to the years 1607-08 as the *pretended* date of his birth. Of course he never stated that year, but he very probably relied upon it in his misrepresentations.

In the following discussion I shall not refer to Parfaict's chronology, because I consider it thoroughly disproved by Dannheisser.—Let us apply the date (1607-)1608 to Mairet's statement, "Je composai ma *Chryséide* à seize ans, au sortir de philosophie." Does not the year (1623)-1624 suit exactly as the one in which Mairet left college and came to the Duke of Montmorency? The date also harmonizes admirably with Mairet's remark in the Preface to 'Sidonie' which was finished 1640-41 (according to Dannheisser, "Zur Chronol.," p. 40). In this preface the poet announces that he is going to retire, after having worked for the stage for seventeen years: does this not place the beginning of his career in 1623-24?

"Sylvie suivit un an après" is the assertion of Mairet which assigns this *tragi-comédie*, according to my theory, to (1624-)1625. Dannheisser endeavors to prove that 'Sylvie' was written after 1623, that is, after Mairet had entered the service of Montmorency. I agree with this critic and I might add that the grateful praise which Mairet in the "Epistre comique" bestows upon the Duke for having fostered the poet's "Muse as she was still lying in the cradle," may just as well be applied to 'Sylvie' as to 'Chryséide': for Mairet himself calls both works 'delicta

juventitus meae.' From the following the reader will see upon what I base my claim for the statement that 'Sylvie' was finished in the years (1624-1625).

Mairet maintains in the "Epistre familière à M. Corneille" that his Sylvia

"a brillé dans un temps que celles de M. Hardy n'étaient pas encore hors de la saison et que celles de ces fameux écrivains MM. de Racan et Théophile conservaient encore dans les meilleurs esprits cette puissante impression, etc."

In 1623 Hardy's 'Herrschaft über die Bühne' was broken; the expression 'pas encore hors de saison' would, therefore, be more applicable to (1624-)1625 than to 1626. And as to the 'Bergeries' and 'Pyrame et Thisbé,' they were certainly performed before 1623. Dannheisser admits even with regard to 'Chryséide': "Mairet mag die Erinnerungen an die Stücke Théophiles und Racan's im Theater in sich aufgenommen haben."

"Je fis la Silvanire à vingt et un" is Mairet's announcement concerning this pastoral poem. Dannheisser ("Zur Chronol.," p. 43) comes to the conclusion:

"So glauben wir denn auch ein neues Moment für Zeitbestimmung der *Mélite* gefunden zu haben, in der Weise, dass letztere erst dem Ende des Jahres 1630, *Silvanire* dem J. 1630 zuzuweisen wäre."

This statement certainly adds to my suspicion that there is something daring in the establishment of proof on the part of this critic.

We see that by advocating so late a date as 1630 for 'Silvanire', one is obliged to assign Corneille's 'Mélite', at least, to the end of the year 1630. For it is certain that 'Mélite' followed 'Silvanire' (cf. Marty-Laveaux, iii, 70):

"Cependant il nous étale pour poèmes dramatiques parfaitement beaux: le Pastor Fido, la Filis de Scire et cette malheureuse *Silvanire* que le coup d'essai de M. Corneille terrassa dès sa première représentation."

But the date 1630 and certainly the latter part of 1630, for 'Mélite', seems to me a forced one; and from several points of view it is in opposition to the conclusions to which I have arrived.

Taschereau ('Hist. de Corneille,' p. 7) states:

"Les frères Parfaict fixent la première représentation de *Mélite* à l'année 1629, et cette date se trouve confirmée par l'autorité d'un contemporain. Mairet, dans son épître dédicatoire des

(*Galanteries du duc d'Ossonne*, après avoir cité Rotrou, Scudéry, Corneille et du Ryer, dit qu'il vient de les nommer d'après l'ordre de leurs débuts dans la carrière dramatique."

If we accept Mairet here as a truthful witness, Corneille appeared after Rotrou and Scudéry and before du Ryer.

With reference to Jean Rotrou we know the following:

a. *Mem. pour servir*, etc., vol. xvi: "Rotrou, né 1609. Le succès de l'*Hypocondriaque* encouragea l'auteur et il le fit imprimer (1631)";

b. Petitot ('*Répert.*', vol. 1, p. 22): "Rotrou, né 1609; à dix-neuf ans (1628) il fit une tragédie intitulée '*Le Mort Amoureux*' qui fut représentée à l'hôtel de Bourgogne où elle eut un grand succès";

c. Guizot, ('*Corneille*, etc.', p. 369): "l'*Hypocondriaque* a précédé *Mélite* tout au plus d'une année. L'*Histoire du Théâtre français* donne l'Année, 1628, pour la date de sa représentation."

I think this sufficient to enable us to accept the date for Rotrou's first work. And Marty Laveaux ('*Œuvres*, etc., i, 129) informs us that Scudéry composed his '*Ligdamon*' when he was about to leave the service of the king, which he did not do before March, 1629. On the other side, Pierre du Ryer published his tragi-comedy '*Argenis et Poliarque*' in 1630 ('*Bibl. du th. fr.*', Dresde, 1786).

What is more natural, now, than to accept 1629 as the year of Corneille's first appearance? And if '*Mélite*' was performed in 1629, '*Sylvanire*' could not have appeared later than that year. Once having established the date for '*Sylvanire*', it can be regarded simply an arithmetical task to find the date for the '*Duc d'Ossonne*' and '*Virginie*' (1631 and 1631); Mairet's own statement is a good guide as to the difference of time between the respective works; and I am gratified to see that Dannheisser ("Zur Chronologie," p. 51) remarks: "Das alles beweist, dass sich der Dichter (Mairet) bestrebt hatte, den Zeitunterschied zwischen seinen einzelnen Werken wahrheitsgemäss darzustellen."

Let us now turn to the most important work of Mairet. the '*Sophonisbe*.' Mairet claims to have composed it when he was twenty-five years of age. The year 1633 suggests itself for more than one reason: When Corneille composed his '*Sophonisbe*'

(in 1663; cf. Dannheisser: "Zur Chron.", p. 48), he remarked that Mairêt's work of the same name had now been performed on the stage for thirty years. The result of this comparison is 1633, a date which we also obtain through Petitot ('Rep.: Notice sur Rotrou,' p. 21): "La tragédie d'Hercule mourant parut trois ans après la fameuse Sophonisbe." Now in Nicéron (*Mém.*, vol. xvi) we notice: "Hercule mourant: 1636." Therefore Petitot's remark fixes the date 1633 for 'Sophonisbe'.

With reference to the other dramas I agree in the main with Dannheisser, or I might claim that this critic agrees with me, since from Soliman on he does not deviate from Parfaict by more than three to four years, a difference which I have observed throughout this essay. Following Dannheisser's example I give a list of the dates which I think to have established, as compared with this critic and Parfaict.

	PARFAICT	DANNHEISSER	BLUME.
Mairêt born	1604	1610*	(1607)-8*
Chryséide	1620	1625	(1623)-24
Sylvie	1621	1626	(1624)-25
Sylvanire	1625	1630	1629
Duc d'Ossonne	1627	1632	1631
Virginie	1628	1633	1632
Sophonisbe	1629	1634	1633

In order to estimate the literary position of Jean de Mairêt, we have to consider especially two of his works: the 'Silvanire' and the 'Sophonisbe.'

As to the contents, 'Silvanire' is nothing but an ordinary pastoral poem; it tells the simple love story of a poor shepherd Aglante and of a rich shepherd's daughter, Silvanire, who have to encounter various hardships before they can be united in marriage. But the work is important, because the three unities are observed in it, and because Mairêt has written a Preface to it in form of a poetic discourse. It is obvious that the author himself entertained great hopes as to the success of 'Silvanire' which he considered the first model of a regular French drama, and the Preface to which he thought would constitute a Code of Rules for dramatic art; he had the work published (1631) in a much more elaborate style than that of any similar French book of the time; the picture of the youthful poet is conspicuously

*Pretended by Mairêt.

placed over the title on the frontispiece. But we must admit that in the seventeenth century 'Silvanire' was not considered an epoch-making drama: however, very learned modern writers on the French drama, such as Ebert, Lotheissen and du Ménil express the opinion that Mairet, in the year 1625, when he wrote the 'Silvanire' according to the rules of the old classics, made the first important step toward introducing the classic drama into France.

An attempt to solve this contradiction has been made by a scholar who recently edited a reprint of 'Silvanire', as the tenth volume of the *Sammlung französischer Neudrucke*; the book is entitled: 'Jean de Mairet, Silvanire, Mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben von Richard Otto. Bamberg, 1890.' In his introduction, Dr. Otto maintains that the contradiction with regard to the appreciation of the historical literary value of 'Silvanire', is based on a wrong idea as to the chronological relation of Mairet's work to those of his contemporaries.

The conclusion which Dr. Otto draws from this chronological change (1730 instead of 1625) is very significant; namely, the appreciation of 'Silvanire' as a monument for the history of the Three Unities is to be changed. The editor states that in order to judge what part the 'Silvanire' played in that important episode of French literature, it is necessary not only to review the conflict between the advocates of literary liberty and those of literary discipline, but also to notice the causes which started the dispute about the Aristotelian rules of the drama.

Dr. Otto's exposition of the different comments and works on poetic art, of the gradual development of the belief in the Aristotelian rules, certainly renders the theory very probable that no single author either Pichou or Chapelain or Mairet, *established* any such laws, but that the rules developed in a natural way by the supremacy acquired by Italian over French poetry, due to the taste of a whole class of refined people. However, Dr. Otto seems to have been too eager when he applies the chronological change in such a manner as to take all credit away from our poet, nay, to stigmatize him as a plagiarist. Mairet cannot have copied anything of importance from the preface of Ogier to Schelandre's 'Tyr et Sidon', as the critic charges. At the time when 'Tyr and Sidon' appeared (1628), Mairet is supposed to have had the whole plan of his 'Silvanire' finished (according to

our chronology); and if later he really copied some expressions in writing the Preface, such procedure would not annul his merit of having observed the Three Unities in the 'Silvanire'. The plan of the work, or better the dramatic form, is what we ought to appreciate in the 'Silvanire'. Mairet had undoubtedly studied the Italian poets ever since Cardinal de la Valette and Count Carmail had asked him to write a pastoral poem according to Italian classic rules—(this was in 1626–27, I conclude)—and when in 1627, the fourth volume of the *Astrée*, containing the 'Silvanire' appeared, Mairet had yet, according to my chronology, more than a year left in which to apply the rules (which he knew by this time), to the fable taken from the Pastoral of d'Urfé. If at the time when he was preparing the work for the press, he did copy some learned expressions to be used in his Preface, we cannot admire a proceeding of the kind, but do not think such a mistake is of sufficient importance to justify the conclusion that the whole work had been copied. Of course, the Preface to 'Silvanire' is important as a discourse on poetic art; but are not the rules therein contained illustrated by the work itself, and was not the work finished before Mairet endeavored to explain the rules in some graceful manner?

As to Dr. Otto's remarks "Lagneau, Pichou and Isnard were those who in 1626 considered a theatrical work like *Filis de Scire* most worthy of imitation," I contend that these were not the first writers whose attention was led to Italian literature. We read in the critic's own introduction that since Chapelain's Preface to Marini's 'Adone' (1623) the interest in classic rules became more and more active. Cardinal de la Valette was one of the aristocratic circle that met at the house of Marquise de Rambouillet; and as we know from the 'Histoire de la Ville de Paris', *ii*, 1341 (cited by Dr. Otto) that the Cardinal was in Paris in 1626 and in 1627, is it not very suggestive to suppose that while on a visit to a friend, the Duke of Montmorency, he advised the young poet to write a classic pastoral? On this ground, I claim for Mairet's 'Silvanire' as much originality as Dr. Otto does for Pichou's 'Filis de Scire'. If 'Silvanire' did not meet with the *expected* success, it was owing to the explainable fact that Mairet had paid too much attention to external form with reference to the Unities.

If our poet had not written anything after 'Silvanire', it might

remain doubtful whether he worked independently or not: but Mairet vindicates himself; he studies the Italian models with keen comprehension; he follows up his notion of the Unities, and embodies his progressive ideas in his masterwork, the famous 'Sophonisbe'. The episode in Livy, where the story is told of the Carthaginian Hasdrubal's beautiful daughter Sophonisbe—how she marries, for the sake of her country, the King of the Massæsylians, Syphax; how after the defeat of Syphax, she becomes infatuated with Masinissa, the confederate of the Romans; her tragic end, as she takes the poisonous cup offered by her despairing lover—is a subject which has been treated by many dramatists. Before Mairet, six tragedies on Sophonisbe had appeared in France, but none of them equals the skillful composition of Mairet. The work is by no means that of a genius, but it is the outcome of the efforts of a talented poet, to suit the taste of the *beaux esprits*.

While Dr. Otto endeavors to present Mairet as a mere plagiarist, Dr. Dannheisser goes to the other extreme, and on the basis of the new chronology, established by him, claims that in Mairet the history of the French drama of that time is represented. His statement (*Zum Schlusskapitel*, p. 316): "In der Entwicklungsgeschichte keines einzigen Dichters, Corneille nicht ausgenommen, spiegelt sich so treu die Geschichte des französischen Dramas wieder", sounds very plausible; but the division of the different phases through which the French stage has to pass, was made by Dannheisser to suit the theory, I suspect. For instance, I fail to see that there is a "predominance of the tragi-comedy from 1620–1625"; Théophile's 'Thisbe', certainly an epoch-making work, is a tragedy, and Racan's 'Bergeries' represents a pastoral poem.

Having followed in this paper the maxim, "medio tutissimus ibis", I will sum up my observations by advocating the following position for our poet:

Mairet is a dramatist of considerable talent which is shown in his 'Sylvie', a pastoral that held the popular favor although the author was but twenty-one years of age; in 'Virginie' which was written in 1632. 'Sophonisbe' however, written in 1633, evinces the highest order of the poet's ability. His characteristic ambition was to cater to the taste of the cultured class, with whom Italian poetry was then in high favor, which confirms the theory

that 1629 was the period when his 'Silvanire' was written. Had he only been endowed with enough genius to illustrate successfully the superiority of classic rule, he would have been the hero of the hour. His rival, Corneille, appears with a more pleasing comedy and Mairet abandons the field of pastoral, but with the determination of becoming the poet *par excellence* with the advocates of classic rule, he produces 'Sophonisbe'. In 1633, Mairet considered himself more successful than Corneille, but this feeling became one of bitter opposition when Corneille produced his 'Cid'. Our poet's star was waning; his mission was at an end; however, he had been an important factor in the movement to abandon the popular free romantic drama, and to create a French classic poetry.

In conclusion, permit me to say that it would be highly interesting to enter into a detailed study of the contest for supremacy between Mairet and Corneille (1629-1637). It has been my object here to show the importance of carefully establishing the chronology which must naturally invite attention to the many problems relating to this chapter of French Literature.

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THE GENESIS OF THE CHARACTERS IN LESSING'S 'NATHAN DER WEISE.'

In the discussion of the genesis of the characters in Lessing's 'Nathan' there are four elements to be considered, of which we must form a correct estimate before we can obtain a clear conception of the way in which these characters received their present form. First in importance is the plot, or action, of the drama. When Lessing first conceived the idea of making the story of the three rings in Boccaccio¹ the central scene of a drama, he must have outlined in connection with the main features of its plot the leading characters in the play ; and he must have given his conceptions of these characters such personal characteristics that the action would logically proceed from them. To this factor, then, we may ascribe the creation of most of the characters, and the salient and important personal traits of all. The first rough draught of the play,² (the date of which is unknown but which must have been jotted down some years before it was worked up into the drama as it now is),^{3*} shows in the main what is to be attributed to the influence of this element. So much for the present, as this point will be taken up again later at greater length.

The characters having been thus moulded in their general outlines, were modified and changed to a greater or less degree by the influence of the second element, the sources from which Lessing drew ; using the term sources in its broadest sense. These were of three kinds, historical authorities, literary suggestions and personal reminiscences of Lessing himself and of his friends. Lessing, an omnivorous reader and student, as all know, was particularly interested in the history of religion and religious

1 *Giornato* 1. Nov. iii: Melchisedech Guidoe.

2 'Lessing's Werk' vol. xi, pp. 773ff. (Berlin, Hempel).

3 Wm. Scherer : "G. E. Lessing." *Deutsche Rundschau*. Feb. 1881. Zacher : *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*. vii, 29. Caro : 'Lessing und Swift.' (Jena, 1869.) P. 22.

*Cf. also Erich Schmidt : *Lessing*, (Berlin, 1892). Vol. ii, Bk. iii, chap. 3, for this and other points. As this greatest and most recent authority appeared after the presentation of the paper, it could not be consulted in its preparation.

dogma. This interest soon led him to study the period of the crusades and the history of the Arabs in the various histories and books of oriental travel,⁴ which appeared before and during the time of the composition of 'Nathan'. These works he studied in connection with the life of Saladin for the sake of securing a correct historical background for the proposed drama, and of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the historical personality of that Sultan. His notes and excerpts⁵ from these works have been found in his posthumous papers appended to the first draught of the drama already mentioned.

Just how much Lessing owes to other authors for suggestions, ideas and dramatis motives is difficult to establish. It has been noticed that to Boccaccio he is indebted for the great scene of the play, the famous scene between Nathan and Saladin; to the same author⁶ he probably owes certain other details of incident and characterization. Voltaire's dramas 'Zaïre', 'Mahomet' and 'Les Guèbres' also gave him suggestions and *motifs* of religious tolerance and intolerance, as Lessing's admiration for the great Frenchman's views on toleration⁷ would make probable, and as detailed comparison has proved.⁸ It is claimed that other sources⁹ have been discovered which furnished Lessing with certain ideas, but of these, some are fanciful and others not thoroughly established. The influences of these sources, both historical and literary, was to modify the first conceptions of the characters, to give them more clearly-cut outlines and new personal traits.

But neither to history nor to literature does Lessing owe so great a debt for direct suggestion in the creation of the personages of 'Nathan' as he does to his friends and acquaintances, who unconsciously served as models for them. In no other of the author's dramas does this personal element play so important a part as in the one under discussion. In the characters of the others we catch glimpses, now and then, of himself or of his friends, but in 'Nathan' almost every character can be traced to

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, vi, 304.

⁵ Cf. Hempel, xi 2 824ff.

⁶ *Zsft. f. Deut. Phil.*, v, 433. Caro: 'Lessing und Swift,' pp. 32ff.

⁷ Scherer: *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb., 81.

⁸ Richard Mayr: 'Beiträge zur Beurteilung G. E. Lessings'. (Wien, 1880). Pp. 102ff.

⁹ Namely, Swift's "Tale of a Tub." Caro, *ibid.*, pp. 71ff. Cf. also Mayr, *ibid.*, 101.

its prototype amongst the author's acquaintances. There is nobody who has made the slightest study of the drama, but knows that the model for the 'Wise Jew' is his life-long friend, the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, with traits of the author himself, perhaps some of the philosopher Spinoza; that Recha is his step-daughter Madchen König; that the Dervish was modeled after that eccentric chessplayer, the accountant Abraham Wulff; and that Sittah is the counterpart of Elise Reimarus, his intellectual friend and comforter in the last sad years of his life. Saladin is a combination of the best qualities of Lessing himself and of the Saladin of history, while in the figure of the Patriarch we have the image, perhaps somewhat distorted, of Pastor Goeze, Lessing's intolerant opponent in the religious controversies of his later years.

This brings us to our third element, the quarrel with Pastor Primarius, Johan Melchior Goeze of Hamburg. To understand thoroughly how this point bears upon the present discussion, it will be necessary to recall the incidents of that controversy. The story is well known, how Lessing published, in 1773 and 1778, the famous "Fragmente eines Ungenannten," which aroused such a storm of furious indignation and brought such violent personal attacks upon Lessing himself, who was charged with being the author; how finally he singled out the most aggressive of his opponents, Pastor Goeze, in whom he saw the type of a religious bigot;¹⁰ how the controversy, growing more vindictive and louder with each new publication of the disputants, created such an uproar that the duke revoked Lessing's immunity from censorship¹¹ and, in spite of all protest,¹² forbade the publication of anything whatsoever on religious subjects without the full sanction of the ducal censor.¹³ It was then that our author, finally grown weary of the endless quarrel, yet without retreating the least from his standpoint resolved to see, as he puts it, "whether people will allow me undisturbed to preach from my old pulpit, the stage,"¹⁴ and "in that way, play the theologians a worse

¹⁰ "Letter to Herzog Karl," July 11, 1778. Hempel, xx¹, 745.

¹¹ Ducal order of July 6, 1778. Hempel xx¹, 742. Note 2.

¹² "Letters to Herzog Karl," July 11, 20; Aug. 8, 1771. Hempel, xx¹, 742, 747, 754.

¹³ "Letters from Herzog Karl," July 13; Aug. 3; Aug. 19, 1778. Hempel, xx², 933, 941.

¹⁴ "Letter to Elise Reimarus." Sep. 6, 1778. Hempel, xx¹, 759.

¹⁵ "Letter to Karl Lessing" Aug. 11, 1778. Hempel, xx¹, 757.

prank than I could with ten more 'Fragments',"¹⁶ and "with my 'Nathan' fall upon the enemy's flank from another quarter."¹⁶ He then took up his old neglected dramatic plan and with remarkable diligence finished it within five months. After its publication, he calls this work, in a letter accompanying the gift of a copy to Jakobi, "a son of his advancing old age, whom polemics have helped to bring into life."¹⁷ Again, in a letter to an acquaintance in Vienna,¹⁸ he speaks of "my latest work, which, however, is rather the product of controversy than of genius." Nothing can be more evident than that these quarrels, as Lessing freely admits, had an influence upon him as he was completing his play. This statement does not mean that his bitterness of feeling led him to draw caricatures or paint the whole picture in light and shade, but it gave "tone" to the picture and sharper contrasts of light and shade, and in the case of one figure, that of the Patriarch, undoubtedly created a caricature. Lessing disclaims any such intention: "My drama," he writes.¹⁹ "does not concern the black coats of the present day," . . . "it will be anything but a satirical piece, in order to leave the battle ground with scornful laughter." But in view of his own testimony we can only say that he may have been honest in his intentions, but he undertook too great a task, his slumbering passions overpowered his good resolutions, his bitterness flowed from his heart into his pen, and he did expose to public ridicule and scorn in the Patriarch one of the 'black-coats', and thus the body of the clergy of his day.

The argument commonly advanced by Lessing's defenders is, that Heraclius of Jerusalem, the Patriarch at the time of Saladin, was a profligate and scoundrel of the worst kind;²⁰ and that, as Lessing himself says,²¹ the Patriarch "in the drama does not appear in nearly so infamous a light as in history;" yet the Patriarch Heraclius was a character far different from Lessing's Patriarch. For, examining the first sketch of 'Nathan' carefully, one can see at a glance how great is the difference between the Patriarch Lessing had at first planned to put into the piece and the

¹⁶ "Letter to Karl Lessing" Oct. 20, 1778. Hempel, xx¹, 762.

¹⁷ Hempel, xx¹, 797. ¹⁸ Letter to Staatsrath von Gebler. Aug. 13, 1779. Hempel, xx¹, 796.

¹⁹ "Letter to Karl Lessing," Nov. 7, 1778. Hempel xx¹, 764. Compare also Introduction a. Hempel xi¹, 784.

²⁰ Cf. *Zsft. für Deutsche Philol.*, vi, 319.

²¹ Hempel, xx², 826

Patriarch, as he finally came forth from the author's workshop. In the draught we have a knavish intriguer, a traitor, ready to disregard even the laws of the Church to accomplish Saladin's death by treachery, but there is not the slightest allusion to his bigotry.²² A man of such character may be a hypocrite and a bigot, but it does seem more than strange that this scene in the draught of the play should contain not the faintest reference, (or anything which may be magnified into an allusion), to the inquisition and punishment of the Jew, which is the sole topic of the Patriarch scene in the completed drama. It is very noticeable also that, as far as the economy of the play is concerned, this famous scene might be entirely omitted; and yet Lessing not only retained it in the completed drama, after changing its entire character, but also drew it out into an unnecessary length and made it dramatically as effective as he only knew how, with the sole intent of portraying in the minutest detail the hypocrisy, cant and fanaticism of "the fat, red, friendly, prelate." This scene received its present tone, only when Lessing came to give the drama the definite form, while his heart was still burning with the passion and virulence aroused by his recent controversy and the persecution he had suffered. Goeze stood before his mind's eye as he wrote; Lessing portrayed him true to life, putting into the mouth of the Patriarch arguments, and even the very words,²³ Goeze had used in his polemics against him. Their contemporaries recognized immediately who was intended by this figure and in their letters alluded to "Patriarch Goeze."²⁴ And at Hamburg, Goeze's home, the actors who played the rôle of the Patriarch were wont to reproduce Goeze's personal peculiarities in caricature.²⁵ On the other hand, too great emphasis cannot be laid upon the fact that there is otherwise so little of the acrimo-

²² Cf. Hempel, xi², 798, 814, 816, Scenes i 5, ix 1 and 2. The scene bearing upon this question is ix 2. Der *Patriarch* u. *Curd*. Der Patriarch will Gefälligkeit um Gefälligkeit erzeigt wissen. Er verspricht ihm das Mädchen u. Verspricht ihm die Absolution seines Gelübdes vom Papsts zu verschaffen, wenn er sich ganz dem Dienst der Kreuzfahrer wieder widmen will. Curd sieht, dass es auf völlige Verrätherei hinausläuft, wird unwillig u. beschliesst, sich an den Saladin selbst zu wenden.

²³ Compare vv. 2478ff.; 2510ff.; 2522ff.; 2574ff.; 2583ff. Boxberger's Notes to these verses in Kürschner's Edition, '*Deutsche National Litteratur: Lessing's Werke*,' iii.

²⁴ Gleim to Lessing, July 22, 1779. Hempel, xx², 985. Heyne to Lessing, June 19, 1779. Hempel, xx², 982.

²⁵ G. R. Rüpe, 'Johan Melchoir Goeze. Eine Rettung'. (Hamburg, 1860). Page 261. "Die Schauspieler, welche diese Rolle gaben, pflegten eine möglichst ähnliche Karrikatur Goezes auf die Bühne zu bringen."

nious spirit which marked the anti-Goeze pamphlets to be found in the drama. Written in the saddest period of the poet's life, when he was broken down in fortune and health, all his happiness dashed to the earth by the peculiarly sad death of his wife, made the object of the vilest slanders, attacked by a malicious pack of pettifogging bigots, with the exception of this one scene, the drama breathes from beginning to end the purest spirit of tolerance and charity.

In his masterly work upon Lessing,²⁶ Kuno Fischer premises the following principles of criticism before proceeding to an analysis of the characters in 'Nathan':

"Nicht die Handlung, sondern die Idee ist im Nathan die Hauptsache; nicht aus jener, sondern aus dieser wollen die Charaktere des Stückes erklärt sein. Freilich soll im eigentlichen Drama die Handlung, oder wie Aristoteles gesagt hatte, der Mythos die Hauptsache des Stückes ausmachen. Auch war, wie wir wissen, Lessing ganz darin einverstanden mit Aristoteles; er kannte die Mängel seiner Dichtung sehr gut und bezeichnete deshalb den Nathan nicht als eigentliches Drama, oder Schauspiel sondern als 'ein dramatisches Gedicht' und die Begebenheit als Episode."

It is the true test of a great work of art that in it "every one sees what he himself cherishes in his heart," and that each person, be he spectator or reader, finds some different feature in it which appeals to him particularly. Consequently, if anybody wishes to study 'Nathan' for its great religious and philosophical teachings, nobody has any right to deny him that privilege, but when he asserts that there is nothing else in the drama he is going too far. 'Nathan' was written with a definite purpose and occupies a definite position in Lessing's system of philosophy, and must be taken into consideration in discussing its author's doctrine of ethics; but that by no means justifies Fischer's critical treatment of 'Nathan' as a drama. It is as though 'Emilia Galotti', the product of Lessing's dramatic studies at Hamburg, were to be judged merely from the stand-point of its *technique*. Fischer is too one-sided, the philosopher within him overmasters the critic; for the sake of presenting Lessing's system of ethics in an unbroken line of development, he explains and judges everything by this standard, and forces and distorts many points

²⁶ 'G. E. Lessing, als Reformator der deutschen Litteratur, dargestellt von Kuno Fischer'. Stuttgart bei Kotta. 1881. Zweiter Theil, pp. 88ff.

in order to satisfy the demands of this one-sided method. As Fischer's views are representative of the ideas of a large class of readers and critics, it will be worth while to dwell a little longer on them.

In the first place, what are Fischer's objections to any other method of character analysis? These he presents as follows:

"²⁷ Sollte ich die Charaktere des Stücks lediglich nach ihren Handlungen beurtheilen, so würde ich fragen: wo war Nathans Menschenkenntniss und pädagogische Weisheit als er Daja zu Rechas Gesellschafterin machte? Und wie konnte der weltkluge Patriarch den ehrlichen Bonafides zu seinem Spion brauchen?"

Not only can we find a satisfactory answer to Fischer's first criticism of Nathan's conduct, but it is possible to show that in this very matter Nathan's "knowledge of human nature and pedagogical wisdom" is most clearly proven, if we will only recall the entire situation. Recha was put under Daja's care when a mere infant, and as Bonafides says, Acts iv, Sc. 7 (vv. 3013ff.)

"Und Kinder brauchen Liebe,
Wär's eines wilden Tieres Lieb' auch nur,
In solchen Jahren mehr als Christentum."

Surely, "Christentum" is synonymous in this passage with religious training of any kind. And whom better than Daja could Nathan have chosen for this purpose? Let Recha herself testify to this point, in answer to Sittah's enquiry about Daja (Act v, Sc. 6, vv. 3579ff.):

"Wer ist sie?
Eine Christin, die
In meiner Kindheit mich gepflegt, mich so
Gepflegt!—Du glaubst nicht!—die mir eine Mutter
So wenig missen lassen!"——

"But," some one objects, "Daja was a fanatical Christian who tormented and tortured her foster-child, whom Recha herself calls (Act v. Sc. 6, v. 3592) 'diese gute böse Daja.'" This objection Recha herself answers a little later on (v. 3585)

"Ach! die arme Frau—
3585. Muss aus Liebe quälen.
 Ihr Seufzen
 Ihr Warnen, ihr Gebet, ihr Drohen hätt'
 Ich gern noch länger ausgehalten, gern!
 Es brachte mich doch immer auf Gedanken.
3600. Die gut und nützlich."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Under such circumstances would we not have greater reason to ask : where would Nathan's wisdom have been, if he had not seized with eagerness the opportunity of securing Daja as foster-mother to this child? To imagine for a moment that Nathan would have any real cause to fear that "Daja's gaily-colored flowers" might choke "the seeds of reason" which he had "sown so pure in her soul," would be to deny him the right to the appellation "der Weise," would be to overthrow by this single thought the entire system of education which Lessing, in the character of Nathan, is trying to exemplify.

There is another point still to be considered. Nathan had taken charge of a child whose parents he knew to be European Christians. The possibility must have occurred to him of the relatives or friends of this child at some time discovering its whereabouts and demanding its return. Otherwise there is no adequate explanation of the relief and delight, when he discovers that Recha and the Templar are sister and brother. (Act v. Sc. 4, vv. 3327ff.)

"—Gott! wie leicht
Mir wird, dass ich nun weiter auf der Welt
Nichts zu verbergen habe! dass ich vor
Den Menschen nun so frei kann wandeln als
Vor dir, der du allein den Menschen nicht
Nach seinen Thaten brauchst zu richten, die
So selten Thaten seine sind."²⁸

And if Nathan did contemplate such a possibility, it would have been inexplicable, if "wise" and "good" he should not have regarded it as a special providence to find a companion to give Recha an education which would serve her in such good stead in her possible future station of life.

As to the Patriarch's employing honest Bonafides as his spy, that again goes to show how perfectly Lessing understands human nature, how deeply he penetrates into the recesses of human character. The Patriarch is thoroughly self-complacent and filled with the conceit of his knowledge of human nature. Experienced and versed in the affairs of the world, he knows his men; crafty and cunning himself he, of course, could not be deceived by any body, least of all by this simple lay-brother. The latter's simplicity will just serve his superior's purpose; it will create a feeling of confidence in those to whom he sends him.

²⁸ Cf. also Act ii, Sc. 5, v. 1321.

and will lend itself more easily to furthering the Patriarch's designs than shrewdness united with possible duplicity. Fischer himself allows,²⁹ that the lay-brother is not as stupid as he seems to be.

"Gehorsam und dienstwillig ist unser Bonafides gewiss, aber nicht so blind und einfältig, als der Patriarch ihn wähnt. . . . er ist zu fein, um so fein und so klug zu sein als jener ihn haben möchte. Es gelingt ihm nichts, was der geistliche Herr ihm aufträgt, weil er sich nichts davon gelingen lassen will."

No one would imagine for a moment that Bonafides would give his superior any occasion even to suspect the pious fraud he was practicing upon him. And it would be just as impossible for the Patriarch even to dream that Bonafides could deceive *him*. Fischer's examples are unfortunately chosen; they only confirm what he is trying so hard to disprove; namely, that of all elements in the make-up of the characters, the plot is the principal one and, in analysing them, the action of the drama should be the first source of explanation.

But Kuno Fischer goes far beyond the limit he set himself in the outset of his criticism. For, at first, he maintained only that these teachings were the principal things, but in his analysis he makes them the sole source of explanation of the characters. To maintain this position, he criticises severely the structure of the play, laying particular stress upon the fact that Lessing himself called 'Nathan' "a dramatic poem." He, however, fails to pay any attention at all to the predicate 'dramatic,' and proceeds to reduce it to the level of a mere philosophic poem. 'Lessing was thoroughly in accord with Aristotle' on this matter of the *mimesis* and for that very reason would not call anything 'dramatic,' if it were simply philosophy in dramatic form. He designedly chose the form and the name after due consultation with his brother, Karl Lessing. The latter, in reply³⁰ to the author's letter containing the first mention of the projected drama, called his attention to the matter of form, enquiring about Lessing's intentions, whether he was going to present the subject in the force of a philosophical dialogue (a form of composition which Lessing had effectually employed before) or in a drama. "I should think" he continued, "the former; for you will surely not have fewer readers on that account." Lessing himself, in a

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120. ³⁰ Letter from Karl Lessing, Aug. 17, 1778. (Hempel, xx 2, 946).

letter to his brother,³¹ expressed his hopes that the piece might at some time in the future be put upon the stage: "I feel no desire to lay anything in the way of 'Nathan's' eventually getting upon the boards, even though that be a hundred years hence." A projected introduction to the drama, found amongst his literary fragments, concludes as follows:³² "As yet I know of no place in Germany where this piece could be presented at the present time. But blessings and good fortune to that place where first it is performed!" But notwithstanding this deliberate choice of form and name, "it is nothing but a philosophic poem, nevertheless." Then we might ask Lessing, the keenest and most exacting of critics, this modern Aristotle, in his own words:³³

"Wozu die saure Arbeit der dramatischen Form? Wozu eine Theater erbaut, Männer und Weiber verkleidet, Gedächtnisse gemartert, die ganze Stadt auf einen Platz gesammelt? Wenn ich mit meinem Werke und mit der Aufführung desselben nichts hervorbringen will als einige von den Regungen, die eine gute Erzählung, von jedem zu Hause in seinem Winkel gelesen, ungefähr auch hervorbringen würde?"

No. The characters are to be explained in the first place by the laws of dramatic composition. The plot is the starting point of any analysis of the characters, it is fully as important an element in their genesis as the philosophical teachings of the play. The presence of Daja cannot be accounted for except from dramatic reasons pure and simple. A "confidante" was needed for Recha, a messenger and go-between, all of which parts Daja is obliged to play during the course of the drama. The same is true of Bonafides; while Sittah does not stand for a different type of religious belief; as Fischer himself says, she is only the feminine counterpart of the Sultan. These characters are rendered necessary by the economy of the play; that Lessing was able to make them the mouthpieces of his ethical views merely serves to reveal the greatness of his dramatic genius.

We may, therefore, sum up our fourth topic as follows: The plot of the play and its philosophical teachings are the most important factors in the genesis of the characters in 'Nathan der Weise', but we ought not to overlook the influence of its sources

³¹ Letter to Karl Lessing, Nov. 7, 1778. (Hempel, xx 2, 768.) ³² Hempel, xi 2, 786.

³³ *Hamburger Dramaturgie*, 80tes Stück.

and of the controversy with Goeze. The method of criticism adopted by Kuno Fischer in the analysis of the characters is wrong because one-sided, however much we may criticise the faults in the construction of the drama, however much we may criticise the many feeble *motifs*, the rather tiresome pedagogic scenes and the cold and forced conclusion.

What is the philosophy embodied in his characters which Lessing wished to preach from the stage? It is the general thought of toleration, sectarian charity; not the toleration arising from contempt of those of a different creed, nor the toleration arising from mutual concession, political toleration, necessary for mankind that they may be able to live side-by-side in the same body politic; neither is it that toleration proceeding from a spirit of justice and intelligence,³⁴ it is the "love" of the New Testament. Not only does he preach this spirit, but he shows by practical example, a process of education into such a state of mind and illustrates by the character of Recha, the perfected product of such education. The great teachings of the 'Nathan' are contained in the two sentences (Act ii, Sc. 5, v. 1310).

"Sind Christ und Jude eher Christ und Jude
Als Mensch?"

And secondly (Act i, Sc. 2, vv. 359ff.)

"Begreifst du aber,
Wie viel *andächtig Schwärmen* leichter als
Gut *Handeln* ist?"

Or, as Nathan puts it in the parable of the rings (Act iii, Sc. 7, vv. 2043ff.):

"Es strebe von euch jeder um die Wette,
Die Kraft des Steins in seinem Ring an Tag
Zu legen! komme dieser Kraft mit Sanftmut,
Mit herzlicher Verträglichkeit, mit Wohlthun;
Mit innigster Ergebenheit in Gott
Zu Hilf."

This is the text and the application of Lessing's sermon in 'Nathan der Weise'.

There now remains only to consider briefly the question whether and, if so, to what extent, Lessing wished to represent, by the characters in 'Nathan', types of the three creeds; and whether he really had any preference for any one of the three.

³⁴ Cf. Richard Mayer, 'Beiträge, etc.,' pp. 108ff.

This question was raised immediately upon the publication of the work, for Gleim,³⁵ writing to Lessing in enthusiastic praise of the drama, adds:

"I have heard criticisms and malicious remarks in quantities. To have made a Jew the best of mankind, and a Christian, the worst. What a crime! Furthermore I have heard that the Christians at Dresden have banished him ('Nathan') from the country."

On other sides, Lessing was severely censured for his attack upon the Christian religion, and there are some to this day who charge him with the worship of the "Anti-Christ."³⁶ But such criticisms were not frequent and they were still less influential. At the present time, the tendency is, perhaps, too strong the other way; his extravagant admirers claim that there is not the slightest adverse remark against the Christian religion in the whole work.

Lessing was a born reformer and his life is one prolonged contest against the old evils and a continued struggle to prepare the ground for the new ideas, for his own as well as those of others; and undoubtedly his greatest service was in the domain of ethics and religion. To be effective as a reformer, there are two ways of proceeding; to attack openly and boldly or indirectly, through satire and irony. Voltaire, the Frenchman true to his nature, in his 'Mahomet' chose the indirect way of cutting irony; but the manly German heart of our author could not bear the thought of anything but direct, open attack. As he says in his blunt way³⁷: "I call a horse, a horse." His self-appointed task and duty it was to clear away those evils immediately about him; the fanatics he came into contact with were narrow-minded Christians; bigoted Christians were in power and their dogmas as the ruling religion were to be dethroned. Therefore he struck right at the root of the evil. What were the fanatical Jews to him? Or, forsooth, the far-off Mahometans? It was grist to his mill to find the story of the rings in Boccaccio and to discover that history justified him, first, in showing to the world Christianity from its intolerant side, and secondly, by contrast with the charitable spirit of Nathan and Saladin, in setting forth the

³⁵ Letter from Gleim, July 22, 1778 (Hempel, xx 2, 985).

³⁶ Cf. Danzel und Guhrauer: 'Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Sein Leben und Seine Werke Zweite Auflage.' (Berlin, 1881). Pp. 478ff.

³⁷ Anti-Goeze, 8 (Hempel, xvi, 188).

Christian fanatic in the worst possible light. Therefore, we seem justified in concluding that Lessing intended an attack upon the Christian religion, but it was the Christian religion as professed in his time, dogmatic, rigid and fanatical, not Christianity in its true essence as revealed in the character of Bonafides. This one character is proof enough of that. What and how highly Lessing thought of the Christian religion is to be seen in the interview between Nathan and Bonafides (Act iv, Sc. 7). Nathan feels constrained to justify himself to Bonafides, in whom he has discovered a kindred soul. In deepest agitation he tells his sorrowful story, how the Christians had murdered and burned down his plundered home, and with it his wife and seven hopeful sons; how he lay in the dust in the depths of despair, cursing the world and God, and swearing eternal vengeance against all Christians; how gradually reason began to assert itself and when now the helpless Christian child is put into his hand and it lies perfectly helpless before him, how he forgets his hatred and thoughts of vengeance, and turns back again to humanity and to God. At this point Bonafides, overpowered and speaking from the depths of his heart, bursts forth³⁸:

“Nathan! Nathan!

Ihr seid ein Christ!—Bei Gott, Ihr seid ein Christ!”

Nowhere, outside the New Testament, has a more beautiful or more profound definition of the spirit of Christianity been given than is to be found in these few words, spoken under these circumstances:

“Nathan! Nathan!

Ihr seid ein Christ!”

Kuno Fischer analyses with great keenness the reasons that induced Lessing to choose a Jew as the representative and advocate of his own views on toleration.³⁹ He argues:

“Toleration is a virtue in the highest sense of the word, when it has developed out of a conflict against those powers which hinder its development most. The Mosaic religion is naturally intolerant and haughty, the haughtiest of all creeds, because the religion of the chosen people of God being, at the same time, the religion most oppressed, Shylock, therefore, is only the natural product of such a condition in whom the man is swallowed up entirely in the Jew. If then, under such conditions a person can fight his way into a spirit of forbearance toward others of

³⁸ Vv. 3066-67. ³⁹ Cf. Pp. 166ff.

different creeds, then has he reached the highest stage of toleration."

Fischer concludes: "Nicht weil das Judenthum die Religion der Duldung, sondern weil es das Gegentheil ist; darum ist Nathan ein Jude." The same line of thought may be carried out still further: not because Christianity is the religion of intolerance, but because it is just the opposite is the Patriarch a Christian. For that very reason a magnificent opportunity was presentde to Lessing to brand the egotistical, heartless fanatic, because his religion enjoined upon him self-renunciation, forbearance and love.

So it may be said, Lessing desired to glorify neither Judaism nor Islamism in his characters; in regard to Christianity, he wished, in the Patriarch and Daja to repudiate "the letter of the law," while in Bonafides "he glorifies the spirit." And in this respect it concludes the series of polemical writings and is, so to speak, his last will and testament, of the same import as "The Testament of John :⁴⁰ 'Little Children love one another.' "

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⁴⁰ Hempel xvi 15, "Das Testament Johannis."

SOUTHERN LITERATURE.

Civilization in the United States has been diffused from two centres—New England and Virginia. In the former the starting-point was the town-meeting; in the latter, the planter's mansion. As has been well said, the germ of the whole difference between them lay in their different notions concerning the value of vicinity among the units of society. From the town-meetings of New England have come schools, manufactures and a literature; from the planters' mansions of the Old Dominion generals, statesmen and liberty. One of the most philosophic political judgments of recent times, says Nichol—the anti-Southern historian of American literature, admits that “the honour of maintaining self-government, and making it possible for the Federation to dominate over the continent cannot be wrested from the Southern States.” The spirit of liberty, Bancroft tells us, had planted itself deep among the Virginians and elsewhere he adds, “an instinctive aversion to too much government has always been a trait of Southern character.”

Before the May Flower left England, the system of representative government and trial by jury had become acknowledged rights in Virginia. Unfortunately for letters, however, this aversion was expressed in the solitary manner of settling the country, in the absence of municipal governments, in the indisposition to engage in commerce, to collect in towns or to associate in townships under corporate authority.

Virginia, history teaches us, was a continuation of English society. The founders of the Old Dominion had no quarrel with the existing order of things in England. They admired monarchy, they revered the Anglican church, and they loved England and English institutions. As late as 1754, their connection with London was more intimate than with the Northern colonies. England was their market and their storehouse and was still called their “home.” To reproduce in the new world the baronial halls and the wide domains to which they had been accustomed at home, was their highest ambition. Thus was

produced an aristocracy which at an important era in the life of the colony—just after the Restoration—turned the scales in favor of a continuation of development according to English models.

From the nature of the situation this was a landed aristocracy. The many rivers which veined the Old Dominion enabled the settlers to live far apart and to dispense to a great extent with public roads. Oftentimes members of the same parish were separated by fifty miles. In the latter part of the seventeenth century there was hardly such a sight as a cluster of three dwellings. "The major part of the burgesses now consisted of Virginians that never saw a town." Jamestown had but a state-house, a church and eighteen private houses. From the start invention was enfeebled by uniformity of pursuit. No domestic manufactures were established, but everything was imported from England, just as at a later day almost everything was brought from the North. A distinguished Virginian Robert Beverly, writing just at the dawn of the eighteenth century, thus reproaches his countrymen:

"They are such abominable ill-husbands that though their Country be overrun with wood, yet they have all their wooden ware from England—their cabinets, chairs, tables, stools, chests, boxes, cartwheels, and all other things, even so much as their bowls and birchen brooms."

In such a dispersed and rarified community, there was of necessity a great dearth of schools. Although a thousand pounds were collected and paid over towards the founding of a University, yet in 1648 we find mention of only "a free school and other petty schools." No other mention is made of schools till 1688 and the college did not take tangible form till 1692. This condition the early Virginians deplored and endeavored to remedy, "but they were in the grip of hostile circumstances." For the first three generations there were almost no schools at all in Virginia. The historian Campbell testifies that the first and second generations of those born in Virginia were inferior in knowledge to their ancestors. Bishop Meade says:

"Education was confined to the sons of those, who being educated themselves, and appreciating the value of it, and having the means, employed private teachers in their families or sent their sons to the schools in England and paid for them with their tobacco. Even up to the time of the Revolution was this

the case with some. General Nelson, several of the Lees and Randolphs, George Gilmer, my own father and two of his brothers and many besides who might be mentioned, just got back in time for the Revolutionary struggle."

To the private schools at rich gentlemen's houses the poor seldom had access. A free school system did not exist.

South Carolina presents a similar picture. In 1710 a free school was established by law in Charleston, and in 1712 a more general act was passed, embracing in its scope country parishes as well as that city. Till 1730 we hear of no other schools. Between 1731 and 1776 there were five. During the Revolution there were none. Later, increase of wealth and population brought love of learning, but from the nature of the case there could be no free school system. In 1798 there was an attempt to establish free schools, but it failed so signally that no further effort was made till 1811. Then governor after governor in annual messages evinced an earnest desire for a more general diffusion of knowledge. But the poor whites would not accept of free schools, and as in Virginia they seldom had access to the private schools of the planters.

This inability to establish schools produced a marked contrast between the Southern Colonies and the two other English speaking communities. From Chaucer to Spenser, a time of great literary barrenness in England, there were few schools. Wyatt and Surrey offered the first fruits of a new literature and a few scholars introduced the New Learning into the universities. But unless Colet and his followers had established grammar schools, we should in all probability never have had the spacious times of great Elizabeth. More grammar-schools, Green tells us, were founded in the latter years of Henry than in the three centuries before. This system of middle class education, he adds, changed the very face of England. A similar expansion occurred in Addison's time. Charity schools, as they were then called, multiplied so rapidly during Queen Anne's reign as to call forth from him this high commendation: "I have looked on the institution of charity schools, which of late years has so universally prevailed throughout the whole nation, as the glory of the age we live in." From the first this idea dominated New England. There it went further and "universal education seemed to be a universal necessity."

Thanks to the townships this could be promptly supplied. Provision was soon made for all grades of education. By the year 1649 every colony in New England, except Rhode Island, had made public instruction compulsory, requiring that in each town of fifty householders there should be a school for reading and writing, and in each town of a hundred householders a grammar school, with a teacher competent to fit youths for the university. This university the people of Massachusetts founded with funds from their own treasury—only six years after John Winthrop's landing at Salem Harbor.

Without schools no people can become a reading people. So the newspaper, the next great educating power, found an uncongenial soil in the Southern Colonies. In Virginia the printing-press was forbidden to work at all till about the year 1729, and prior to 1765 there was but one printing-house in this Colony. Before this latter date, forty-three newspapers were established in the Colonies—one in Georgia, four in South Carolina, two in North Carolina, one in Virginia, two in Maryland, five in Pennsylvania, eight in New York, four in Connecticut, three in Rhode Island, and eleven in Massachusetts. During this same period four Magazines of more explicit literary intention were started—two in Philadelphia, one in Boston and one in New York. Of the seven Colleges founded before 1765 only one was located in the Southern Colonies—William and Mary's in Virginia.

But at this time, as we have already seen, it was the custom in many Southern families to send their sons to the old Country for an education.

"Ministers," says Bishop Meade, "could not generally be ordained without degrees from Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, or Edinburgh; lawyers studied at the Temple Bar in London; physicians in Edinburgh. For a long time Virginia was dependent for all these professional characters on English education."

None of the colonies, perhaps, sent so many in proportion to the number of inhabitants as South Carolina. But this was a time when the literary profession was held in least esteem by those with whom the Americans delighted to associate. Even men of letters were not always proud of their calling. Congreve affected to despise his literary reputation. Pope heaped ridicule upon poor authors and made the profession contemptible for almost a century. Gray "could not bear to be thought a pro-

fessed man-of-letters, but wished to be thought a private gentleman who read for his amusement." Any one at all acquainted with the South prior to 1860, knows that this feeling still prevailed, for seventeenth and eighteenth century English writers filled most of our private libraries. Public libraries could not be said to have had an existence. Nor did a professed literary class exist. "I went to Richmond," said the Virginian *Porte Crayon* before his death, "and no one took any notice of me. I went to Boston and every one wished to have me to dinner. So I always go to Boston." Ambitious men entered law, politics, or the church. The preacher and the politician carried off all the honors. If a man attempted literary work, he was too generally thought to be a failure in one of the honorable callings. "Who is that man going along yonder"? an ex-Governor of Tennessee, now living, heard some one ask on the streets of Nashville, "Oh! he is nobody but the editor of a Magazine," was the almost contemptuous answer.

Before 1825 the physical and economic conditions of the Southern States were such as to render the production of a literature a practical impossibility. The eighteenth century reigned supreme in business and in agriculture; added to this were the bad roads and unbridged rivers of a new country; commerce between State and State was scarcely possible, except by navigable water. A letter reached Nashville from Philadelphia in twenty-two days. A New York newspaper was three weeks old before it was read in Charleston. A large proportion of the inhabitants were struggling for daily bread. They were clearing away virgin forests and building log cabins. But this almost perfect arch of obstacles to the production of a literature would have crumbled and fallen to pieces before the onward march of population, wealth and civilization, if the keystone had not been inserted. In 1619 a Dutch man-of-war entered James River and landed twenty negroes for sale. Slavery thus introduced became profitable and was adopted in every Southern State. It grew slowly at first—the slaves in Virginia numbering in 1671 only two thousand in a population of forty thousand. But in 1800 we find three hundred and fifty thousand slaves in the same State, though the white population is only five hundred and fourteen thousand. In Georgia, then only partially settled, there were sixty thousand slaves and but one hundred

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thousand whites. South Carolina, especially in the low country where some thirty thousand whites were surrounded by a dense mass of nearly one hundred thousand negro slaves, soon took the lead in all matters pertaining to slavery. This State alone of the thirteen original States was, from its cradle, a planting State with slave labor. Still, at the beginning of this century this little commonwealth was not behind its sister States. "Nowhere," says Mr. Henry Adams, "in the union was intelligence, wealth, and education greater in proportion to numbers than in the little society of cotton and rice planters who ruled South Carolina." Yet even before the Revolution travellers began to take notice of a growing unlikeness of Southern to Northern colonies. And when Connecticut joined with South Carolina in putting slavery into the Constitution of the United States, a gulf was dug which could be filled again only with the bodies of a million white freemen. Slavery spread her sable wings over the whole South, darkened men's minds and destroyed all possibilities of art culture. Art is not only a jealous mistress, but in literary matters her very existence is based on freedom of thought and of expression. Where everything lies under the domination of one undisputed will, a deadly blight falls upon literary genius, and talent follows only those ways which lie open. William Gilmore Simms went to the root of the matter in these memorable words:

"No sir, there never will be a literature worth the name in the Southern States, so long as their aristocracy remains based on so many head of negroes and so many bales of cotton."

The only Southern literary genius, Edgar Allen Poe, sought a literary atmosphere in New York and Philadelphia. And yet there were large and well-chosen libraries in every Southern gentleman's home. All over the South—not only in the larger towns but also in the smaller ones, like Eatonton, Ga.; Tallahassee, Fla.; Huntsville, Ala.; Columbia, S. C.; there were coteries of brilliant men and fascinating women who formed centers of culture and lived in an atmosphere of wit and learning. But after 1835 it was dangerous to approach the "peculiar institution," and when it was attacked there was a prodigious waste of intellectual power in defense or vindication or apology. The relative position of the North and the South to the question was stated by John C. Calhoun, in his usual lucid and distinct manner before the U. S. Senate, 14 March, 1850. Says he:

“ Every portion of the North entertains views and feelings more or less hostile to it [slavery]. Those most opposed and hostile, regard it as a sin, and consider themselves under the most sacred obligation to use every effort to destroy it. Indeed, to the extent that they conceive they have the power, they regard themselves as implicated in the sin, and responsible for not suppressing it by the use of all and every means. Those less opposed and hostile, regard it as a crime—an offence against humanity, as they call it; and although not so fanatical, feel themselves bound to use all efforts to effect the same object; while those who are least opposed and hostile, regard it as a blot and a stain on the character of what they call the Nation, and feel themselves accordingly bound to give it no countenance or support. On the contrary, the Southern section regards the relation as one which cannot be destroyed without subjecting the two races to the greatest calamity, and the section to poverty, desolation and wretchedness, and accordingly they feel bound, by every consideration of interest and safety, to defend it.”

All Europe agreed with the North and thus the South found herself surrounded by an impenetrable wall of nineteenth century public opinion. Within this wall there was no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech, almost no freedom of opinion—as far as slavery was concerned.

But it is a great mistake to assert, as has often been done, that either the climate or slavery destroyed the mental activity and enfeebled the wills of the Southern people. After the Revolution the great men of America, and chief among them the Virginians, devoted their genius to politics, and as Mr. Charles Dudley Warner has well said, for any parallel to their treatises on the nature of government in respect to originality and vigor we must go back to classic times. The writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Calhoun are worthy of this high praise. “ Jefferson of all our early statesmen,” says Mr. Whipple, “ was the most efficient master of the pen, and the most ‘ advanced ’ political thinker.” Judge Story said that to James Madison and Alexander Hamilton we were mainly indebted for the Constitution of the United States. The Virginian Marshall, did more, perhaps, than any other man to weld the States into a Nation. On the other hand the Virginian John Randolph, formulated the doctrine of States’ rights and created the solid South. From the adoption of the Constitution to the election of Lincoln, Southern leaders controlled most great affairs. As-

tute and imperious politicians were not wanting; Washington, Madison, Jefferson, Monroe, Randolph, Benton, Clay, Calhoun, Jackson and others dominated Congress and ruled the country.

But the list of writers worthy of mention is not long; Poe, Pinckney, Kennedy, Simms, Longstreet, and Thompson almost complete the list. That unique book of William Byrd's, "perhaps the most delightfully piquant and natural production of colonial times," should have had more successors! A fine lyric, a pleasant story, a few good romances, some sketches and dialect stories, a real poet—that is all. About most of Southern writings there was a want of naturalness, of reality. Here especially the eighteenth century reigned supreme. The words—*steed*, *hamlet*, *peasant*, etc., found on almost every page, the unreal pictures of life and of nature—showed the unmistakable influence of the prosaic age of Johnson and the stilted manners of Sir Charles Grundison. Home material was tabooed. To have used the abundant art material all around him; to have drawn a picture of life as it really was, would have seemed to the Southern artist an attack on all that he held dearest and loved most. Hence he sought themes elsewhere, shut his eyes to the present and lived in the past. Artificiality vitiated oratory and ruined poetry.

To this state of affairs a remarkable exception was found in Georgia. Here were the beginnings of a popular literature. The 'Georgia Scenes,' 'Major Jones's Courtship' and 'Major Jones's Travels' are natural, racy and original. They are, it is true, "rough and tumble," but in them we find genuine humor, broad but irresistible. How are we to account for the appearance of such writings? It is not enough to answer that the Middle Georgians have preserved unchanged the habits and customs of their fathers; that they are a unique people. I have a fancy that if we look into the lives of Judge Longstreet and Major Thompson we shall find an answer to our inquiry. A. B. Longstreet was the son of William Longstreet, a remarkable inventor, born in New Jersey. He removed in early life to Georgia, but sent his son to Yale College for an education. After graduating at Yale he studied in the Law-School at Litchfield, Conn. Here, then, he caught the literary spirit, which kept his pen "never idle."

W. T. Thompson was born in Ohio, went thence at the age

of eleven to Philadelphia, and as a lad entered the office of the *Philadelphia Chronicle*. In 1835 we find him at the age of twentieth-three associated with Judge Longstreet in editing the *States-Rights Sentinel* of Augusta, Ga. These writings were contributions to newspapers and Judge Longstreet, it is said, became ashamed of his 'Georgia Scenes' after they were published in book form and tried to collect and destroy all copies of the first edition. Thompson attempted to found the first purely literary paper started in Georgia, but we are not surprised to learn that "it was not a financial success." The atmosphere was not congenial.

There were too many of the leading men of the South like John M. Daniel, who, Dr. Bagby tells us, "had a sovereign contempt for the so-called 'literature of the day.'" His peculiar spelling was but a work of his infinite detestation of Webster as a "New England Yankee." Amid such surroundings the Civil War found the Southern muse. Like the author of "My Maryland," a stripling just from college full of poetry and romance, she was dreaming dreams from which she was awakened by the guns of Sumter. Songs swept over the South. Patient suffering and sublime devotion to duty found fit expression in "Little Giffen of Tennessee." Like a fresh breeze came the tender lines of "Music in Camp" to home-lovers on both sides. Some unknown writer produced a gem in the tribute to the "Confederate Flag." That anonymous outpouring of a broken heart, "Reading the List," is even yet in its action and anguish like an old-time ballad, a little tragic drama. Hayne, Timrod, Thompson, Flash, Ticknor, Randall, Margaret J. Preston, Father Ryan and others were in the "focal and foremost fire," and now and again they gave apt expression to the thrilling experiences and bitter anguish of those times. Still no very high rank can be claimed for our war poetry on either side. There is a conspicuous lack of martial fire and lyrical fervor in almost every poem written by the great New England poets. Two or three from the Northern side and as many from the Southern are, perhaps, all the genuine poems that American literature gained from that mighty conflict.

Just after the war Father Ryan, especially in his "Conquered Banner," seemed to voice the feelings of the whole Southern people, but it was soon discovered that he had given expression

only to a temporary phase. The Anglo-Saxon is not wont to sit down by the rivers of Babylon nor to hang harps upon the willows. But such lines as his are, perhaps, the fittest expression of the despair and the disgust of the reconstruction period. Father Ryan closed an epoch, but Timrod, Hayne, Sidney Lanier and Margaret J. Preston showed power to live on. They have, however, experienced the saddest of all lots—the misfortune of living in a transition period. For several decades there has been no deep throated songster—either in England or in America. And to judge by the verses appearing in our magazines and literary weeklies, we have little cause to expect such a poet as Spenser,

Who, like a copious river, poured his song
O'er all the mazes of enchanted ground.

We must be very thankful, if now and then we stray upon some little rivulet, clear, limpid and sparkling. These poets realized their surroundings, yet all—except Timrod, whom death claimed all too soon—worked on with brave persistency. A paragraph of a letter from Mrs. Preston will illustrate their devotion :

“For a long time” she wrote, “I was contributor, reviewer, or sort of semi-editor for ever so many Southern newspapers, doing this kind of work in order to help forward in my small way the interest of Southern literature. I have written volumes in this way without even a signature, but it has been at the expense of my eye-sight.”

A little despondency under these circumstances is not surprising. In another letter she wrote: “But doesn't it grieve your heart to see how little our dear South cares for literature *per se* ? However, with Miss Murfree and a few others to do her honor, perhaps she will yet come to the front.” Besides such work as has been mentioned, Mrs. Preston has given us several volumes of poems and some delightful “Monographs” of travel, art, etc., but rarely does she get the popular ear. Her writings appeal mostly to the refined, cultured, trained lover of books.

Paul H. Hayne returned to the “lovely” pines of Georgia where there was little contact of mind with mind and an almost lack of that criticism which is so necessary to the production of the real artist. Now and again we hear the native woodnotes wild; we feel the warmth and the wealth of the Southern landscape; we are lulled by the murmurs of the

Southern seas ; we are stirred by a patriotic song and gratified at the tender, manly tribute to Whittier—but the limitations crowd upon us and we are disposed to cavil at nature for planting this rose in a literary desert. Before Timrod died he originated a new method in “Cotton Boll” which was used with still greater effect by Sidney Lanier. Here,—at last—we thought, was the real Southern poet. His unique verse began to attract attention as being unlike that of any other Southern writer. He looked the poet, as Stedman has described him, “nervous and eager, with dark hair and slender beard, features delicately moulded, pallid complexion, hands of the slender, white aristocratic type.” His aims were high and pure. He was a student, and a thinker, and though his subtle, tantalizing poems show that he was working within limitations, self-imposed by reason of his peculiar views of poetry, yet they evince a clear voice and a high and noble purpose. He brought the South into literary fellowship with the world in his declaration,

“that the artist shall put forth, humbly and lovingly, and without bitterness against opposition, the very best and highest that is within him, utterly regardless of contemporary criticism.”

His poems show fancy, imagination and artistic finish, but they have failed to place him among the immortals. He came so near being a real poet !

The present outlook for poetry in the South is dreary indeed. Robert Burns Wilson in “June Days” and other poems led us to expect something, but we rarely see a poem from him now. The freshest and most inspiring little volume of verse is Maurice Thompson’s ‘Songs of Fair Weather.’ In them we come into direct contact with nature in her brighter, gentler or serener moods. The cool fresh air of early Spring blows through them. One with so precious a gift should make more use of it.

In Southern fiction there were two belated travellers, widely differing from each other, yet representatives of the characteristic fashions in taste of the Southern people: John Esten Cooke and Augusta J. Evans. Scott set the fashion in romantic fiction which was adopted by Kennedy, Simms and Cooke and which exactly suited the tastes of the old Southern gentry. In the ‘Virginia Comedians,’ ‘Bonnybel Vane,’ ‘Hilt to Hilt,’ ‘Surry of the Eagle’s Nest,’ ‘Mohun or the Last Days of Lee and his Paladins,’ etc., there can, through the incidents and amid the

passion, be caught glimpses of Virginian life. In his later novels written under the impulse of the new movement, Cooke tries to tell the Virginian side of the great conflict. But he found himself out of sympathy with the age. Another kind of writing had come into vogue, and like many another Southerner, finding that he was unable to adopt his writings to the new order, he retired to his broad fields, green with wheat and rustling with corn, "the fires of ambition burned out" and "serenely happy." His warbooks, records of personal observation and opinion, and his 'History of Virginia' will perhaps outlive his stories.

The writings of Miss Evans seem to represent in fiction a style much used in oratory throughout the South. An over ornamented rhetoric, which has such an extraordinary attraction to half-educated minds, was very popular. No less so was a display of learning. At one time in politics, in love, in friendship all was equally classic. Every boyish scrape was a Greek tragedy and every stump speech a terror to the enemies of liberty. Out-of-the-way learning and fantastic descriptions of magnificent homes in which dwell those who had suffered a great sorrow or committed greater crimes, lent their charms and the author reaped a golden harvest from Northerners and Southerners too. The artificial setting of the story; "the stony, gray, Gorgonian face"; the gray merino dressing-gowns that "trailed on the marble floor"; the "bare feet" that "gleamed like ivory," and the no less artificial passions of the characters—all these fascinated the lovers of romantics—sentimental, "wax flower" literature. Is it not a remarkable fact, that Miss Evans is the only Southern writer who by authorship alone ever made one hundred thousand dollars?

The names of our two hundred writers belonging to the Old South have been preserved, yet with the exception of two or three, over their entire writings, as has been aptly said, is "the trail of the amateur, the note of the province, the odor of the wax flower"; but the Southern part of the Nation has something better to offer.

WM. M. BASKERVILL.

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THE SPANISH PASTORAL ROMANCES.

The introduction of the pastoral romance into Spain in the middle of the sixteenth century, and the extreme favor with which it was received, may, in view of the social condition of the country, seem at first sight paradoxical. At the time of the accession of Philip II, Spain was at the zenith of her military greatness: her possessions were scattered from the North Sea to the islands of the Pacific; and her conquests had been extended over both parts of the western world.¹ The constant wars against the Moors, during a period of over seven hundred years, and the stirring ballads founded upon them, had fostered an adventurous and chivalric spirit,—a distinguishing trait of the Spanish character. Arms and the church were the only careers that offered any opportunity for distinction, and every Spanish gentleman was, first of all, a soldier.

Such a state of society was favorable for books of chivalry, which, beginning with 'Amadís of Gaul,' made their appearance in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century,² and soon

¹ The Spanish language was, for the greater part of Europe, what French is to-day, the chief medium of communication between nations. See Cervantes, 'Persiles y Sigismunda.' Vol. ii, Bk. iii.

² 'Amadís of Gaul' had, doubtless, circulated in manuscript since the latter half of the xiv. century. It is mentioned in a poem by Pero Ferrus (born, probably, before 1325), in the 'Cancionero' of Baena, and by Pero Lopez de Ayala in his 'Rimado de Palacio,' written, probably, between 1398 and 1404. For a brief account of 'Amadís,' embracing the latest research upon the question, see the article by Prof. Baist in the last edition of Brockhaus' 'Conversations Lexicon,' now appearing (1891). The article has, however, undergone some changes at the hands of the editor.

enjoyed a popularity that was unparalleled. For half a century these *Libros de Caballerías* held undisputed sway. Gradually, however, the readers, especially those in court-circles, grew weary of the monotonous and impossible exploits of the paladins, and their desire for a change was soon gratified. How these books of chivalry, in the beginning of the following century, "were smiled away from out the world" by Don Quijote, is well known. But nearly fifty years before the appearance of the knight of La Mancha, a new form of fiction appeared in Spain, which soon gained the ascendancy over its older rival. This was the Pastoral Romance. The pastoral romance was, in a measure, a result, an offspring, of the romance of chivalry. Its beginnings are already clearly perceptible in some of the followers of Amadís. In the *Libro noveno de Amadís, que es la chronica del muy valiente y esforzado Principe y cavallero de la Ardiente Espada, Amadis de Grecia, hijo de Lisuarte de Grecia* of which an edition (Burgos, 1535) is cited by Gayangos, a pastoral element is already introduced. Darinel and Sylvia, a shepherd and shepherdess are brought upon the scene, and play an important part in the books that follow. As Gayangos says:

"The pastoral romance, cultivated since the beginning of the century by Sannazaro and the Italians, now began to be known in Spain, and was afterwards carried to the highest degree of perfection by Montemayor.³ In 'Don Florisel de Niquea,' the

Of the printed editions of 'Amadís of Gaul,' the earliest known, up to a few years ago, was that published at Rome in 1519. An edition of 1511 is mentioned by Fernando Colón, son of the great discoverer, in the catalogue of his library at Seville, numbered 4139. See Gallardo, 'Ensayo,' vol. ii, col. 553. Both of these Romances are expressly described as being in four books. As the fifth book of Amadís, "Las Sergas de Esplandian," and the sixth book, "Florisandro," appeared in 1510, the original 'Amadís' must be earlier. It, therefore, occasioned no little surprise when, a few years ago, a copy of the first edition of 'Amadís,' dated Caragoça, 1508 was discovered at Ferrara. This copy, which was in the Selliére collection, is now owned by Mr. Quaritch, who values it at £200. The following is from his catalogue, page 3854:

"The editor or renovator, Garcí-Ordóñez de Montalvo, according to later editions, is in the rubricated heading of the *princeps*, described as Garcí Rodríguez de Montalvo, and his prologue makes the usual statement that he simply *corrected* the corrupted text of the *three books* of Amadís, that he had the good fortune to get hold of the original fourth book and the original *Sergas de Esplandian* (that is, the fifth book or first continuation), and that he translated the latter two so as to add them to the former three."

3 'Libros de Caballerías, con un discurso preliminar y un catálogo razonado' por Don Pascual de Gayangos. Madrid, Ribadeneyra, 1857, p. xxxi.

It is not within the scope of this work to trace the beginnings of pastoral poetry in Spain. Nearly twenty years before the first appearance of Montemayor's 'Diana,' the influence of the Italian pastorals is clear, in the works of Garcilaso de la Vega, whose "Eclogues" first appeared in 1543, with the works of Boscan, another writer entirely under the influence of the Italians. That Garcilaso was an imitator of Sannazaro,—even sometimes going to the extent, as in his second eclogue, of translating almost verbally whole passages of the 'Arcadia,' has been shown by Torraca, in his work "Gl'Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro," Roma, 1882.

first two parts of which appeared for the first time at Valladolid in 1532, we already see Don Florisel assuming the garb of a shepherd and following a shepherdess, Sylvia, with whom he had fallen in love. And in the fourth part of 'Don Florisel of Niquea,' of which there is an edition dated Salamanca, 1551, there are introduced into romances of chivalry for the first time *romances*, *quintillas*, and eclogues, which the author calls *bucólicos*,⁴ while the second book of the fourth part of 'Don Florisel,' chap. xxxvii, contains an eclogue between two shepherds, Archileo and Laris, and a number of *certámenes*, or poetical contests, in the manner of those which Montemayor afterwards introduced into his 'Diana.'"⁴

The marked favor with which the Spanish pastoral romance was greeted, and the signal success it immediately enjoyed, may, perhaps, be explained (in addition to the reason already given) by the fact that the 'Diana,' its first representative, was a work of real genius, while the peculiar temperament and susceptibility of the Spanish people, were, doubtless, also a factor in its success. The pastoral romance was not, however, originally a growth of the Spanish soil, but was transplanted from Italy, its home.

Spain and Italy had long been in close communication; Sicily had been subject to the crown of Aragon since 1282; Milan and the Kingdom of Naples had come into the possession of Spain, and Spanish troops under Charles V. had overrun the whole Italian peninsula. Such continued contact with Italy, at that time the most cultured and refined nation of Europe, could not fail to influence the minds of its invaders; their intellectual horizon was broadened, and their thoughts diverted into new channels. Here, in the after-glow of the great revival of learning, they found new poetic forms,—strangers to their literature, and henceforth the pastoral, amongst other Italian measures, was destined to find a home beyond the Pyrennees.

It was the 'Ameto' of Boccaccio, a pastoral in prose and verse, that served, in Italy, as a model for all the later pastorals of Sannazaro and Bembo, and for the dramatic pastorals of Tasso and Guarini. Though not strictly a pastoral romance, it prepared the way for this kind of composition, and under its influence Sannazaro, a Neapolitan, born in 1458, wrote his 'Arcadia,' which he first published in 1504.⁵ Though Sannazaro took the

⁴ Gayangos. Libros de Cab. xxxvi.

⁵ A mutilated edition of the 'Arcadia' appeared at Venice in 1502, but it was without the author's knowledge or consent, and while he was absent in France. See Michele Scherillo, 'Arcadia di Jacobo Sannazaro Secondo I Manoscritti E Le Prime Stampe, con note ed. Introduzione,' 8vo, Torino, 1888, in which the 'Arcadia' and its sources are discussed with a thoroughness that leaves little to be said.

'Ameto' for his model—which is manifest in the distorted and artificial style which sometimes disfigures the otherwise graceful narration of the 'Arcadia'—the ancient writers were not without influence in the composition of the latter work. Indeed, concerning this point, Scherillo says:

"Il vero maestro ed autore nel Sannazaro, colui al quale ci si diede per sua salute, il suo dolcissimo padre, è Virgilio." P. lxxxix.

But on page ciii, he says:

"If the Greek and Latin writers furnished Sannazaro with the pastoral material, the *form* of the romance was furnished by that one of the three great Tuscans who had come to preach in Naples "la buona novella della nuova lingua," that is, Boccaccio."

Of the influence of Boccaccio's 'Ameto,' he says:

"Tutta la tela dell'*Arcadia* è ritessuta su quella dell'Ameto." P. cxi.

Sannazaro was, however, also indebted to other works of Boccaccio, namely: the 'Filocolo,' 'Fiammetta,' 'Ninfale Fiesolano,' the 'Corbaccio' and the 'Decamerone.' *Ibid.*, p. cxii.

The 'Arcadia' is a series of twelve eclogues in verse, interspersed with prose that was written afterwards, merely to join them together; but the mixed form of prose and verse, given to this species of composition, and which was already present in the 'Ameto,' was ever afterwards retained by all the Spanish romances. Ticknor calls the 'Arcadia' a "genuine pastoral romance," and its author "the true father of the modern prose pastoral."⁶ It was in imitation of the 'Arcadia' that Montemayor wrote the 'Diana,' the first Spanish pastoral romance.⁷ That the earlier and better Spanish romances followed their Italian model closely, is very clear; that their style, which is sometimes

⁶ For the great favor with which the 'Arcadia' was received, various reasons have been assigned. Scherillo says:

"Se l'*Arcadia* fu accolta con tanto favore, ciò fu in gran parte perchè rappresentava la comune tendenza del tempo a quel sentimentalismo compenetrato, che pullula come per reazione nei periodi più agitati delle armi: ed anche perchè riecheggiava variamente le voci degli scrittori di quel mondo classico che tutti agognavano conoscere, in tanto fervore di rinascenza, come la più pura e più invidiata delle nostre glorie." P. ccxii.

A Spanish translation of the 'Arcadia' appeared at Toledo in 1547, followed by a second, likewise at Toledo, in 1549: Nic. Antonio mentions one at Toledo in 1554. Editions appeared at Salamanca 1569; Madrid in 1569; Salamanca in 1578; and Madrid in 1620.

⁷ See Torraca, 'Gl'Imitatori Stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro.' Roma, 1882, pp. 18 and 19.

stilted and unnatural is due to this close imitation is, however, open to question, though this reason has been assigned by a competent authority.⁸ For the Spanish pastoral romances, written originally for the amusement of courtiers, and artificial in their origin, remained so to a great extent in their general style and construction; and though such peculiar and distorted sentences not infrequently occur, in which the learned Spanish critic thinks he can detect the more free arrangement of word and phrase permitted by Italian syntax, yet such passages are easily outweighed by those in which the style is graceful and flowing. It must be confessed, however, that though some of the Spanish pastoral romances attained a very high degree of excellence, they are generally wanting in that idyllic simplicity and truth to nature which Sannazzaro⁹ so often displays. They sometimes indulge in the utmost extravagances and inconsistencies, introducing courtiers in the guise of shepherds, but speaking the language of the court; until, in many cases, the fact that the personages appear under the names of shepherds, is all that is left to indicate the pastoral character. This expedient, however, of portraying living persons thus disguised, was no invention of the later writers, but had been used by Vergil in his *Eclogues*, in which the shepherds are often distinguished men of his time, while the poet himself often figures in them as an actor—a circumstance that has also been followed by most of the Spanish writers.¹⁰ Moreover, many of the scenes and incidents described by the latter are such as never could be realized in nature, but are possible only in that imaginary 'Arcadia' where their shepherds watched their "visionary flocks."

That the Spaniards were aware of the extravagances of their

⁸ See the introduction to the Spanish Academy's edition of Valbuena's '*Siglo de Oro*.' Madrid, 1821.

⁹ Ruth's judgment of Sannazzaro is very severe. He says:

"Dieser Mann, welchem die sogenannte petrarchische Liebe, die Andacht und ein ungestörter Friede drei Lebensbedürfnisse waren, trieb sich fast sein ganzes Leben in sanften Empfindungen herum; so lange seine Geliebte noch lebte, feierte er sie in Elegien und Eklogen; nach ihrem Tod trauerte er in Eklogen, schrieb ein religiöses Gedicht *De partu Virginis*, über die Mysterien der Incarnation, in 3 Gesängen, und brachte die letzten Jahre seines Lebens in beständigen Andachtsübungen in einer Kapelle zu, die er auf seinem eigenen Gut der Jungfrau Maria zu Ehren erbaute und wo er sich begraben liesz. Ein solcher Geist war freilich zur Idylle sehr glücklich gestimmt, etc." '*Geschichte der italienischen Poesie*.' Vol. ii, p. 598.

The 'Arcadia' still remains the best work of its kind in any modern language.

¹⁰ Also in England, among others by Spenser, in his "Colin Clout's Come Home Again."

romances, and of their violence to the truth, there is abundant proof in their writings;¹¹ yet the device, for example, of introducing well-known persons as shepherds, doubtless added piquancy and color to the otherwise wearisome recitals of the *pastores*, especially in the eyes of those classes for whom they were principally written, and for whom it must have afforded no little amusement to discern—pictured beneath the thin veil of disguise—either their friends, or themselves. Of the popularity of this species of fiction among the upper classes, for it was hardly intended for the *profanum vulgus*, there can be no doubt; the score of writers who followed in the footsteps of Montemayor, would in itself be sufficient proof of this. It would seem, also, that the climate and the warm, impressionable nature of the people, were not unimportant factors in its success; since pastoral poetry never flourished in northern countries for lack of conditions congenial to its growth.

The 'Diana' of Montemayor.

"The pastoral romance was introduced into Spain by a Portuguese,"¹² Jorge de Montemayor, whose 'Diana' was the first, and still ranks as the best example of this species of prose fiction in the literature of Spain. Its success soon brought forth a host of imitators; for no book in Spain, since the appearance of 'Amadis of Gaul,' had been received with the favor bestowed upon the 'Diana.'¹³ Of its author, Jorge de Montemayor, little

¹¹ See "The Galatea" of Cervantes.

¹² The Spanish Romance of Chivalry was also long supposed to be of Portuguese origin:

"Es notable que, como los romances de caballeria, el Romance pastoral fué introducido en España por un portugués."

MS. note by Gayangos in Montemayor's 'Diana,' ed. of 1614, in the Ticknor library. Upon *Amadis of Gaul* see preceding note, p. 1, Baret: 'De l'Amadis de Gaule' (Paris, 1878) who says there was a Spanish version "antérieure de près d'un siècle à la rédaction de Vasco de Lobeira." Also Braunfels, 'Kritischer versuch über den roman Amadis von Gallien' (Leipzig, 1876, sm. 8vo) where the Portuguese origin of the Amadis is disproved conclusively; and Gayangos, in his introduction to the 'Libros de Caballeria's,' cited above.

¹³ The 'Diana' was imitated not only in Spain, but also in other countries. To discuss these imitations, however, would lead me beyond the scope of the present essay. It will suffice to mention two of the most famous ones: the 'Arcadia' of Sir Philip Sidney (1590), in England; and the 'Astrée' of D'Urfé (1610), in France.—In both these romances, all the defects of the 'Diana,' which will be found characterized farther on, appear in an exaggerated degree; and however dull some of the Spanish romances may be, they all possess, in comparison with the two volumes of the 'Arcadia,' and the five thick tomes of the 'Astrée,' at least the merit of brevity. See the remarkable introduction to the 'Poetical works of Sidney' (London, 1877) by the editor, A. B. Grosart, who says:

"As a whole—but only as a whole—the poems of 'Arcadia' are not up to the high intellectual level of 'Astrophel and Stella,' etc. (p. lxxi). Mr. Grosart also speaks of the 'wit' of Milton and Dante, George Herbert and Cowper, p. lxxv; and says "the 'Stella' of Sidney holds a place beside the Laura of Petrarch, the Beatrice of Dante, and the *Castara* of *Habington*" (p. lxi).

For the 'Astrée' and its sources, see Heinrich Körting, 'Gesch. des Franz. Romans im xvii. Jahrhundert.' Leipzig, 1885, p. 113.

is known: we neither know his name, nor the date of his birth. In this respect, as will appear in the following pages, he shares the fate of many Spanish poets and writers who enjoyed popularity while living, but of whose lives we know next to nothing, often only the mere name. He was a Portuguese, born at Montemôr o Velho near Coimbra, and the date of his birth is generally given as "before 1520."¹⁴ This date is too early, however, by several years. It is based upon the supposition that the edition of Montemayor's 'Diana' in the Ticknor library—dated 1542—is really of that date. In a MS. note Mr. Ticknor says:

"In cleaning some manuscript words from the bottom of the title-page, the date 1542 was nearly obliterated, but can still be read. I bought the volume in Madrid in 1818 and the title-page was cleaned in 1847."¹⁵

No other copy of this date has ever been seen. Salvá y Mallén,¹⁶ describing this edition, and giving a fac-simile of the title-page, says:

"Esta rarísima edicion *no lleva fecha ninguna*: pero indudablemente es la mas antigua que existe: la imprimió postivamente Ioan Mey, y se publicó durante la vida del autor, como lo prueba la dedicatoria," etc.

For an account of Montemayor's early years, we are principally indebted to his letter to Sâ de Miranda, a sort of autobiography, written in 1553 while Montemayor was temporarily residing at the Portuguese court.¹⁷ In it he tells us that his early youth was passed on the banks of the Mondego,¹⁸ and that the education he acquired was very slight. We know from his friend and

¹⁴ Ticknor, 'History of Spanish Literature.' Boston, 1888. Vol. iii, p. 92.

¹⁵ See also the note in the Ticknor Catalogue, where the opinion is expressed that "this date was foisted into the title-page when it was sold." P. 234.

¹⁶ 'Catálogo,' Vol. ii, p. 168. Ticknor's citation of an edition of 1545 is a mistake. See Ticknor Catalogue, p. 234. It may be stated here that most of the material for this essay, excepting such Spanish books as are in my own possession, was collected in the Ticknor library in Boston, during the summer of 1890; and I take this occasion to thank Mr. A. P. C. Griffin and Mr. Edward B. Hunt of the Boston Public Library, for many kindnesses shown me while working there. The library of the University of Göttingen—rich in rare works of every kind—furnished much useful matter, and Professor Baist has kindly loaned me some books from his own collection.

¹⁷ "Carta de Jorge de Montemayor," in 'Poesias de Francisco de Sâ de Miranda.' Ed. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos. Halle, Niemeyer, 1885, p. 665. See Appendix.

¹⁸ By the waters of this historic stream, Camoens also passed his early years. See his one hundred and eleventh Sonnet, beginning "Doces e claras aguas do Mondego." He was born at Lisbon in 1524.

continuator, Alonzo Perez, that he knew no Latin at a time when that language was studied by all that made any claim to culture. His early years were devoted to music, though, while still a youth, he practiced the art of poetry. When quite young he left his native country "to make his own living, somehow or other" (*por algun modo*) and turned his footsteps toward Spain, where he became a soldier, and to judge from one of his sonnets, served for a time in Flanders.

Partiendose para la guerra
no las desiertas playas peligrosas
ni las tormentas bravas, espantosas
do esforço e valentia es muy en vano, etc.

And again :

Yendose el autor a Flandes
y muerte allí le ataje el fundamento
qu'el desamado pierda sufrimento,¹⁹ etc.

We now come to the first certain date in his life: in 1548 he was a musician at the Court of Castile, publishing in that year a paraphrase of the eighty-sixth psalm,²⁰ and calling himself *Cantor* of the chapel of the Infanta Doña Maria, the daughter of Charles V. In 1554 according to Salvá y Mallen, the first edition of Montemayor's 'Cancionero' appeared at Antwerp.²¹ Whether the lady whose praises he therein sings, under the name of 'Marfida,' is identical with the *Diana* of his later romance, there is no means of determining with certainty.²² Lope de Vega, in his 'Dorotea,' Act ii, Sc. 2, says: "The Diana of

¹⁹ In the 'Cancionero del excellentissimo poeta, George de Monte Mayor.' Alcalá, 1563. fol. 56.

²⁰ Exposicion moral sobre el psalmo lxxxvi del real propheta David, dirigido a la muy alta y muy poderosa señora la infanta doña Maria por George de monte mayor, cantor de la capilla de su alteza. Alcalá, mdxlviii.

²¹ Las obras de George de Monte mayor, repartidas en dos libros, y dirigidas a los muy poderosos señores don Iuã, y doña Iuana, Principes de Portugal. En Anvers, mdlviii. In the subsequent editions the 'Obras' are divided into two parts, and entitled 'Segundo Cancionero de Monte mayor,' and 'Segundo cancionero espiritual.' An edition of this first part, dated Antwerp, 1558, is given by Salvá: Catálogo, Vol. i, 137 (No. 296). The second part, the 'Segundo cancionero espiritual,' Salvá apparently had never seen. It, however, is the subject of a very interesting article by Prof. Vollmöller in *Romanische Forschungen*, Vol. iv, p. 333. From the dedication in this volume, it is evident that in 1558 Montemayor was living in Flanders.

²² Of this Marfida or Marfisa, Mad. de Vasconcellos, 'Poesias de Sã de Miranda' (p. 849. *note*) says: Supõe-se que debaixo d'este anagramma de *fis amar*, ou *fidamar*, se esconde o nome Margarida. The real name of *Diana* as given by Sepúlveda (see note below), was Ana.

Montemayor was a lady of Valencia de Don Juan, near Leon " (fol. 52^v. ed. of 1632). She is said to have been still living in 1602, when she was visited by Philip III. and Queen Margaret. She is described as even then bearing traces of her former beauty, though more than sixty years old.²³ This would fix her birth somewhere about 1536, and would, of course, effectually dispose of the belief that an edition of the 'Diana' existed as early as 1542.²⁴ Towards the close of 1552, Montemayor accompanied the younger daughter of Charles V., Doña Juana, the wife of Dom João of Portugal, to whose court he was now attached, to Lisbon.²⁵ Here he lived one year, returning to Spain early in 1554, after the death of Dom João.²⁶ Nicholas Antonio, followed by Sedano and others, thinks that Montemayor accompanied Philip II.²⁷ on his visit to England and the Netherlands in 1554. Of this there is no positive evidence; we only know that his 'Cancionero' appeared in Antwerp in that year. But we are certain, from the testimony of Fray Bartholomé Ponce, that Montemayor was at the Court of Spain in 1559 (then at Valladolid), 'when everybody was reading the *Diana*.'²⁸ This would appear to be a confirmation of Salvá y Mallen's conjecture, that the 'Diana' first appeared "before 1559," and such a popularity as Ponce states, seems to imply a

²³ "Bosquejo historico sobre la novela Española," by D. Eustaquio Fernandez de Navarrete, prefixed to Volume xxxiii of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. (p. xxvii, note) quoting Sepúlveda, 'Historia de varios sucesos.' MS. vol. ii, ch. 12. See also, concerning the life of Montemayor, an excellent dissertation by Schönherr: 'Jorge de Montemayor, sein Leben, etc.' (Halle, 1886). This work did not come to my knowledge until this essay was nearly completed, so that in only a few instances have I been able to avail myself of it. My copy was, moreover, without the 'appendix,' which seems to have been added to a later edition.

²⁴ From these data it would certainly seem that 1520, the generally accepted year of Montemayor's birth, is too early by several years. He was probably born about 1528, at all events such a date agrees better with the facts given above.

²⁵ Schönherr, *Opus cit.*, 22.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁷ Philip II. set sail from Coruña in the beginning of July 1554, and arrived at Southampton on the nineteenth or twentieth of the same month. He remained in England fourteen months, going thence to the Netherlands, and returned to Spain on August 2, 1559. See Watson, 'History of Philip II.' vol. i, 131.

²⁸ 'Primera parte de la Clara Diana a lo divino, repartida en siete libros.' Zaragoza, 1582. In the *prologo* he says:

"Being at the Court of Philip II, in 1559, I saw and read the *Diana* of Montemayor, which was at that time in such favor as I had never seen any book in the vernacular. Expressing a desire to know the author, I was introduced to him at the house of a friend. Taking courage to tell him that he was wasting time and talents in making rhymes and composing books of love, Montemayor, with a hearty laugh, replied: Padre Ponce, let the friars do penance for all; as for the *hijosdalgo*, arms and love are their profession. May God have mercy on his soul, for I never saw him again. A few months after this, I was told how a good friend of his had killed him on account of jealousy, or some love-affair."

recent appearance of the work: besides, to suppose that the first edition of the 'Diana' appeared in 1542, and that no edition followed for nearly twenty years (1560) is inconsistent with the great and immediate success it enjoyed. Montemayor died on February 26th, 1561, in Piedmont. That his death was sudden and violent, is shown,—in addition to the testimony of Padre Ponce, just cited,—by the Elegy of Dorantes:

Comienza, Musa mia dolorosa
el funesto suceso y desventura,
la muerte arrebatada y presurosa
de nuestro Lusitano, etc. Lines 1-4.

And again:

La inexorable parca y rigurosa
cortó con gran desden su dulce hilo
con inmadura muerte y lastimosa. Lines 70-73.

The 'Diana' is the principal work of Montemayor, and the one by which he is best known. The story is briefly given by the author in his *Argumento* as follows:

In the fields of the ancient and celebrated city of Leon, by the banks of the river Ezla, there lived a shepherdess named Diana, more beautiful than any of her time. She loved and was loved in return by a shepherd named Sireno, with a love chaste and pure. At the same time she was loved by another shepherd, Silvano, whom she, however, abhorred. It now happened that Sireno was obliged to leave the kingdom upon matters which admitted of no excuse. For a while, Diana grieved on account of his absence, but as time changed, her heart changed also, and she was married to another shepherd named Delio. Sireno returning after a year's absence, learns of her marriage "and here begins the first book, and in the remaining ones you shall find various histories of things that have really happened, although disguised beneath a pastoral style."

It will be seen from this 'Argument' that the 'Diana' had its origin in an actual event in the life of its author, and that, perhaps, his principal object in writing it, was to find expression for the sorrow and despair of a great disappointment, and thus obtain that relief and consolation which imparting our ills to others often gives.

A raconter ses maux, souvent on les soulage.

The form and construction of the 'Diana' may have been matters of subordinate import to Montemayor, but a work is to be judged as it stands, and it must be admitted that the 'Diana,'

in this respect, is not without serious defects: many of its incidents are loosely interwoven; there is a lack of cohesion; the narrative is sometimes involved, and is often interrupted by long digressions, so that one loses the thread of the main story, and the interest flags. This want of logical development, the failure properly to subordinate the various incidents of the story, and thus hold the attention of the reader, is a fault conspicuous not only in the 'Diana,' but in all Spanish romances of its class. Many of the incidents in the 'Diana' are quite improbable, and its beauty is often marred by an excessive sentimentality, at times bordering on the ridiculous.²⁹ A few extracts will illustrate this:

"Venía pues el triste Sireno, los ojos hechos fuentes, el rostro mudado y el corazón tan hecho á desventuras, que si la fortuna

²⁹ In this respect, however, the 'Diana' was even surpassed by some of the works that followed it. A few extracts from Sidney's 'Arcadia' will show that it, too, sinned quite as much, in this respect, as its Spanish prototype:

"The sun drew clouds up to hide his face from so pitiful a sight, and the very stone wall did yield drops of sweat for agony of such a mischief: each senseless thing had sense of pity; only they that had sense were senseless."

Book iii, p. 537 (ed. of 1743).

A shepherd in his despair exclaims:

"O thrice happy I, if I had perished whilst I was altogether unhappy; then, when a dejected shepherd offensive to the perfection of the world, I could hardly, being oppressed by contempt, make myself worthy to be disdained, disdain to be despised, despised being a degree of grace. O would to God that I had died obacurely, whilst my life might still have lived famous with others and my death have died with myself," etc.

Book iii, p. 598.

The following complaint of a shepherd is very pathetic:

"O my dun-cow, I did think some evil was towards me ever since the last day thou didst run away from me, and held up thy tail so pitifully: did I not see an eagle kill a cuckoo, which was a plain foretoken unto me, *Pamela* should be my destruction? O wife *Miso*, if I durst say it to thy face, why didst thou suspect thy husband, that loveth a piece of cheese better than a woman," etc.

Bk. iv, p. 731.

Or such verses as this, 'Song of Philisides,' which are certainly unworthy of the author of 'Astrophel and Stella':

I.

As I my little flock on *Ister* bank
(A little flock; but well my pipe they couth)
Did piping lead, the sun already sank
Beyond our world, and e'er I got my booth,
Each thing with mantle black the night doth scoth:
Saving the glow-worm which would courteous be
Of that small light oft watching shepherds see.

II.

The welkin had full niggardly enclosed
In coffer of dim clouds his silver groats,
Ycleped stars; each thing to rest disposed,
The caves were full, the mountains void of goats:
The birds' eye clos'd; closed their chirping notes.
As for the nightingale, wood-musick's king:
It *August* was, he deign'd not then to sing.

P. 711.

le quisiere dar algun contento, fuera menester otro coraçon nuevo para recibirle." Book i, p. 2 (ed. of 1614).

Again:

"Quando acabó de cantar esta postrera copla, la estraña agonía en que todos estábamos no pudo estorbar que muy de gana no nos muriesemos." *Ibid.*, p. 53.

Love drives poor Silvano out of his senses:

"Pues como este pastor (Silvano) fuese tan mal tratado de amor y tan desfavorecido de *Diana*, mil veces la pasión le hacia salir de seso, de manera que hoy daba en decir mal de amor, mañana en alabarle: un día en estar ledo, y otro en estar mas triste que todos los tristes, etc." Book ii, p. 61. "Belisa is determined to be wretched; she says: Muy gran consuelo será para tan desconsolado corazón como este mío, estar seguro de que nadie con palabras ni con obras pretendiese dármele, porque la gran razón, ó hermosas ninfas! que tengo de vivir tan envuelta en tristezas como vivo, ha puesto enemistad entre mí y el consuelo de mi mal; de manera que si pensase en algun tiempo tenerle, yo misma me daría la muerte."

P. 135.

Their tears augment the streams and cause the grass to grow:

"Mas qué ventura ha guiado tan hermosa compañía á do jamás se vió cosa que diese contento? quién pensais que hace crecer la verde yerba desta isla, y acrecentar las aguas que la cercan sino mis lágrimas? quién pensais que menéa los árboles deste hermoso valle, sino la voz de mis suspiros tristes, que inflamando el ayre hacen aquello que él por sí no haría? porque pensais que cantan los dulces páxaros por entre las matas quando el dorado Febo está en toda su fuerza, sino para ayudar á llorar mis desventuras? á qué pensais que las temerosas fieras salen al verde prado, sino á oír mis continuas quejas?"

P. 136.

The shepherds are so overcome by this recital, that they all weep:

"Con tantas lágrimas decia esto la hermosa pastora, que no habia ninguno de los que allí estaban que las suyas detener pudiese."

As the contents of Montemayor's romance have been several times set forth,³⁰ a brief analysis will be sufficient here.

³⁰See Dunlop's 'History of Fiction': Schönherr, already quoted, and Kressner, "Zur Geschichte der pastoral Dichtung," in Vol. lxxvi (p. 309) of Herrig's *Archiv*, where a detailed analysis of the 'Diana' is given.

ok i. The "forgotten" Syreno, coming from the mountain districts of Leon, arrives at the delightful meadows watered by the Ezla, and muses "upon that happy time when, upon these fields and upon these lovely banks he tended his flocks." Here he passed his days oblivious of the outer world "till cruel Amor" made him his slave. "Reclining at the foot of a beech tree, his looks followed the beautiful banks until they rested upon the spot where first he had seen the beautiful, graceful and chaste Diana, in whom nature had united every perfection." "What his heart then felt, let him imagine who ever found himself amid sad memories." He thinks of the time when Diana swore eternal fidelity to him "with tears gushing from her lovely eyes like oriental pearls, as witnesses of what she felt within her heart, bidding him believe what she had told him so many times." He now draws forth from his breast a paper in which are some threads of green silk and some locks of hair, "and such locks! and placing them upon the green grass, with many tears, he drew forth his lute, not as joyfully as in the days when he was favored by Diana," and began to sing as follows:

Cabellos, quanta mudanza ³¹
 he visto despues que os ví,
 y quan mal parece ahí
 esa color de esperanza.
 Bien pensaba yo, cabellos,
 aunque con algun temor,
 que no fuera otro pastor
 digno de verse cabe ellos.
 Ay cabellos! quantos dias
 la mi Diana miraba,
 si os traia, ó si os dexaba,
 y otras mil niñerías.
 Y quantas veces llorando,
 (ay lágrimas engañosas!)
 me pedia zelos de cosas
 de que yo estaba burlando.
 Los ojos que me mataban,
 decid dorados cabellos,
 que culpa tuve en creellos,
 pues ellos me aseguraban?
 No visteis vós que algun dia
 mil lágrimas derramaba,
 hasta que yo le juraba,
 que sus palabras creia?
 Quién vido tanta hermosura
 en tan mudable sugeto?
 y en amador tan perfecto,
 quién vió tanta desventura?
 Ó cabellos, no os correis
 por venir de á do venistes,

³¹ This is one of the poems of Montemayor, translated by Sir Philip Sidney.

viéndome como me vistes,
 en verme como me veís !
 Sobre el arena sentada,
 de aquel rio, la ví yo,
 do con el dedo escribió,
 antes muerta, que mudada.
 Mira el amor lo que ordena,
 que os viene á hacer creer
 cosas dichas por muger,
 y escritas en el arena.

Replacing the "golden locks," he finds in his shepherd's scrip, a letter formerly written to him by Diana, which he reads and "deeply sighing," says: "How could forgetfulness ever enter a heart whence such words have issued"? Sireno now sees another shepherd approaching, to whom he exclaims. "Alas! unhappy shepherd, though not so unhappy as I." It is the *desamado* Silvano, once the rival of Sireno, but who became his friend on learning that Diana returned the latter's love. Silvano takes up his pipe and "sings with great sadness."

Amador soy, mas nunca fuy amado,
 quise bien, y querré, no soy querido,
 fatigas paso, y nunca las he dado,
 suspiros dí, mas nunca fuy oído ;
 quejarme quise, y nunca fuy escuchado ;
 huir quise de amor, quedé corrido ;
 de solo olvido no podré quejarme,
 porque aun no se acordaron de olvidarme.

Yo hago á todo mal solo un semblante,
 jamas estuve hoy triste, ayer contento,
 no miro atras, ni temo ir delante,
 un rostro hago al mal, ó bien que siento ;
 tan fuera voy de mí como el danzante,
 que hace á qualquier son un movimiento,
 y así me gritan todos, coma á loco,
 pero segun estoy, aun esto es poco.

La noche á un amador es enojosa
 quando del dia atiende bien alguno ;
 y el otro de la noche espera cosa,
 que el dia hace largo, é importuno ;
 con lo que á un hombre causa, otro reposa
 tras su deseo camina cada uno,
 mas yo siempre llorando el dia espero,
 y en viendo el dia, por la noche muero.

Quejarme yo de amor es escusado,
 pinta en el agua, ó dad voces al viento,
 busca remedio en quien jamas le ha dado,
 que al fin venga á dexalle sin descuento ;
 llegaos á él á ser aconsejado,
 diraos un disparate, y otros ciento,
 ¿pues quien es este amor? es una ciencia
 que no la alcanza estudio, ni experiencia.

Amaba mi señora á su Sireno,
 dexaba á mí, quizá que lo acertaba ;
 yo triste (á mí pesar) tenia por bueno
 lo que en la vida, y alma me tocaba ;
 á estar mi cielo algun dia Sireno
 quejara yo de amor si le añublara
 mas ningun bien diré que me ha quitado,
 ved como quitara lo que no ha dado.

No es cosa amor, que aquel que no lo tiene,
 hallará feria á do pueda comprallo,
 ni cosa que llamándola se viene,
 ni que le hallareis yendo á buscallo ;
 que si de vos no nace, no conviene
 pensar que ha de nacer de procurallo,
 y pues que jamas puede amor forzarse,
 no tiene el desamado que quejarse.

Perceiving Sireno by the fountain, he draws near, and "they embrace each other with many tears." The two 'unloved' lovers console one another. Silvano now relates how Diana at first pined during Sireno's absence,—how he had once observed her lying upon the ground weeping: how Diana then drew forth a small pipe "and played so sweetly that the valley, the mountain, the river and the enamoured birds;—even the wild beasts of the dense wood, were charmed." Afterwards, with tearful eyes, gazing into the clear fountain, she sang :

Ojos, que ya no veis quien os miraba,
 quando erades espejo en que se via,
 ¿qué cosa podies ver que os dé contento? etc.

Silvano, continuing, tells how, on approaching, he was invited by Diana to sit beside her. How he began to tell Diana of his love for her, whereupon she promptly interrupted him saying : "If your tongue again dares to speak of your own affairs, I shall leave you to enjoy this clear spring at your pleasure."

On hearing this Sireno sighs and asks whether Diana is happy since her marriage with Delio, to which Silvano replies : "They tell me that she is not happy, for though Delio, her husband, is rich in the gifts of fortune, he is poor in the gifts of nature," etc., "for Delio cannot play, sing and wrestle, nor dance with the *mozas* on Sunday."

A sad shepherdess now approaches; it is Selvagia, the friend of Diana, who, addressing the shepherds says : "What are ye doing

here, O unloved shepherds, in this green and delightful meadow"? A discussion follows upon the fickleness of woman, after which Selvagia relates how she was deceived by the false Alanio, and of the complications which arose in the loves of a number of Shepherds and shepherdesses; each is in love with some one who loves somebody else. "It was the strangest thing in the world to hear how Alanio, sighing, would say: Alas, Ismenia! how Ismenia said: Alas, Montano! and how Montano said, Alas, Selvagia! and how Selvagia said, "Alas, my Alanio"! The result of all this sighing is, that Montano marries Ismenia. Having finished her story "Selvagia began to shed copious tears and the shepherds aided her therein, for it was an occupation in which they had great experience."

Book ii. Opens with a long complaint of Selvagia's,—after which she sings some *sestinas*. Silvano now appears, singing some *octavas* to the music of a lute. Then both sit down "beneath the shade of a dense myrtle," and with many sighs and a fair amount of tears, they relate to each other their imaginary woes. To Silvano's query "perhaps thou knowest some remedy for our ills"? Selvagia answers: "I do know one, shepherd; it is to cease loving." Doubtless, a sovereign remedy. The "forgotten" Sireno is now heard singing a Sonnet, and scarcely had they greeted the new-comer, and proceeded together toward "the fountain of the Alders," when they heard several voices singing. Proceeding cautiously, they perceive three nymphs, Dorida, Cynthia and Polidora. Dorida now sings of the love of Diana and Sireno, much to the astonishment of Sireno, who is concealed behind the trees. The whole story is sung in a long "cancion," of which one of the concluding strophes is as follows:

Diana speaks.

Toma, pastor, un cordon
que hice de mis cabellos
porque se te acuerde en vellos,
que tomaste posesion
de mi corazon y dellos:
y este anillo has de llevar,
do estan dos manos asidas,
que aunque se acaben las vidas,
no se pueden apartar
dos almas que estan unidas.

In return Sireno gives to Diana his shepherd's crook and his lute "to which he has sung to her a thousand 'canciones,' recounting her perfections.

Then:

Ambos á dos se abrazaron,
y esta fue la vez primera,
y pienso fue la postrera,
porque los tiempos mudaron
el amor en otra manera:
y aunque á Diana le dió
pena rabiosa y mortal,
la ausencia de su zagal,
en ella misma hallo
el remedio de su mal.

Scarcely had Dorida finished her song, when three wild men, "very tall and ugly," rush out of the wood, seize the nymphs and tie their hands. Now the shepherds spring from their ambush and attack the giants with slings. The shepherds were getting the worst of the contest, when suddenly out of the thick grove there appeared a maiden of wonderful beauty, who immediately sends an arrow through the heart of one of the giants, and finally slays them all. The nymphs turn out to be priestesses of Diana, and the rescuing maiden, whose name is Felismena, now relates her story: after telling the story of her early years she informs us how, at the age of seventeen she was beloved by Don Felix, whose love she, at first, did not return. Don Felix sends a letter by Rosina—the maid of Felismena—which letter the latter rejects, saying "If I did not observe who I am, and what might be said, I should mark your face,—which shows little modesty,—so that it were easily known among all others. But since this is the first time, let what is done suffice, but beware the second time."

"It seems to me," continued Felismena, "that I can still see that traitorous Rosina, who, with a friendly countenance, knew how to be silent, dissimulating her true feelings at my angry outburst, and with a feigned smile saying to me: I gave this letter to your grace in order that we might both laugh over it, but not that you should get angry over it." Presently, however, a desire arose in Felismena to read the letter, though her modesty forbade her ask her maid for it after what had taken place between them. And so the day passed till night, midst various thoughts. "And when Rosina, Felismena continues,—entered to disrobe me, at the time when I was wont to retire, heaven knows whether I wished that she should again importune me to receive the letter, but I did not wish to speak of it, and in order to see whether opening the way, would be of any advantage, I said; And so, Rosina, Señor Don Felix was so bold as to write to me"? She very dryly answered: "My lady, these are things that love brings with it: I beg that you will forgive me, for if I had thought that it would anger you, I would rather have torn out my eyes." "That night was the longest that Felismena had ever passed."

"Day having come, and later than I had wished it, the prudent Rosina again entered to dress me, and deftly let the letter fall upon the floor, and as I saw it, I said: what is that, that just fell? Show it to me. It is nothing, my lady, said she. Show it to me, and do not make me angry; or tell me what it is. Why, my lady, do you wish to see it? It is the letter of yesterday. That is surely not so, said I, show it to me, I will see whether you told the truth. Scarcely had I spoken, when she placed it in my hand, and I, although I knew it very well, said, truly it is not the same, and you must be in love with some one. I wish to read it and see what he writes to you."

The reading of this letter aroused the love in the bosom of Felismena, who "taking pen and ink," sent a letter to Don Felix in reply. And so the lovers were happy for some time, till it came to the knowledge of the father of Felix, who sent him to the court of the great princess Augusta Cæsarina, to gain some knowledge and experience of the world.

Felismena, however, did not bear the separation, but determined to do "what never woman thought of,—to dress in male attire, visit the court, and see him in whose sight rested all my hope." After a journey of twenty days, she arrives at the court, and on the very first night she had an opportunity of convincing herself of the unfaithfulness of her lover, for she hears Don Felix singing a serenade to his mistress Celia. Felismena now enters the service of Don Felix as a page, under the name of Valerio and soon gains the confidence of his master to such an extent, that the latter makes Valerio his confident,

telling him of his love for Celia and reading the contents of Celia's letters to him.

Celia having learned, meanwhile, that she was not the first love of Don Felix,—but that the latter had declared his love to a lady of his native city, and afterwards deserted her—refused to accept his attentions any longer, and sent him the above mentioned letters. Don Felix now sends a letter to Celia by his page Valerio, the result of which is that Celia falls deeply in love with Valerio. The peculiar dilemma in which Valerio found himself (or herself), was suddenly resolved by the death of Celia, who, finding her love for Valerio unrequited, fell into a swoon from which she never awoke. At this news, Don Felix disappeared. Two years have elapsed since then and during all this time Felismena has been in search of the faithless Don Felix.

At the conclusion of Felismena's story, all proceed to the temple of Diana to find some solace for their sufferings. They had not journeyed long, when they came to a beautiful lake in the midst of which was a small island upon which they saw a hut and flock of sheep. Passing over the water "upon stones placed in a row," Polydoro enters the hut and finds a shepherdess sleeping therein, "whose beauty causes no less astonishment than if Diana herself had appeared before their eyes." "In the carelessness of sleep her foot, white and bare, protruded from her frock, but not so far that to the eyes of those who were looking on, it might seem *deshonesto*." "And from the many tears that, even while sleeping, rolled down her lovely cheeks," it seemed that sleep was no bar to her sad thoughts. The beautiful shepherdess is Belisa, who presently relates how an old shepherd named Arsenio, whose wife had died, fell in love with her. Arsenio, however, had a son, Arsileo, who, in addition to being handsomer than Arsenio, had the advantage of being somewhat younger. Arsileo is also a poet, and writes the verses which his father Arsenio, sends to Belisa. When Belisa discovers this, she falls desparately in love with Arsileo, as a consequence of which, Arsileo is one night while visiting Belisa unwittingly shot by his father, who, when he discovers his deed, kills himself. Since then Belisa wanders about only wishing for death. All the shepherds shed copious tears on hearing this tale, and invite Belisa to accompany them to Diana's temple.

Book iv. All finally arrive at a magnificent Palace, where they are received graciously by the wise Felicia, who bids them have no fear of the ills that pursue them, as she has a remedy for them. Over the doorway of the palace, which is built of jasper, silver, and various marbles, are two nymphs bearing tablets of copper on which is the following inscription in letters of gold :

Quien entra, mire bien como ha vivido, etc.³²

Here they find an immense statue of Mars, and here are represented Hannibal, Scipio, Camillus, Horace, Varro, Cæsar, Pompey, Alexander the Great, the Cid, Fernan Gonzales, Bernardo del Carpio and the Great Captain (Gonçalvo de Cordoba), etc. They enter a magnificent hall adorned with ivory and alabaster, and here, by a spring of pure silver, sits Orpheus, who touches his harp at the approach of the group and sings a song in praise of famous Spanish women. Proceeding further, they come to a wide lawn, where they sit down and having dined sumptuously, Felismena relates the story of Abindarraez. After the story is ended, Felicia proceeds to cure the lovers of their ills. She appears with two goblets of fine crystal, one of which she hands to Sireno and the other to Selvagia and the un-

Book :

³² See below p. 27.

loved Silvano, saying: "take this goblet, in which you shall find the best remedy for all past misfortunes." All three, on drinking, immediately fall asleep. When Felicia thinks the magic potion has had its due effect, she touches Sireno's head with a book. Sireno awakes and is entirely cured of his love for Diana. So Silvano, on awakening, forgets entirely his former love for Diana, but becomes enamored of Selvagia, who, in turn, forgetting Alanio, falls in love with Silvano. These three now return to their flocks, and now, for the first time, we meet with Diana. The voice of a shepherdess is heard singing, and is recognized by Silvano. She sits by the fountain and sings:

Quando yo triste nací,
luego nací desdichada,
luego los hados mostraron
mi suerte desventurada, etc.

But Sireno remains unmoved by her song, and they proceed on their way. Felismena now leaves the company, going homeward, and on her way sees a shepherd's hut, which she enters and finds there Arsileo, the lover of Belisa, who had not been slain by the arrow of his father as Belisa supposed, but Alfeo, a great sorcerer and rejected suitor of Belisa, had conjured up two spirits to represent Arsenio and Arsileo, and the whole scene in which Arsenio shoots his son,—merely out of revenge against Belisa.

282. Though quite freed of his love for Diana, yet, once, on coming to the spring of the alders, Sireno thinks of the happy past and feels lonely, because at all times the "memory of a happy state causes a feeling of solitude in him who has lost it." Then he sees the flocks of Diana and her dogs, who fall down at his feet and show their delight at seeing him, "and if the power of the water which the sage Felicia had given him had not made him forget his love, perhaps nothing in the world would have prevented him from returning to her."

He now takes up his lute and sings:

Pasados contentamientos
qué quereis?
dexadme, no me canseis.
Memoria quereis oirme?
los dias, las noches buenas,
paguélos con las setenas,
no teneis mas que pedirme:
todo se acabó en partirme
como veis,
dexadme, no me canseis.

Campo verde, valle umbroso
donde algun tiempo gozé,
ved lo que despues pasé
y dexadme en mi reposo:
si estoy con razon medroso,
ya lo veis.
dexadme, no me canseis.

Ví niudado un corazon
 cansado de asegurarme,
 fue forzado aprovecharme
 del tiempo y de la ocasion;
 memoria do no hay pasion,
 qué quereis?
 dexadme, no me canseis.

Corderos y ovejas mias,
 pues algun tiempo lo fuistes,
 las horas ledas ó tristes
 pasaronse con los dias;
 no hagais las alegrías
 que soleis,
 pues ya no me engañareis.

Si venis por me turbar,
 no hay pasion, ni habra turbarme,
 si venis por consolarme
 ya no hay mal que consolar;
 si venis por me matar,
 bien podeis,
 matadme y acabareis.

Diana now appears, but Sireno remains unmoved by her prayers; in tears she declares that the will of her father and her childish obedience had brought her to the hated union with Delio: but Sireno rejoices that he has been freed of his love and with Silvano sings a song, laughing at their former folly when both were suitors for Diana. When the song was finished, Diana was shedding copious tears, and with a sigh "in company with which her soul seemed to have gone forth," she arose, and braiding her golden hair, disappeared in the valley.

Book vii. Felismena on her journey comes to a beautiful city by a majestic river. It recalls to her mind the great city of Soldina, "her birth-place, from which Don Felix had caused her exile." From the language of two shepherdesses, Armia and Duarda, whom she meets, Felismena learns that she is in Portugal, and that the city before her is Coimbra, "one of the most famous cities in all Europe," and that it "is bathed by the crystalline waters of the Mondego." And the castle before them is called, in the Portuguese tongue, "Monte-Mor o Velho,"³³ where force of genius, valor and courage have remained as trophies of the deeds which its inhabitants performed in the past, and whose ladies and gentlemen are adorned with all virtues." While Felismena partakes of the repast offered by the shepherdesses, the voice of Danteo is heard singing:

Sospiros, minha lembrança³⁴
 não quer, porque vos não vades,
 que o mal que fazem saudades
 se cure com esperança.

³³ The birth-place of Montemayor; see above.

³⁴ This song, a short *cancion* which precedes, beginning 'Os tempos se mudarão' and Danteo's conversation generally, are in Portuguese.

A esperança não me val,
 por a causa em que se tem,
 nem promete tanto bem
 quanto a saudade faz mal :
 mais amor desconfiança
 me darão tal calidade,
 que nem me mata saudade,
 nem me da vida esperança.

Errarãose se queixarem
 os olhos com que eu olhei,
 porque não me queixarei,
 em quanto os seos me lembrarem ;
 nem podera haber mudança
 jamais em minha vontade,
 ora me mate saudade,
 ora me deixe esperança.

Duardo loved Danteo, who had, however, married Andresa, a shepherdess who afterwards died. Just as Felismena is about to reconcile these lovers, her attention is attracted by the noise of a combat. Upon an island in the stream she sees a knight struggling with three assailants, one of whom he kills,—but the others press the knight so hard, that Felismena draws her bow and slays them. The knight turns out to be Don Felix, who is forgiven by Felismena. At this moment Dorida, the messenger of Felicia appears with two goblets, one of silver and the other of gold and bids Felix drink of the former, to forget his love for Celia, and of the latter, to heal his wounds. All now return to the temple of Diana where Felix and Felismena, Selvagia and Silvana are united and, it is presumed, live happily ever after. The fate of Danteo and Duarda the author reserved for a second part.

Perhaps a few words might here be said upon the principal episodes of the 'Diana.' That of the wise Felicia, the priestess of Diana, and the magic potion she administers, to cure the lovers of all their ills, is a very old one in literature. A similar incident occurs in the eighth and ninth *prosas* of the 'Arcadia' of Sannazzaro, and it seems to me that, for the present purpose, there is no need of going beyond this.

As to the episode of Felismena, upon which Shakspeare is said to have founded his 'Two Gentlemen of Verona,' a like expedient, of a young lady disguising herself as a page to serve her lover, occurs in the thirty-sixth novel of Bandello, first published at Lucca in 1554. This novel is supposed to be the origin of Shakspeare's 'Twelfth Night' and to it Giraldi Cinthio probably owes a similar story in his 'Hecatommithi,' printed for the first time in 1565. Such an incident also forms the basis of the

plot of one of Lope de Rueda's best comedies, called 'Comedia de los Engaños.' Indeed the plot of this comedy is exactly like the story in Bandello;³⁵ in both cases the twin-brother of the heroine disappears in the sack of Rome by the Imperialists, and while the father and daughter, in the Italian tale, remove to Aix, in Savoy, the scene in the Spanish comedy is transferred to Modena. It is a question as to which of these two poets, Montemayor or Rueda, first introduced this story into Spanish literature. Lope de Rueda flourished as an actor and author from 1544 to 1566, and Montemayor doubtless saw his plays performed, for Rueda enjoyed great reputation throughout Spain. However this may be, they both had a source near at hand. The same story was afterwards greatly elaborated by Tirso de Molina in one of his most famous comedies, 'Don Gil de las calzas verdes.'³⁶

Concerning the story of Abindarraez and Xarifa, in the fourth book of the 'Diana,' there has been some discussion.³⁷ It does not appear in the first edition of the 'Diana' (1558 or 1559), for it is without date, and was first added, according to Salvá y Mallén, in the edition published in 1561, at Valladolid. It was in February of this year that Montemayor died. Ticknor maintains that Montemayor has taken the story from the 'Inventario' of Antonio de Villégas, and cites an edition of the latter work in 1561. For my own part, I do not believe that Montemayor wrote the story that now appears in his 'Diana,' and agree with Ticknor, that the story there printed was copied from Villégas.

³⁵ Klein, 'Geschichte des Dramas' (Vol. ix, p. 159) has shown, however, that Bandello's Novel is not the immediate source of Lope de Rueda's 'Engaños,' but that the latter is merely a *rifacimento* of an Italian Comedy, 'Gl'Ingannati.'—Concerning the sources of the comedies of Lope de Rueda, see an interesting article by Stiefel, in the *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, Vol. xv, pp. 183 and 318.

³⁶ See Schack: 'Gesch. der dramat. Lit. und Kunst in Spanien,' Vol. ii, p. 214; and for the 'Engaños' of Lope de Rueda, Böhl de Faber: 'Teatro Español anterior á Lope de Vega' (Hamburg, 1832), where the play occurs on pages 347-401.

³⁷ See Ticknor, Vol. iii, p. 95, note, and especially p. 153 and note. It is not a question at all as to the origin of this *tradición popular* as Gayangos calls it, for the story was well-known in the *Romances*, and a prose version had even existed considerably before this time. In the 'Inventario' of 1567, this story occupies leaves 94-112 in a very small 8vo; in the 'Diana,' on a page containing nearly double the amount of printed matter, it occupies pages 158-180. Pages 166 and 167 of the latter book are almost word for word identical with pages 100 and 105 of the 'Inventario.' See also, Wolf, 'Studien,' p. 332, note, and the Spanish Translation of Ticknor, Vol. iii, p. 547. The 'Inventario' must have been written as early as 1551, that being the date of the License to print. See also, Gallardo, 'Ensayo,' p. 357.

despite the discrepancy in the dates. I have carefully read the two works side by side, and made many extracts from them where they either agreed word for word, or where the similarity was so great, that it was evident one must have been taken from the other. The work of Villégas is written in a very simple and graceful style, while the story in the 'Diana' is prolix and verbose, is distinctly out of place, and in striking contrast with the drowsy pastoral tone of the rest of the romance.³⁸

There is no need to say anything here in praise of the 'Diana'; its beauties have been so aptly pointed out and so competently discussed,³⁹ that further praise would be superfluous. It remains the best pastoral romance that Spain has produced; the tender melancholy with which it is tinged,—the reflection, doubtless, of Montemayor's own misfortunes,—lends a charm to the 'Diana,' that none of its imitations possess. The 'Diana' was left unfinished at Montemayor's death. The last sentence of the seventh book is as follows:

"And now all were united with those whom they loved most, to the great rejoicing of all; to which Sireno by his coming, aided not a little, although from this there followed what shall be related in the second part of this book, etc."

This 'second part' Montemayor never wrote, but in 1564 (three years after his death) Alonzo Perez, a physician of Salamanca and a friend of Montemayor's, but about whose life we know nothing, published a 'second part' of the 'Diana,' in the *prologo* of which he tells us that no one was better fitted for such a task, on account of the great affection he had always had for Montemayor's writings.⁴⁰ In the next sentence, however, he bids the reader observe that he has filched and imitated his work from the Italian and Latin writers, nor does he think that any blame

³⁸ Upon this story in Montemayor's romance, Lope de Vega has founded his play "El Remedio en la Desdicha." See Vol. iii, 'Com. Escogidas,' p. 133 (*Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*).

³⁹ Bouterweck: 'Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts,' Vol. iii, Göttingen, 1805-19.

⁴⁰ Empero como tan celebre varon (Montemayor) nos falte, parecióme que ninguno mejor que yo podia en sus obras suceder. Y esto no por mi suficiencia (vaya fuera toda arrogancia) mas por la mucha aficion que a su escritura, con justa causa, siempre he tenido, p. 362. Again: "De una causa quiero que vayas advertido que casi en toda esta obra no ay narracion, ni platica, no solo en verso, mas aun en prosa, que a pedaços de la flor de Latinos, y Italianos, hurtado y imitado no sea; y no pienso por ello ser digno de reprehension, pues lo mesmo de los griegos hicieron."

Edition of 1614.

attaches to him on that account, "for the latter did the same with the Greeks." We do not expect much after this candid confession, nor are we disappointed. The main incidents of this 'second part' of the 'Diana' are subjoined.

The "Diana" of Alonzo Perez.

A number of shepherds and shepherdesses visit the temple of Diana 'where the wise Felicia dwells.' "And not many days after, Felicia one night after supper saide thus to Sylvanus and Selvagia:⁴¹ I could not choose but blame you fortunate shepherds for the small care you have of your flockes, if I myselfe were not in fault, bicause you have never asked after them in all this time, nor (I thinke) once remembered them, fearing lest by reason of your absence, they have been in great want, and not without cause, being not carried to feed at convenient times upon the greene and sauorie grasse nor (at their neede) driven to the cleere springs to quench their burning thirst, nor with wonted loue put into the coole and pleasant shades." Felicia now bids Sylvanus and Selvagia depart, whereupon Sylvanus, "made louing signes to Seluagia to answer the ladies intent. To whom, with a seemly blush, as partly ashamed thereat, she saide in this sort. It is now no time (my deere Sylvanus) to use circumstances of such arte, when there is no cause, neither doe they well become this place. For though their usage to all women is commendable, yet not in particular, for the husband to his wife, and in such sort as if he went about to preferre her before himselfe. For after that the woman hath delivered herselfe into the possession of the husband, she therewithal yieldeth up to his iurisdiction the title of her libertie, by the sweete and sacred bonde of marriage." Syrenus, another shepherd, sings and Sylvanus responds. All now retire to resume their way on the next morning. "Felicia gave *Doria* in charge to fill their scrips the night before, with sufficient provisions for their way; "who like a friendly and louing nymph, that was not slacke to serve their necessitie (que no los queria mal), going about it immediately, did put into the same good store of victuals."

They now observe a shepherd coming along singing the following sonnet:

De donde, o papel mio, tal ventura,
que sin meritos ayas de ser puesto
delante el resplandor, y claro gesto,
en el qual su poder mostra natura.
Verás papel amado la figura,
do no ay mas que esperar del ser honesto,
verás sumado en breue todo el resto,
de gracia, gallardia, y de hermosura,
en viendote ante aquesta mi pastora,
dirasla de mi parte: Acà me embia
quien viue por seruiros tanto tiempo!

⁴¹ The English in quotation marks, is taken from the Translation by Bartholomew Yong (London, 1598). It is an excellent translation, though not always so happy in turning the verse into English.

En esto solo entiende qualquier hora,
 en esto se desvela noche, y dia,
 serviros es su solo pasatiempo.^{41b}

The shepherds now sitting down by a stream, Syrenus says : " Is it not reason, Syluanus, that living now in such joy and content, and in the presence of thy beloved Selvagia, thou shoudst let thy Bagpipe wax to drie." Sylvanus sings :

Podra verse el cielo con sossiego⁴²
 y aun por algun espacio detenerse,
 y las aguas de Ezla, y de Mondego,
 con passo apressurado atras holverse.
 Y puestas a la llama de un gran fuego,
 la estopa y seca caña no encenderse,
 mas no se verá un dia ni una hora
 dexar de amar Sylvano a su pastora.

"Immediately, without any entreatie, Selvagia, because she would not die in Sylvanus' debt (*por no dever cosa a su Sylvano*), nor be beholding to him in this respect, taking her Baggepipe up, in this sort did answer him " :

La tierra dexará de ser pisada ^{42b}
 su natural y proprio ser perdiendo,

^{41b} From whence O paper mine such happy favour
 That undeservedly thou must be placed
 Before that flower that yields the sweetest savour,
 Which nature hath with all her powers graced ?
 Thou shalt the figure see (my loving paper)
 Where all the virtues make their wished dwelling,
 And of the rest not any one escape her,
 Graces and giftes and beauties most excelling.
 Then when thou com'st before my heavenly treasure
 Say thus from me to her. He sends me hither,
 Who lives to serve thee while his life extendeth ;
 In only this his thoughts are musing ever ;
 In joy of this both nights and days he spendeth ;
 To serve thee is his only sport and pleasure.

Yong's translation

⁴² It may fall out the heavens may turne at leisure,
 And stay themselves upon the highest mountaines :
 And Ezla and Mondego at their pleasure
 With hastie course turne back unto their fountaines :
 And that the flaxe or reede, laid to the fire,
 May not consume in flames but burne like wire :
 But yet the day and time shall happen never,
 When Sylvan shall not love Selvagia ever.

^{42b} The ground shall first be void, nor trod nor used,
 Leasing her nature, and her proper being :
 First shall the raine and water be refused
 Of plants no moisture round about them seeing :
 First shall our life with aire be not sustained,
 And first the food of hunger be disdained :
 Before the world shall see a deede so hainous,
 Selvagia not to love her deere Sylvanus.

el agua podra ser menospreciada,
de plantas humedad ya no teniendo.
Nuestra vida podra ser sustentada,
sin ayre para ello no sirviendo,
mas no verá jamas algun humano,
dexar de amar Selvagia a su Sylvano.

And thus do these good shepherds swear eternal constancy in continually exaggerated phrase, until the limit of the Spanish language is reached, when they rise and "casting their heavy scrippes on their shoulders, staying themselves upon their knotty sheephooke" they continue their way, reaching their own fields the next day, where they see Diana "standing very sadde and leaning against a great Oke, with her elbow upon her sheepehooke and her cheek upon the palm of her hande, whereby one might haue iudged the care and sorrow that so much troubled her pensive minde." "After a while (as though she was angry with herselfe for casting herselfe into so great a greefe) she put her hand into her bosom, and tooke out a fine little baggepipe, and which putting to her mouth to play on it, in that very instant, she threw it to the ground, and without more adoe, sliding down along the hodie of the tree, sat her downe, as if for great feebleness she had not been able to staie herselfe on her feete, and casting out a sorrowful sigh, and looking upon her harmlesse Baggepipe, she spake these words: Accursed Baggepipe," etc. The shepherds console Diana who now departs. She is pursued by Firmius, a shepherd who had been standing behind a convenient tree; escapes however, and Firmius returns: they all continue their way and approach the town where they meet a number of shepherds and shepherdesses, among them Diana, who requests Firmius to sing, to which he replies: "I will sing, though it be with a hoarse voice like to the dying swanne divining her ensuing death." "Thou art not so neere thy end (saide Diana) that death should helpe thee." "I am so neere ended (saide Firmius) that I looke onely but for death." "I did never yet see any (saide Diana) die for this cause, but with wordes, and do believe besides, there are not any such." [*A nadie he visto, dizo Diana, sino es de palabra morir, ni lo creo.*] The next day all departed for Felicia's palace.

At sunset they come to an island which they had before visited, and here they find Felicia and her nymphs, with Don Felix and Felismena. An old man appears, "in every point he seemed to represent a most woorthie priest of Jupiter," who rails against fortune "in good set terms" to the extent of six stanzas. It is Parisiles, whose long-lost daughter *Stela* is now restored to him. She appears with *Crimine* and a young shepherd "a goodly youth of person; his weedes were of gray cloth (pardo) to signify by that colour his troubles and griefs. All along the boarder of his coate sleeves went three ribbons or laces of sundry colours, two of them on either side, of lion tawney and olive green (aceitunador), to signify by the first his sorrow and by the second his torment." The young shepherd, Delicius, relates a long and tedious story of his likeness to Parthenio and the rescue of *Stela*—They now repair to Felicia's palace, over the principal gate of which they see two nymphs of silver upon the capitals of the colums and the verses:

Quien entra, mira bien como ha vivido⁴³
y el don de castidad si le ha guardado.

⁴³ This inscription is taken from Book iv, of the *Diana* of Montemayor:

Who comes into this palace let her take heede
How she hath liu'd, and whether she hath kept

y la que quiere bien, o que ha querido,
 mire si a causa de otra se ha mudado,
 y si la fe primera no ha perdido,
 y aquel primer amor ha conservado,
 entrar puede en el templo de Diana
 cuya virtud y gracia es sobre humana.

Felicia now accompanies her guests to the fountain of the Laurel trees, where "they sawe two lovely shepherdesses (though by their coye looks shewing a kind of signorie and statelinesse above any other) that were sitting harde by the goodly spring, both of them endowed with singular beautie, but especially the one, that to their iudgement seemed the yoonger. Right over against them on foote stode a young shepherd, who with the lappe of his side coate wiped away the teares that fell down thicke upon his blubbered cheekes (*limpiandose con la faldilla del sayo las lagrimas que por su rostro decendian*), in requital whereof, and of his inward greefe, the shepherdesses did nothing else but by looking upon one another, affoord him a gracious smile." The shepherd, after singing, "with his many teeres" takes his leave, whereupon Phillis "being mooved to some small sorrow and to no lesse greefe for his departure, tooke out of her scrip a fine little spoone (the same perhaps that she herselfe did eat with) and gave it him, wherewith the shepherd did somewhat mitigate his helplesse sorrow." Crimine being requested to tell her story says: "Alas! who can quench my scalding sighes, that with such a heauie recital will come smoking out of my baleful breast"? [*Ay de mi, quien podra amatar mis encendidos suspiros, que con tal memoria de mis ojos, y entrañas saldrán.*] Continuing, she says: "you must understand that I love the shepherd, that is our guide in our travels (Delicio), as much as I can and can in truth as much as I will. I love also Parthenio his friend as much as I will and will truly as much as I can:44 for as it cannot be discerned which is Delicio and which Parthenio, and the one impossible to be knowen from the other, for like two drops of water they resemble one another so much; so cannot I tell, which of them I love most, loving both in equal balance of extreme affection." Delicio and Parthenio now explain that the object of their pilgrimage is to seek out their fathers, "with certaine tokens that we carry with us to know them," for as little children they had been given away to be brought up. They determine to remain for a while. "The next day going very softly about the same hower, and by secret places to see how the shepherds were occupied, we found them sitting upon the greene grass, and sleeping in such sort, that they shewed that that was not their principall intent; for the christalline teares, that trickled down their burning cheekes in corriualtie, signified more store of sorrowful thoughts in their harts, then heauy vapours in their heads."45

The gift of chastitie in thought and deede.
 And see besides, if she hath ever stept,
 With wavering mind to forren love estranged,
 And for the same her first affection changed,
 May enter in Diana's Temple heere,
 Whose grace and virtues souveraine appear.

44 "Entended que yo amo a este pastor que con nosotros viene quanto puedo, y puedo a la verdad quanto quiero. Amo assi mismo a Parthenio amigo suyo, quanto quiero, y quiero cierto quanto puedo." P. 497.

45 "Y de tal manera durmindo, que mostrauan no ser aquel su principal intento; porque las cristalinas lagrimas que por sus encendidas mexillas en cõpetencia decendian, significauan auer mas abundancia de cõgoxosos pensamientos en el coraçon, que cantidad de soporíferos vapores en el cerebro." P. 507.

Parthenio finds some verses on the back of a tree ; there are fifteen stanzas in all, here is the last :

Porque de tal modo ofende
al coraçon hecho fragua,
que muy mas crece y se estiende,
y muy mucho mas se enciende,
quanto mas se le echa de agua :
pues ya me falta la haya,
no faltandome el penar,
bien sera que yo me vaya
a buscar tronco en que caya
lo que aqui no puede estar.⁴⁶

Don Felix now inquires about the poem on the other tree, and bids Crimine recite it, but Doria said : " I would first know if it be such a one as the last, for if it be not, she did well to leaue off her tale at such a point ; for it is not the condition of my palate to remain with an ill taste, when it hath once a good one." (*Porque no es de mi paladar, quedar con mal gusto, si puede tenerle bueno.*)

The trees, however, are full of poetry, for the next day they find a sycamore, on the bark of which is a poem in fourteen stanzas of ten lines each. Sitting beneath the trees the shepherds indulge in long conversations " in all which time neither Rebecke nor Bagpipe were heard, unless it were when other nymphs came : for when louers are alone, singing (I thinke) and musicke pleaseth not their musing minds so much as the mutuall contemplation and looking of one another : and that talking and amorous conversation should be more pleasant and sweete to them, then the melodie of sweete musicke."⁴⁷ That evening they sat beneath 'a leafie sallow tree' when fierce Gorphorost, a giant from whose pursuit Stela saved herself by leaping into a stream, came out of his cave and approached the spot where Stela had cast herself into the river. " After he had sit downe a little while and laid his scrip by his side, he took a flute out of it, made of a hundred Baggepipes, joined together with waxe. Putting it to his mouth and blowing it strongly to cleere it of filth within, (*puesta a la boca, y tocada con furia para limpiarla, si alguna fuziedad tenia dentro*), the hills resounded againe, the rivers ranne backe, the wilde beasts and fish were stroken in a feare and the forrests and woods thereabouts began to tremble." Being a lusty giant, he sings twenty-six stanzas, then seizes one of his rivals, Parthenio—believing that he is Delicio, and casts him into a cave. Stela and Crimena in their search for him, meet a shepherdess, who, flinging a ball into the air,

46 And in such sort, because it doth offend
My heart that burns like to the smithie flame
For it doth more increase and doth extend,
And more it doth with sparkling flames incend,
The more that water's cast upon the same :
And now since want of hedgerow faileth me,
And that I feele increase, not want of paine,
I think it best for me to goe and see,
If I can finde some other hedge or tree,
To write that there, which this cannot containe.

47 " Creo yo que estando solos los que bien se aman, que no ay cantar, ni tañer, sino contemplar, y hablar, deve de ser mas apazible la conuersacion de amorosas palabras que la melodia de la dulce musica." P. 546.

runs away. On picking up the ball, they find it is made of linen upon which Parthenio has written a note. How Parthenio returns, we are not told, but we find him safe and sound in the next book, which opens with a thunder storm. A shepherd arrives, who is seeking a place to sleep—for he says, ‘they tell me that lightning spares those who sleep.’⁴⁸ He is the only happy shepherd that has yet appeared and rejoices :

de ser el mas felice que ha nacido
entre aquellos que sirven a Cupido.

He bids all the shepherds leave their lasses and come to love his :

dexad vuestras zagales al instante
venid a amar a esta mi pastora.

Alas! it is no longer time—Sylvanus saying : “By my faith, friend shepherd, thou comest too late with thy counsell. For to leaue of that which we have already for this yoong shepherdesse, I think there is no remedie.” The new comer tells of a famous shepherd in the country of St. Shephen, who came there from foreign lands, to whose great knowledge nature herself seemed subject. “O what great profit do we and our flockes receive by his companie with us! We, by easing us of our continuall labours by his industry; our flockes by healing their common diseases. If there were any gadding goat that estraying from his company, did put us to trouble in seeking him, by cutting his beard, he made him keep still with the flock. If the Ram, which for guide of the rest we chose out for the stoutest, we could not make gentle, he made more mild then a lamb, by making holes thorow his hornes hard by his eares. He told us the fuls and wanes of the Moone, by the Antes and the dores, (escarabajos=beetles). For the Antes betweene the Moones take their rest, and in the full labour night and day.”⁴⁹ He also tells of the love of Firmius and Faustus for Diana, and presently Diana disappears with Faustus, when, however, another shepherdess, Cardenia, appears. She complains that Faustus “did once love her” and weeping, wipes away her tears “*con una cristalina mano. que no en pequeña admiracion puso a los pastores, que la vieron.*” She now recites the Sonnets and letters Faustus had sent her, saying : “To any of these I never had an answer, whereupon I thinke he never made account of them, and of the last especially, because he had quite forgotten me when that came.” A shepherd is heard singing :

Guarda me mis vaccas
Carillo, por tu fé
Besa mi primero
Y te las guardaré

They depart again for Felicia’s palace, whither come also “a pilgrim called Placindus, and Danteus and Duarda, the portingall shepherdes.”

Placindus now relates the story of Disteus, ‘descended from the race of King Eolus, in Eolia, whom they afterwards called the God of the winds, and of his love for Dardanea, the sister of Sagastes. The story is long drawn out, the result being that Delicio and Parthe-

⁴⁸ “Porque me dizen, que perdona el rayo a los que duermen.”

⁴⁹ “Porque las hormigas entre lunas reposan, y en el lleno, aun todas las noches trabajan.”

nio are the sons of Disteus and Dardanea who flee to Tinacria, where the former becomes a shepherd "to dissemble his noble condition with this base estate."

In the last two books sight is lost entirely of Diana, who is now a widow, Delio, her husband, having died,—we are told. At the conclusion, the author says, "whoever desires to see the obsequies of Delio, the rivalry of Fausto, Firmio and Sireno, etc., let him attend me in the 'third part' of this work, which shall soon be printed—God willing. It was not added here, in order not to make too large a volume."⁵⁰

The inferiority of this continuation to the original of Montemayor is at once apparent, nor did it at any time meet with much success.⁵¹

Salvá y Mallen gives no separate edition of the work of Perez after the first one, of 1564 at Alcalá de Henares. In every respect it falls below the *Diana*, it does not maintain its moral standard; a host of new characters is brought upon the scene, who appear and disappear without any motive, serving only to complicate the narrative and confuse the reader: the various incidents are clumsily introduced, showing an entire lack of invention, and contribute nothing to advance the main story,—the thread of which is, in fact, entirely lost in the seventh and eighth books leaving us in complete ignorance of the fate of the principal characters, which is to be disclosed, according to the author's promise, in a part which never appeared. In short, the prose of the *Diana* of Perez is prolix and tedious and its poetry never rises above mediocrity.

⁵⁰ See the criticism of the Curate, in the examination of Don Quixote's library. 'Don Quixote': Part 1, Chap. vi.

⁵¹ It would seem from this that the 'third part' was already written.

THE "DIANA ENAMORADA" OF GIL POLO.

In the same year, 1564, appeared the 'Diana Enamorada' of Gaspar Gil Polo, likewise a continuation of Montemayor's 'Diana.' Polo was a native of Valencia; not the professor of Greek in the University of that city, as Ticknor says, nor the *elegante jurisconsulto* given as the author by Nicholas Antonio, Rodriguez, and Ximeno, but the father of the great jurist, as Fuster, it seems to me, has conclusively shown.⁵² Polo's work is vastly superior to that of Perez and was received with great public favor. It was highly praised by Cervantes,⁵³ Nicholas Antonio even saying: *vel aequavit Georgium, vel superavit.*

⁵² Fuster, *Biblioteca Valenciana*, Tom. 1, p. 150, et seq. It is not necessary to quote his arguments at length. He shows that Dr. Gaspar Gil Polo, to whom the above writers attribute the 'Diana Enamorada,' was the son of Gaspar Gil Polo and Isabel Gil; that he was an advocate of the *Braso Real* at the *Cortes* held at Monoz in 1626. As the 'Diana' of Polo first appeared in 1564, supposing him to have written it when twenty years old, he must have been eighty-two years old in 1626, an age, he shows, at which he could not have performed the duties devolving upon his office. Other evidence is adduced to prove that Dr. Polo in 1564 was not more than sixteen or seventeen years old. His conclusion is that the author of the 'Diana Enamorada' was Gaspar Gil Polo, the father of Dr. Polo, the jurist, as he was the only other member of that family in Valencia, who in addition to *Gaspar*, bore the name *Gil*. The name of the Greek professor at Valencia from 1566 to 1574, was simply Gil Polo. Fuster gives a sonnet by our author, prefixed to 'La Pasion de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo' by D. Alonzo Giron y de Rebolledo, published at Valencia in 1563. It is as follows:

Con voz llorosa, y triste melodia
canta el Giron la muerte y el tormento
de aquel en cuyo alegre nacimiento
cantava el cielo gloria y alegria.
Sientan las almas aspera agonía,
Y hagan los ojos grave sentimiento,
de ver tan affrentado y tan sangriento
el hijo poderoso de Maria.
Y tu pio lector, despues de visto
el orden, el primor, destreza, y gala
del canto que á llorar ha de moverte,
llora la compasion de Iesu-Christo,
y de dolor de ver la vida mala
de los que fueron libres con su muerte.

Rebolledo, it will be remembered, wrote a complimentary sonnet to the 'Diana Enamorada.'

⁵³ The 'Diana' of Perez, 'the Salamancan' which we have just noticed, is, on the contrary, incontinently committed to the heap of rubbish in the yard.

"Este que se sigue, dijo el Barbero, es *La Diana*, llamada *Segunda del Salmantino*: y este, otro que tiene el mismo nombre, cuyo autor es *Gil Polo*. Pues la del Salmantino, respondió el Cura, acompañe y acreciente el número de los condenados al corral, y la de Gil Polo se guarde como si fuera del mismo Apolo."

'Don Quixote,' Parte 1, Cap. vi.

May not the pun of *Polo* and *Apolo* be in some measure responsible for this high praise? See, however, in addition, the "Canto de Calfope" in the 'Galatea' of Cervantes.

The 'Diana Enamorada' opens with the recovery of Sireno from the influence of the draught administered by Felicia, and as a result of which he becomes entirely indifferent to Diana, who complains of his neglect. She visits the 'fountain of the Alders,' beside which she had so often sat in the company of Sireno, and while bewailing her lot,⁵⁴ is overheard by a shepherdess who has been listening in the bushes, and, who now advancing, requests Diana to relate the story of her life, with which the latter—fascinated by the beauty of the shepherdess—complies, cautioning the stranger, however, to be content to know her name, but not her sufferings. The shepherdess (Alcida) replies: "I know very well, from the story I have just heard you sing, that your grief is love, in which infirmity I have great experience. Many years have I been a slave, but now I am free; I walked blindly, but now I tread the paths of truth. Upon the sea of love, I endured frightful agonies and torments, but now I enjoy a safe and calm haven." A long discussion follows, in which Alcida maintains that love exists only in the imagination, and its power is due only to the fact that no resistance is ever offered to it. She repeats the following sonnet:

⁵⁴ Diana sings the following *Quintillas*—they are, however, given in stanzas of ten lines in the edition I have:

Mi sufrimiento cansado
del mal importuno y fiero
a tal extremo ha llegado,
que publicar mi cuydado
me es el remedio postrero.
Sientase el bravo dolor,
y trabajosa agonía
de la que muere de amor,
y olvidada de un pastor,
que de olvidado moría.
¡ Hai que el mal que ha consumido
la alma que apenas sostengo,
nasce del pasado olvido,
y la culpa que he tenido
causó la pena que tengo!
Y de gran dolor rebiento,
viendo que al que agora quiero,
le dí entonces tal tormento,
que sintió lo que yo siento,
y murió como yo muero.
Y quando de mi crueza
se acuerda mi corazón,
le causa mayor tristeza
el pesar de mi tibieza,
que el dolor de mi pasión.
Porque si mi desamor
no tuviera culpa alguna
en el presente dolor,
diera quejas del Amor
e inculpara la Fortuna,
Mas mi corazón esquivo
tiene culpa mas notable,
pues no vió de muy altivo,
que Amor era vengativo,
y la Fortuna mudable, etc.

No es ciego Amor, mas yo lo soy, que guio
 mi voluntad camino del tormento :
 no es niño Amor : mas yo que en un momento
 espero y tengo miedo, lloro y rio.
 Nombrar llamas de Amor es desvario,
 su fuego es el ardiente y vivo intento,
 sus alas son mi altivo pensamiento,
 y la esperanza vana en que me fio.
 No tiene Amor cadenas, ni saëtas,
 para prender y herir libres y sanos,
 que en él no hay mas poder del que le damos.
 Porque es Amor mentira de poetas ;
 Sueño de locos, idolo de vanos :
 mirad qué negro Dios el que adoramos.

She continues to rail against love, adding ; ‘all the verses of lovers are full of grief, composed with sighs, blotted with tears and sung with agony.’ Hardly had Alcida spoken these words when Diana perceived far off her husband Delio,⁵⁵ saying : Behold my husband Delio ! We must dissemble what we have been discussing. Whereupon they sing some *Rimas provenzales*. The jealous Delio approaches, and is received by his wife “with an angelic countenance.” Delio, of course, becomes desperately enamoured of Alcida. A voice is now heard, “the sweetness of which delights them marvellously,” and presently they see a ‘weary shepherd’ approaching the fountain, he is singing, the concluding lines of his song being :

‘Love, why dost thou not loose my chains,
 since in such liberty thou hast left Alcida.’

Amor ? ¿porqué no aflojas mi cadena
 si en tanta libertad dejaste Alcida ?

Alcida, immediately recognizing the voice as Marcelio’s, bids Diana not to betray her presence and hastens away through a thick wood, to escape this shepherd, “whom she abhorred like death itself.” The shepherd arrives “so weary and distressed that it seemed that fortune was grieving at having offered him that clear fountain and the company of Diana, as some relief to his sufferings” [*“tan cansado y afligido, que pareció la fortuna doliendose dél, havelle ofrescido aquella clara fuente, y la compañía de Diana para algun alivio de su pena”*]. Delio now pursues Alcida, and is deaf to the call of Diana, while the newly arrived Marcelio is seeking Alcida. Marcelio, at Diana’s request, now recites the story of his life ; that he lived at the court of Portugal, entered the army in Africa, where he was betrothed to Alcida, the daughter of a distinguished knight, Eugerio ; of his shipwreck while going to Lisbon to celebrate the nuptials ; of the treachery of the sailors who carried off Clenarda, the sister of Alcida, and separated him from Alcida, and how finally he was rescued by some fishermen, and of his vain search for Alcida ever since. “Marcelio now began to weep so bitterly and to sigh so dolorously, that it was a great pity to see him” ; Diana, however, knowing that even a love-lorn shepherd needs something more substantial than tears and sighs, says : Since I am forsaken by my husband Delio, as you are

⁵⁵ Delio, it will be remembered, was dead at the conclusion of the second part of the ‘Diana.’

by Alcida, suppose we eat a few bites together. And they eat. Two shepherds, Tauriso and Berardo now appear, singing the praises of Diana, and all resolve to visit the Temple of Diana on the morrow.

The next morning, when "*la rubicunda Aurora con su dorado gesto ahuyentaba las nocturnas estrellas, y las aves con suave canto anunciaban el cercano día, la enamorada Diana,*" with her bagpipe and her scrip filled with provisions, sets forth. She is, however, too early for the weary Marcelo; and while sitting down to wait for him, she sings a *cancion*. soon the *desamado* Marcelo appears and, like a well-bred shepherd, apologises for his lateness. Diana now relates that she has been forsaken by Sireno "by whom she was formerly loved" but fate, "which perverts all human intentions," willed that she should obey her father and marry the jealous Delio. A long discussion now follows on jealousy—its nature and causes. Presently, they enter a delightful little grove and hear a "plaintive voice accompanied by a sweet lyre, singing a strange melody." "After this shepherdess had ceased, loosing the reins to bitter and grievous weeping, she shed such an abundance of tears and uttered such sad groans, that by them and the words she spake, we knew that the cause of her grief was some cruel deception of her suspicious husband."

Diana accosts the shepherdess, saying: "Since I was forsaken by my cruel spouse, I do not remember to have experienced so much joy as I now do to see you." The stranger is Ismenia, in love with Montano. She is, however, also beloved by Fileno, Montano's father,—hence all her troubles. She relates how the *enamorado viejo* promised her many jewels and dresses and sent her many letters. In one of them he says: "I know very well that I am old, but old age has its advantages, for human habitations, however modern, are not to be compared with those of the ancient Romans, and in matters of beauty, splendor and gallantry, the saying is, there is nothing like the past."

Ismenia finally married Montano, incurring the wrath of Fileno—who now marries Felisarda, whom Montano formerly loved but had rejected, and who now conspires with a shepherdess named Sylveria, to ruin Montano. The plan is not successful, but Montano's jealousy being aroused by some remarks his father had made, he leaves the village never to return. Since that time, Ismenia has sought Montano, to free herself from the stain upon her. On concluding her story, they betake themselves to a delightful forest, where they hear the songs of shepherds who, as they learn afterwards, are Tauriso and Berardo. While listening to the voices of the shepherds, they hear also the voices of a man and woman, who are found to be Polydoro and Clenarda, the brother and sister of Alcida. There is great rejoicing, after which they sit by the fountain and eat, and during the repast Polydoro relates how he escaped, with his father, from the shipwreck, and how they were rescued on the coast of Valencia by fishermen who tell them that, on that same morning they had also rescued a woman from a distressed vessel, and repairing to the hut of one of the fishermen, they find Clenarda, singing with the fisherman's daughters, one of whom, named Nerea, now sings a *cancion*. At the conclusion of Polydoro's story, Clenarda recites her adventures, and the next day they go to the Temple of Diana, where the sage Felicia dwells, who would alleviate all their woes. Here they find Syreno. As a pastime during their wanderings, Clenarda relates her adventures in the fields and along the banks of the Guadalquivir, and what she had heard of the famous Turia—the principal river of that land. One day Polydorus and Clenarda, arriving at the hut of a cowherd, were told that they should not fail to hear the

legend which the famous *Turia* would shortly sing. They proceeded to a spacious meadow, where they saw a great number of nymphs and shepherds, all waiting for the famous *Turia* to begin his song. "Not long after this, we saw old *Turia* come out of a deep cave, in his hand an urn or vase, very large and ornamented; his head covered with leaves of the Oak and Laurel, his arms hairy, his beard slimy and gray." "And sitting upon the ground, reclining upon the urn and pouring forth from it an abundance of clear water," *raising his hoarse voice* "he sang the celebrated *Canto de Turia*, in praise of the Valencian poets."

A beautiful nymph, named *Arethusa*, who had been gathering flowers, now conducts them to the temple. *Diana* asks her: "What is there new in these parts"? *Arethusa* replies, "What is newest hereabouts is that about two hours ago, a lady dressed as a shepherdess arrived at the house of *Felicia*, who, being seen by an ancient man present, was recognized as his daughter. The name of the old man, if I remember rightly, is *Eugerio*; and that of the daughter, *Alcida*." Among the other shepherds and shepherdesses present are *Sylvano* and *Selvagia*, *Arsileo* and *Belisa*, "and the chief one, called *Syreno*." *Felicia* receives them graciously; all is explained satisfactorily between *Clenarda* and *Alcida*, and they retire, to meet at the fountain the next morning. "Then, as the expectation of such pleasure, made them all pass the night with difficulty" they all arose so early that long before the hour agreed upon they arrived at the fountain with their instruments, "and began to sing and play by the light of the moon." *Diana* and *Ismenia* were still sleeping, however, but being awakened by footsteps, *Ismenia* rouses *Diana*, "who, knocking on the wall," wakes *Marcelio*. *Ismenia* now hears someone singing a *Sextine*, and at once recognizes the voice as that of her husband, *Montano*. Presently, *Diana* also hears the voice of *Syreno*. They go to the garden to wait *Felicia*, where *Marcelio* sees *Don Felix* and *Felismena*, *marido y muger*, to whom he is presented by *Sylvano*, whom he meets there with *Selvagia*. *Marcelio* now discovers that *Felismena* is his sister. *Alcida* relates how *Delio* followed her, "and when all hope was gone," grew ill, and was nursed by a shepherd, who sent for *Delio's* mother. The latter "asked him the cause of his grief, but he gave no reply and only wept and sighed," and finally *con un desmayo acabó la vida con mucho dolor de su triste madre, parientes y amigos*. And now *Marcelio* and *Alcida*, and *Diana* and *Syreno* are happily united by the *sapientissima* *Felicia*, *Arsileo* singing some *versos franceses* in honor of the marriage.

The fifth book consists merely of the festivities in the garden of *Felicia*, "to celebrate the marriages and *desengaños* of the shepherds." *Diana* sings the following *cancion*:

La alma de alegría salte,
que en tener mi bien presente
no hay descanso que me falte,
ni dolor que me atormente.
No pienso en viejos cuidados,
que agravia nuestros amores
tener presentes dolores
por los olvidos pasados.
Alma, de tu dicha valte,
que con bien tan excelente
no hay descanso que te falte,
ni dolor que te atormente.

While Diana is singing, another love-lorn shepherdess, Melisea, appears followed by Narciso, who comes to seek the aid of Felicia. Ismenia now sings :

Tan alegres sentimientos
recibo, que no me espanto,
si cuesta dos mil tormentos
un placer que vale tanto.

Yo aguardé, y el bien tardó
mas quando el alma le alcanza,
con su deleite pagó
mi aguardar y su tardanza.

Vengan las penas á cuentos,
no hago caso del llanto,
si me dan por mil tormentos
un placer que vale tanto.

After a dance by a troupe of nymphs around a "white stag with black spots"—the symbolic meaning of which is explained by Felicia, the whole company entertain themselves with a number of riddles or *preguntas*. Here are a few examples :

Junto a una pastora estaba una doncella,
tan flaca como un palo al sol secado,
su cuerpo de ojos muchos rodeado,
con lengua que jamás pudo movella.
A lo alto y bajo el viento ví trahella,
mas de una parte nunca se ha mudado :
vino a besarla el triste enamorado,
y ella movió tristissima querella.

Quanto mas le atapó el pastor la boca,
mas voces da, porque la gente acuda,
y abriendo está sus ojos y cerrando.
Ved que costó forzar zagala muda,
que al punto que el pastor la besa, o toca,
él queda enmudecido, y ella hablando.

Yong's translation :

Neere to shepherd did a damsell sit
As lean as withered sticke by scorching flame,
Her bodie as full of eies as might be in it,
A toong she had, but could not moove the same.
Her winde she drew aboue, and eke beneath,
But from one part she never yet did change,
A wofull shepherd came to kisse her breath,
Then made she plaints most sorrowfull and strange :
The more the shepherd put his mouth unto
Her mouth in stopping it, she cried amaine,
Opening her eies, and shutting them againe.

See now what this dumbe shepherdesse could doe,
That when her mouth he did but touch or kisse,
He waxeth dumbe, but she still speaking is.

The answer is a ' baggepipe ' or flute.

Qual es el ave ligera,
que está siempre en un lugar
y anda siempre caminando,
penetra y entra do quiera,
de un vuelo passa la mar,
las nubes sobrepujando?
Ansi vella no podemos,
y quien la está descubriendo,
sabio queda en sola un hora;
mas tal vez la conoscemos,
las paredes solo viendo
de la casa donde mora.

Translation :

What bird is that so light
Her place that never changeth :
She flies by day and night
In all the world she rangeth :
Over the sea at once she flies
Mounting aboue the loftie skies.
She's never seen by eies,
And who doth seeke to show her
Hath beene accounted wise
Yet sometimes we doe know her,
Onely the walls by viewing well
Of her close house, where she doth dwell.

The answer is ' thought ' " which flies with such swiftness, that it is not seene of anybody, but conjectured and knowen by the outward signes and gesture of the bodie, wherein it is included."

A magnificent spectacle is now prepared by Felicia for her guests. Barges richly adorned containing nymphs in magnificent attire and rowed by savages "crowned with roses" and tied to their rowing-benches with chains of silver, now appear, accompanied by most beautiful music—the manœuvres concluding with a combat between the barges. This concluded, all return to the fountain where they find the shepherd Tiranio, who sings the following *Rimas provenzales*:

Quando con mil colores devisado
Viene el verano en el ameno suelo,
el campo hermoso está, sereno el cielo,
rico el pastor, y prospero el ganado.
Philomena por arboles floridos

da sus gemidos :
 hay fuentes bellas,
 y en torno dellas,
 cantos suaves
 de Nymphas y aves :
 Mas si Elvinia de allí sus ojos parte,
 habrá contino hiberino en toda parte.

 Quando el helado Cierzo de hermosura
 despoja hierbas, arboles y flores,
 el canto dexan ya los ruyseñores,
 y queda el yermo campo sin verdura ;
 Mil horas son mas largas que los dias
 las noches frias,
 espessa niebla
 con la tiniebla
 escura y triste
 el ayre viste.
 Mas salga Elvinia al campo, y por do quiera
 renovará la alegre primavera.

 Si Delia en perseguir silvestres fieras,
 con muy castos cuydados ocupada
 va de su hermosa esquadra acompañada,
 buscando sotos, campos y riberas ;
 Napeas y Hamadryadas hermosas
 con frescas rosas
 le van delante,
 está triumphante
 con lo que tiene :
 pero si viene
 al bosque, donde caza Elvinia mia,
 parecera menor su lozania.

 Y quando aquellos miembros delicados
 se lavan en la fuente esclarescida,
 si allí Cynthia estuviera, de corrida
 los ojos abajara avergonzados.
 Porque en la agua de aquella transparente
 y clara fuente
 el marmol fino
 y peregrino
 con beldad rara
 se figurára,
 y al atrevido Actéon, si la viera,
 no en ciervo, pero en marmol convertiera.

Pp. 256-259. 56b

56b All references to the 'Diana Enamorada' of Polo, in this article, are to the edition of Sancha, Madrid, 1802.

Felicia now perceiving that night is approaching "and it seeming to her that her guests had been sufficiently entertained for that day" made a sign, at which all were silent and addressing the company, said that her guests could not complain of her treatment, nor of that of her nymphs; that all had now been gratified except "Narciso, who was displeased with the treatment of Melisea, and Turiano with that of Elvinia"; these would, however, have "to content themselves with hope." Here the book abruptly ends, while the history of other shepherds and shepherdesses, including the Portuguese Danteo and Duarda is again deferred to another part, which, "before many days—God willing—will be published."

It will be seen from the foregoing brief analysis that up to the fifth book, the interest of the reader is well sustained: the various incidents follow each other quite logically,—they generally advance the action, and the main thread of the story is well kept in view. In this respect the 'Diana Enamorada' is superior to the original of Montemayor, and, a taste for pastoral fiction being once established, it is not strange that the work of Polo was successful, for of all books of its class its language is, perhaps, the least affected; its prose style is graceful and flowing and some of the poems scattered through it are very beautiful, though, upon the whole, they are inferior to the verses of Montemayor.⁵⁶

The "Diana" of Texeda.

In 1627,⁵⁷ a third part of the 'Diana' by Hieronymo de Texeda, appeared in Paris.⁵⁸ It is a work of no merit whatever, and is interesting only as being one of the boldest examples of literary theft in the history of any literature.

The story opens with Estela, Crimine and Parisiles (characters introduced by Perez, in his continuation), going to the village of Diana. They meet Amarantho, and tell him of their going *á las obsequias de un pastor llamado Delio*. A story of Don Ramiro, brother of Alfonso of Aragon now follows, and on the next day at the fountain of the Alders, they find Diana sitting, and believing herself to be alone, she sings:

⁵⁶ This is not in accordance with the views of some of Polo's Spanish critics. Quintana, for instance, says of him: "though he (Polo) was less happy than Montemayor in invention, he far surpassed him in his verses, and almost succeeded in obscuring him."

'Poesias Castellanas,' Vol. i, xxxiii.

⁵⁷ Sixty-three years elapsed between the publication of the 'Diana Enamorada' of Gil Polo, and this continuation by Texeda, during which time most of the prose pastorals appeared in Spain. Texeda's work has only been considered in this place on account of the very close connection between it and the 'Diana' of Polo.

⁵⁸ La Diana de Montemayor nuevamente compuesta por Hieronymo de Texeda Castellano interprete de lenguas, residente en la villa de Paris, do se da fin á las Historias de la Primera y Segunda Parte. Dirigida al excelentísimo Señor Don Francisco de Guisa Principe de Joinville. Tercera parte, Paris mdcxxvii. It is in two parts, bound in one volume, the first part containing three hundred and forty-six, the second part three hundred and ninety-four pages.

El sufrimiento cansado
 De mi mal importuno y fiero
 A tal extremo ha llegado
 Que publicar mi cuidado
 Es el remedio que espero.
 Esclava de un grave dolor
 Y dolorosa agonía
 Soy la que muere de amor
 Olvidada de un Pastor
 Que de olvidado moria.

Cf. Page 35.

Hardly had Diana finished her song, when a beautiful shepherdess emerges from behind a myrtle and endeavours to console her. It is Marfisa, "born of noble parents and placed in the position in which you see me by one of the various accidents of fickle fortune." Diana relates her griefs at the request of Marfisa, saying: "If you would hear what love can do, listen to a sonnet which my beloved Sirenus used to sing to me, in the time when his company was as pleasant to me as his memory now is bitter."⁵⁹ She sings the following sonnet:

Que el poderoso Amor sin vista acierte
 Del corazon la mas interna parte,
 Que siendo niño vença al fiero Marte
 Haziendo que enredado se dispierte
 Que sus llamas yelen de tal suerte
 Que un vil temor del alma no se aparte
 Que buele asta la eterea y suma parte,
 Y por la tierra y mar se muestre fuerte
 Que este el que el niño amor hiere, ô captiva,
 Bivo en el mal y en la pasion contento,
 Penas son que causan gran espanto
 Y el alma que en mayores penas viva
 Si piensa estas hazañas entretanto
 No sentira el rigor de su tormento.⁶⁰

Marfisa delivers a long discourse on the subject of love and jealousy, just as in the 'Diana' of Polo, after which she recites a sonnet, which is copied verbatim from the latter work,⁶¹ except the fifth line,

"Nombrar llamas de Amor es desvario"

which is omitted.

The sonnet in Polo (pp. 15 and 16) now follows—beginning:

"Quien libre está, no viva descuydado."

The song on page fifty-three of Texeda, is called *Rimas provenzales* in Polo, where it occurs on page seventeen.⁶² The changes made are very slight, and always to the detriment of the verses.

⁵⁹ "Escucha un soneto que mi amado Sireno me cantava en el tiempo que para mi su presencia era tan dulce como agora su memoria amarga."

Cf. Gil Polo, p. 10: en el tiempo que fue para mi tan dulce, como me es agora amarga su memoria.

⁶⁰ Taken word for word from Gil Polo's sonnet (p. 10).

⁶¹ See page 33.

⁶² The name of Alcida in Gil Polo, is simply changed to Marfisa by Texeda, but it is the same character, in every respect.

It were useless to pursue this comparison in detail—a few extracts from the prose portion will show that this, also, is taken from Polo.

In the conversation of Marfisa with Delio,⁶³ the former says: "En gran cargo estoy á la fortuna, pues me ha no solo puesto en ocasion de ver la hermosura de Diana, mas en la presentia de aquel que juzgo merecedor de tal beldad, pero admiro me ver que tengas tan poca cuenta con la que mereze no solo por su beldad, mas por su raro entendimiento y discrecion ser estimada pues la dexas hir solo un paso sin tu compañía, creo bien que siempre la tienes en tu coraçon."

Cf. Polo, page 22.

Again, on page 66:

"Pues me consta mi esposo Delio va en seguimiento de una hermosissima pastora que no ha mucho se apartó de nuestra compañía y por las muestras de aficion con que vi la mirava en mi presençia, y suspiros que de lo profundo del corazon sacava como aquella que sabe bien con quanta perseverencia suele emprender lo que en el pensamiento se le pone, tengo por cierto, no dejara de seguir la pastora, aunque piense perder la vida, y lo que mas mi espiritu atormenta, es conocer la aspera y desamorada condicion de la Pastora, etc."

Cf. Polo, page 27.

The sonnet in Texeda, page sixty-one, is the same as Polo's (page 24) only the second word in the first line is changed. The Marcelio of Polo changes his name to Aristeo, and recites the same story—the shipwreck and subsequent rescue,—the name of Marfiso's younger sister is Clarisea, instead of Clenarda, as in Polo. This whole episode is, however, made ridiculous by Texeda who causes the sailors, after they have bound Aristeo 'hand and foot,' to put a tallow gag in his mouth, after which they "put him upon the highest tree they could find." They then made off with Clarisea, leaving Marfisa behind, for some reason that is not explained. Marfisa calls, but Aristeo, with his mouth full of tallow, is unable to answer, so she wanders inland and is lost. Aristeo kept the tallow in his mouth until rescued by some fishermen the next day, when he finds upon a poplar tree, a sonnet, slightly changed from one that Gil Polo has printed on page forty-nine. The same characters now appear as in Polo's 'Diana'—Silvano and Selvagia, as well as Firmius and Faustus—'rivals for the hand of Diana.'

I had carefully compared the two works and written down the passages in Texeda that were either similar or identical with those in Gil Polo, but it were a useless task to copy them here. All the poetry is taken from Polo, with the exception of two or three short poems. It is only in the fifth book that Texeda begins to differ from Polo, and here the story of Amaranto and Dorotea is imitated from Perez. In the sixth book Parisiles relates the story of the Cid; in the seventh is told the story of the Abencerrages; in the ninth the story of Count Carlos and Lisarde, and the tribute of Mauregato. The entire first four

⁶³ This is an oversight of Texeda's. He evidently began to write his book, with the second part of the 'Diana' by Perez, before him, and, therefore, began where Perez left off. Laying that book aside, however, he begins to copy the version of Polo, forgetting that Delio is already dead.

books of Texeda are, as we have just seen, a plagiarism from the work of Polo, and these four books, be it said, are all that are worth reading. Wherever a change has been made, either in the poetry or the prose of Polo, it has been for the worse. It seems almost incredible, that at a time when the 'Diana' of Polo was so well-known and so widely read, anyone should have had the insolence to publish so flagrant a theft, as an original work ; and it is no less singular that so palpable a fraud should have escaped the critical acumen of a scholar like Ticknor. The second volume is dull and tedious in the extreme. The fourth part, promised on page three hundred and ninety-three, never appeared ; doubtless, because there was nothing left for Texeda to appropriate.

THE "TEN BOOKS OF THE FORTUNE OF LOVE,"

BY LO FRASSO.

The next work in what may be termed the cycle of the Diana, was the 'Ten Books of the Fortune of Love,'⁶⁴ by Antonio de lo Frasso, a Sardinian soldier, and was first published at Barcelona in 1573. This is the book that Cervantes⁶⁵ character-

64 I used the reprint: 'Los Diez Libros de Fortuna de Amor Divididos en dos tomos.' Compuesto por Antonio de lo Frasso, Militar Sardo, de la ciudad de Lalguer. London, 1740.

65 'Don Quixote,' Part 1, Chap. vi:

"Este libro es, dijo el Barbero, abriendo otro, *Los Diez libros de Fortuna de Amor*, compuestos por Antonio de Lofraso, poeta sardo. Por las órdenes que recibí, dijo el Cura, que desde que Apolo fué Apolo y las musas musas, y los poetas poetas, tan gracioso ni tan disparatado libro como ese no se ha compuesto, y que por su camino es el mejor y el mas único de cuantos deste género han salido á la luz del mundo, y el que no le ha leído puede hacer cuenta que no ha leído jamás cosa de gusto."

One would think it almost impossible that a Spaniard, and one of the editors of Lord Carteret's 'Don Quixote,' should take the irony of the curate as a sincere expression of opinion. This praise, however, is one of the reasons assigned by Pedro de Pineda, the editor, for republishing it in England. But if it were possible to be deceived by the words in 'Don Quixote,' surely a perusal of the following lines in the 'Viage al Parnaso,' would have dispelled all doubt as to the opinion of Cervantes:

Miren si puede en la galera hallarse
Algun poeta desdichado, acaso,
Que a las fieras gargantas puede darse.
Buscaronle, y hallaron Lofraso,
Poeta Militar, Sardo, que estaua
Desmayado a un rincon marchito y laso.
Que a suo diez libros de Fortuna, andaua
Añadiendo otro diez y el tiempo escoge,
Que mas desocupado se mostraua.
Grito la chusma toda, al mar se arroge
Vaya Lofraso al mar sin resistencia,
Por dios, dize Mercurio, que me enoge.
Como, y no sera cargo de conciencia
Y grande echar al mar tanta Poesia?
Puesto, ¿aqui nos hunda su inclemencia?
Viva Lofraso, en tanto que dê al dia
Apolo luz, y en tanto que los hombres
Tengan discreta alegre fantasia.
Tocante a tí (ô Lofraso) los renombres,
Y epitetos de agudo, y de sinzero
Y gusto que mi Comitre te nombres.
Esto dixo Mercurio al Cauallero,
El qual en la cruxia en pie se puso,
Con un rebenque despiadado, y fiero,
Creo, que de sus versos le compuso,
Y no s' como fue, que en un momento,

izes as the most absurd book that was ever written, and though his genial and kindly nature was inclined to judge his contemporaries only too leniently, he is, for some reason or other, especially severe upon Lo Frasso.⁶⁶

The work is composed principally of poetry, it being evidently a much easier task for the Sardinian bard to put his thoughts into generally bad verse, than into good prose. His shepherds and shepherdesses, moreover, must have been gifted with a vigor of constitution and a power of endurance quite beyond that of the ordinary representative of that weary class. Their songs are often continued through ten or fifteen pages without any apparent sign of exhaustion, only once, in the first book,—Frexano, the hero, beginning his song on page twenty, and singing as far as the thirty-seventh page,—the author says: "the shepherd growing weary of singing *Octavas*, now changed his tune, and sang the following *tercetos*."

The first book opens with a *carta* from Frexano à su querida pastora *Fortuna*, then follows a sonnet, then *otro*, then a *cancion*, then *otro*, then the letter is carried by Florinéo, who sings a *cancion* while going along.

In the second book, Frexano makes a journey to Parnassus. The nine muses appear, whom he addresses in verse, Minerva replying. This is followed by some curious poetry in which "*hablan las potencias del cuerpo humano*." First the tongue speaks, followed by the eyes, then the soul, the heart, the feelings, memory, thought, will, affection, etc.: finally ignorance, discretion, wisdom, married women, the widow, and last of all Amor.

In the third book Frexano suffers the most frightful pangs of despised love, which ebb out in a *canto* which continues for twelve pages. The next two books are composed almost entirely of verse—the seventh containing a long and weary eclogue. In the ninth book is related the history of "*Don Floricio y la hermosa pastora Augustina*," in which a *cancion* consisting of ninety-five stanzas, is sung by Augustina.

The second volume is, likewise, crowded with verse from cover to cover—on page eighty-eight there begins a *Triumpho* in praise of fifty ladies of Barcelona, in imitation of the 'Canto de Orfeo' of Monte-

(O ya el cielo, o Lofraso lo dispuso)
Salimos del estrecho a saluamento,
Sui arrojar al mar Poeta alguno,
(Tanto del Sardo fue el mericimiento.)

'Viage al Parnaso,' Madrid, 1614, Ch. iii, pp. 22 and 23.

⁶⁶ Nothing is known of Lofrasso's life, save what is given by Nicolas Antonio in Vol. ii, p. 356 of his *Bibliotheca Nova*:

Antonio Lofrasso, Sardus, Alguerensis, poeta infimi subsellii, edidit: Diez Libros de Fortuna. Barcinone, 1573. Quod opus risu excipit D. Thomas Tamajus in 'Collectione librorum Hispanorum': atque item autorem inter eos, qui nullo subnixi Apolline, ac Musarum ingratis operam versibus dedere, velut aliorum coriphaeum nominat, nasoque suspendit Michael de Cervantes Saavedra in metrico suo opere Viage del Parnaso nuncupato.

mayor and the 'Canto de Turia' of Polo. The whole work is absurd, and I confess that I could not read the whole of the second volume. Subjoined are some extracts from the best of Lo frasso's poetry.

The doughty bard apparently had no very exalted opinion of the weaker sex, to judge from the following song, which he puts into the mouth of Florineo :

No pongas el pensamiento
Pasqual, jamas en muger ;
Qu-en pago de tu querer,
Te darà pena y tormento.

Tiene tal naturaleza,
La que quiere ser servida,
Si le quieres quàl tu vida,
Te consume de tristeza.

En pocas veràs firmeza
Mudanse muy mas qu-el viento ;
Qu-en pago de tu querer
Te daran pena y tormento.

Ni de veras, ni burlando,
No burles jamas con ellas,
Viudas, casadas, doncellas,
Dexalas por no yr penando :

Porque siempre variando
Las veo hazer mudamiento ;
Qu-en pago de tu querer,
Te daran pena y tormento.

Vol. i, pp. 11 and 12.

Here is a sonnet, on page 97 :

Dulçe morir en el fuego amoroso,
Dulçe dolor que me tienes rendido,
Dulçe tormento que ya en mi sentido,
Habras sin sossiego y sin reposo.
Dulçe imaginar muy congoxoso,
Dulçe desseo en mi tan encendido,
Dulçe pensamiento que tan rendido,
Me tienes por amar un rostro hermoso.
Que terminos ternè a tanto daño,
Amor si te tardas en remediarme,
Pues muero cada hora en tu servicio.
No se diga jamas que un bien tamaño,
Sirviendote leal quieres dexarme
Acabando mis dias sin beneficio.

The following *Quintillas* are from the *Cancion, y prision de Amor*. Vol. i, p. 310:

El tormento y dolor,
Que tengo y desventura,
Es de verme en tal tristura
En la prision de Amor,
Que me da tu hermosura

Das cadenas y grillos
Que me privan libertad
Es la gracia y beldad,
De tus lindas perficiones,
Esperando tu piedad.

Y las tan altas paredes,
Donde me veo encerrado
Es tu gesto delicado,
Lazo tan mortal y redes
De mi deseo y cuydado.

La cama en que descansa
Mi cuerpo tan dolorido
Es el fuego encendido,
De mi querer y esperanza,
Que me tiene consumido.

.....

.....

Y la blanca almohada
Do descansa mi memoria
Es la pena tan notoria,
Que en mi la veras doblada,
Por no alcançar tu gloria.

.....

Y la continua aurora
Que a mis dias da claror
Es la voz del resplandor
Que sale de tí, Señora,
Per acrecentar mi dolor.

.....

Y padesciendo, Fortuna
En la carcel amorosa
No me seas rigurosa
Cruel ni tan importuna,
Contra mi alma penosa.

On page 284, is the following :

SONETO SARDO.

Cando si dèt finire custu ardente
Fogu qui su coro già mat bruxadu,
Cun sanima misquina qui su fiadu,
Mi mancat vistu non poto niente.
Chiaru Sole & Luna relugente,
Prite mi tenes tristu abandonadu,
Pusti prode viver atribuladu,
Dami calqui remediù prestamente,
Tue sola mi podes remediare
Et dare mi sa vida in custa hora,
Qui non morja privu de sa vitoria,
In eternu ti depo abandonare,
O bellissima dea & senyora,
De me sa vida & morte pena y gloria.

THE "FÍLIDA" OF MONTALVO.

A better romance appeared in 1582⁶⁷ at Madrid, in the 'Fíli-da' of Luis Galvez de Montalvo. Of the author's birth-place or life we know only what he tells us in this book. Speaking under the name of Siralvo he says (page 112 of the edition of 1792) that he is not a native of the banks of the Tagus, but that his ancestors pastured their flocks by the Adaja, and that they removed thence to the Henares, upon the banks of which he was brought up, *i de alli, por favorable estrella, bevo las aguas del Tajo*.

He was attached to the house of Infantado, the lords of which had their principal residence in Guadalajara. In his *carta dedicatoria* to his patron, Don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragon, he says:

"Among the fortunates who know you and entertain friendly relations with you, I have been one, and indeed, one of the most fortunate; for desiring to serve you, my wish was fulfilled, and thus I left my house and other famous ones where I was requested to remain, and came to this, where I shall be pleased to die and where my greatest labor is to be idle, contented and honoured as your servant."

In 1587 Montalvo published a translation into Castilian of 'Le Lagrime di San Pietro' by Luigi Tansillo, a Neapolitan gentleman who served D. Pedro de Toledo, Marqués de Villafranca, to whom Garcilasso dedicated his first eclogue. The latter mentions Tansillo among other celebrated Italian versifiers in his twenty-fourth sonnet to Doña Isabel de Cardona.⁶⁸ According to Lope de Vega, in the prologue to his 'Isidro,' Montalvo passed the latter years of his life in Italy, saying of him "*con cuya MUERTE SUBITA se perdieron muchos floridas coplas*," etc. He, likewise, says that Montalvo met his death "*en la puente*

⁶⁷ The following editions of the 'Fílida' have appeared: the first, Madrid, 1582 (the *censura* is dated Madrid, June 2, 1581); then Lisbon, 1589; Madrid, 1590; Barcelona, 1613; Valencia, 1792, the last two in the Ticknor library. See Salvá y Mallén, 'Catálogo,' p. 143.

⁶⁸ See 'Don Quixote' (ed. Clemencin), Vol. iii, p. 14.

de Sicilia.”⁶⁹ This expression, Clemencin says, must allude to some event well-known at the time, and agrees fully with the reference made by Fr. Diego de Haedo in the *dedicatori* of his ‘Topografia de Argel’:

“Era (dice por los años de 1591) Virei de Sicilia el Señor D. Diego Enriquez de Guzmán, Conde de Alva de Liste, el cual habiendo salido de Palermo a visitar aquel reino, a la vuelta como venia en galeras, hizo la ciudad un puente desde tierra que se alargaba á la mar mas de cien pies, para que alli abordase la popa de la galera donde venia al Señor Virei, y desembarcase: y como Palermo es la Corte del reino, acudiò lo mas granado á este recibimiento y con la mucha gente que cargó, antes que abordase la galera dió el puente á la banda, de manera que cayeron en el mar mas de quinientas personas donde se anegaron mas de treinte hombres.”

This is very likely, says Clemencin, the bridge of Sicilia alluded to, and Montalvo must have been one of those who perished there in 1591.

‘D. Quixote’ (Ed. Clemencin), Vol i, p. 147, note.

On the title-page of his romance,⁷⁰ Montalvo styles himself

⁶⁹ In his ‘Laurel de Apolo’ (Ed. 1630, Madrid), Selva quarta, fol. 35b, Lope speaks as follows of Montalvo:

“Y que viva en el Templo de la Fama
aunque muerto en la *puente de Sicilia*,
aquel Pastor de Filida famoso
Galvez Montalvo, que la embidia aclama
por uno de la Delfica familia
dignissimo del Arbol vitorioso:
mayormente cantando
en lagrimas deshechos
Ojos a gloria de mis ojos hechos.”

⁷⁰ ‘El Pastor de Filida, Compuesto por Luis Galvez de Montalvo, Gentil-hombre Cortesano. Valencia, 1792. Edited by Mayano y Siscar, who on page lix gives a long list of Romances written in the manner of the ‘Diana’ of Montemayor. There are many among those he mentions, however, that are not pastorals; among these ‘El Cavallero Puntual’ of Salas Barbadillo; the ‘Eustorgio y Clorilene’ of Enrique Suarez de Mendoza y Figueroa—which is an imitation of ‘Persiles y Sigismunda’ the ‘Bureo de las Musas’ by Maluenda is classed by Ticknor among the *Poesias Burlescas*, the ‘Corte del Casto Amor’ of Luis Hurtado, the ‘Selva de Aventuras’ of Hieronymo de Contreras, and others. The latter book, written, probably, soon after 1545, contains the valiant captain’s views of married life. The poem occurs on fol. 47b.

De todos los estados, el estado
que puede dar y da mayor contento,
regalos y plazer de pensamiento
es la vida sabrosa del casado.
O fudo de bondad con la fe atado,
glorioso y divino sacramento,
que al hombre se le dio por aposento
do pudiesse vivir mas descausado.

'*Gentilhombre Cortesano.*' In a note to this, Mayans remarks: *Gentilhombre de un Señor era entonces, el que servia con capa i espada, en buena edad, porque si era viejo le llamavan en aquel tiempo escudero, como Marcos de Obregon, etc.* (p. ix). The Curate also in 'Don Quixote' says: "*Este que viene es el Pastor de Fílida. No esse pastor, dijo el Cura, sino mui discreto Cortesano, guardase, como joya preciosa.*" (Book 1, ch. vi). From this, Montalvo was certainly a young man in 1582. He and Cervantes were friends of long standing, and mention each other with praise in their works,⁷¹ and from the fact that they were both brought up on the banks of the Henares, it has been supposed that they had known each other from youth and were of about the same age—but there is no proof for this.

In the 'Fílida,' as in most works of this character, well-known persons appear as shepherds: Montalvo under the name of Siralvo; Mendino is Don Enrique de Mendoza y Aragon; Tirsi,—el culto Tirsi, is his friend Cervantes; Pradileo is Don Luis Ramon y Folch, Conde de Prades; while the Silvano is Gregorio Silvestre. The incidents of the story are briefly as follows:

Mendino, a shepherd living on the banks of the Tagus, is enamoured of Elisa, *de antigua y clara generacion* and of beauty without compare. Mendino, however, is secretly beloved by Filis, a beautiful nymph of the Tagus. One day as Elisa, Filis, Cloris, Mendino and Galafron were sitting by a fountain amusing themselves with song,

Quien desto dize mal muy poco entiende
y niega la razon subida y clara
haziendose animal, salvaje y bruto,
pues hombres no tomays poner la cara
al sancso matrimonio: pues del pende
(si se sabe guardar) divino fruto.

Mayans also mentions a pastoral by Francisco Rodriguez Lobo, in three parts, the "Primavera" the "Pastor Peregrino" and the "Desengañado." It is written in Portuguese, however, but is as good as the best of the Spanish Romances. There is a poem on p. 280 of the 'Primavera' with the refrain:

"*Quam pouco tempo dura huma alegria,*"

that is very beautiful.

71 Cervantes in his "Canto de Callope" says:

Quien pudiera loaros mis Pastores,
un pastor, uëstro amado, i conocido,
Pastor mejor de quantos son mejores,
que de Fílida tiene el apellido?
La habilidad, la ciencia, los primores,
el raro ingenio, i el valor subido
de *Luis de Montalvo* le aseguran
(Gloria, Honor, mientras los cielos duran.

they are joined by the shepherds Bruno and Turino. And now Padelio, the noble and prosperous *rabadan* having died, there came to inherit his flocks, his brother Padileo, 'a gallant and discreet' youth, who, of course, falls in love with Elisa *à gran coste i pesar de Mendino, i no menos de Elisa*. Elisa now pens a long letter to Mendino, appointing a meeting-place. Here, one night, the latter is seen by the jealous Padileo, who, without more ado, asks the 'beautiful and discreet Albanisa, widow of Mendineo' to become his wife. The thread of the story now becomes somewhat involved—Mendino, Corydon, and Filardo visit the cave of the magician Sincero, who foretells Elisa's death. Elisa dies as predicted; Mendino sings a dirge to Elisa; the book closing with the couplet:

El mal que el tiempo hace
El tiempo le suele curar.

Alfeo, a shepherd, lying upon the ground singing, is overheard by Finea. Alfeo asks her whether she be not a 'stranger and in love'; to which she replies: "You might see this without asking me, in my dress, for one thing, *i en mi piedad, por otra*." Alfeo is now informed that there is to be a general gathering of shepherds 'to honor the ashes of Elisa.' They meet other shepherds and journey to the spot, where they find Sasio, Filardo, Arsiano, Belisa, Alfisbeo and 'old Sileno.' In the plain stood a lofty pyramid of rich marble, covered with ivy. Alfisbeo sings an elegy, "interrupted at times by the most tender sighs." As Pradileo now appears, Finea beams upon him, whereupon the jealous Filardo "with features distorted by the power of love, and his brow covered with perspiration," arose and left, but Pradileo paid no heed to this (*desto no hizo sentimiento*). Alfeo now sings a touching song, which moves all the listeners; Sileno, however, 'the venerable father' *de la difunta Elisa*, bids the music cease, and proposes a wrestling match between the shepherds, followed by running, leaping and *tirar la barra* after which Galafron 'the tender and true lover of the deceased Elisa' sings some sad verses and the shepherds separate.

Alfeo and Finea now visit Siralvo; directly they hear a flute, and then Siralvo singing the *rimas* beginning *Ojos a gloria de mis ojos hechos*.⁷² Filardo, the rival of Padelio now appears and upbraids Finea saying, "ungrateful one, what seest thou in Padelio, more than in me"? Strangely enough, Finea asks him to sing, to which Filardo says: "And canst thou ask me to sing, seeing that I am dying"? Then do as the swan does, said Finea (*Pues haz como el cisne*). Taking up his lyre, Filardo, with three thousand sighs begins to sing. (*Sacando la lira, con tres mil sospiros Filardo comenzò à decir*): Siralvo, who is enamoured of Filida, goes to the gardens of Vandalio, where Filida resides. Here he meets her friend Florela, and reads to her a poetical portrait (*retrato en versos*), then the sonnet "*Divino rostro, en quien esta sellado*."⁷³ Siralvo then proceeds to Alfeo's cabin, who complains of the ungrateful Andrea and thus, "while listening to the birds and the gentle stream, with their cheeks resting on their hands, they fall asleep." Afterward the shepherds visit the Temple of Pan, where they meet Filida, and do not forget to eat and drink. Upon a large tablet they find "*las leyes pastorales*" and also "the art of making cheese, butter and other matters of more or less importance." Filida now sings a song, so beautiful "that the birds were hushed, the wind ceased, the fountain stopped and I think the sun forgot its course, while the peerless Filida sang these verses." [*callaron las aves, cessò el viento, parò la fuente, i pienso que el Sol*

⁷² See below, page 52.

⁷³ See below, page 54.

se olvidò de su camino, mientras la sin par Filida cantò estos versos]. And now "todos son enamorados, pero no se puede decir de quien, que quando se sepa, sera un notable hechizo de Amor."

Meanwhile Siralvo is in a pitiable plight, "most of the time alone in his hut, amidst cruel memories, hoping for death." Suddenly he sees a wounded stag, pursued by *dos gallardas Cazadoras*. One of them is Florela. Siralvo dispatches the stag, then complains to Florela of Filida and the former promises to intercede for him. Andrea also appears, and finally the shepherds all proceed to the Temple of Diana, where the seven wonders of the world are described. The story grows very tedious; there is a long discussion upon the merits of the two schools of Spanish poetry and in imitation of Montemayor the praises of celebrated Spanish women are sung. In the seventh part, Sasio dies and has the honor of having an epitaph written by the "famous Tirsi, with his own hand," upon the trunk of an elm tree. Orsindo, the former lover of Finea now appears, and "all return to their first loves" *Alfeo i la encubierta Andrea, a la suya, i Arsineo, vencido de la razon, bolvio sus pensamientos a Silveria*, "who loved him so tenderly." The book concludes with a festival gotten up by Sileno, in which, among other sports, the shepherds run at the ring, "a sport quite new among shepherds" (*una fiesta tan nueva entre pastores*).

It will be seen from this analysis, of what incongruous elements the book is composed; stories from Greek mythology are introduced, together with events from Spanish history; every occasion is taken to praise the house of Mendoza, and surely to have Sireno propose a wrestling match at a gathering of shepherds to do honor to his deceased daughter's memory, is an idea that is *bizarre*, to say the least. It is not very easy to account for the popularity of the 'Fílida,' which passed through several editions. It certainly does not merit the praise of Cervantes, whose friendship for Montalvo doubtless got the better of his judgment. Though written in a graceful style, the book is wearisome, and is only redeemed by its poetry, which is sometimes very fine, as the following extracts will show:

SIRALVO'S SONG,

Part 3 (Edition of 1613), fol. 42b.

Ojos a gloria de mis ojos hechos,
Rayos que elays los mas ardientes pechos,
Yelos que derretis la nieve elada:
Mares mansos, de amor bravos estrechos,
Amigos enemigos en celada,
Bolueos a mi, pues solo con mirarme,
Podeys verme, y oyrme, y ayudarme.

Si me mirays y vireys en mi primero
Quanto con vos amor haze y deshaze,
Si me escuchays oyreys dezir que muero,

Y que es la vida que me satisfaze,
Si me ayudays lo que pretendo y quiero,
Que es alabaros facil se me haze,
En tan altas empressas alumbradme
Mis ojos vedme, oydme, y ayudadme.

Siendo verdad que el alma que me ampara
Es solo un rayo dessa luz pendiente,
Quando no me mirays es cosa clara,
Que estoy del alma con que vivo ausente :
Mas no tan presto a la marchita cara
Buelue la vuestra, sol es de mi oriente,
Quando el espiritu mio renouado
Quedò viuo, contento y mejorado.

La causa fuystes de mi devaneo,
Y podeys serlo de mi buena andança.
Que si a vuestra beldad cansa el desseo,
Vuestra color ofrece la esperança :
Esmeraldas preciosas donde veo
Mas perfeccion que el ser humano alcança,
Viua mi alma entre essas dos serenas
Lumbres diuinas de vitorias llenas.

Quanto mejor en vuestra compañía
Que con la lyra, ò con el tierno canto,
Pudiera Orfeo el mal hadado dia,
Robar la esposa al reyno del quebranto :
Pues la amorosa anima mia,
Al resplandor de vuestro viso santo
Suspende tantas penas infernales
Ojos verdes, rasgados, celestiales.

Sois celestiales soberanos ojos ?
Si que lo soys, aunque os aluerga el suelo,
Pues solas almas son vuestras despojos,
Almas que os buscan como a propio cielo,
Fundò el amor sus gustos, sus enojos,
Establecio su pena y su consuelo.
Dexò las armas fragiles de tierra,
Y escogio vuestra luz en paz, y en guerra.

Estrellas, nortes, soles, que a la diestra,
Del Sol salis, por soles verdaderos,
Si en quanto el lugar cielo al mundo muestra,
No ay cosa que merezca pareceros,
Quien vera sola una pestaña vuestra,
Que presuma aun con muerte mereceros ?
Bastale á aquel que os vè si os conociere,
Morir y ver que por miraros muere.

Pues los que os miran quedan condenados
 A arder de amores, si mirays piadosos
 Ya rabia eterna, si bolueys ayrados,
 Ved si los que abrasays son venturosos,
 Yo que con pensamientos inflamados,
 Ojos os miro y con deseos rabiosos,
 O rabie, o arda, o muera, o viua, almenos
 No dexeys de mirarme ojos serenos.

Al reboluer de vuestra luz serena
 Se alegran monte y valle, llano y cumbre,
 La triste noche de tinieblas llena,
 Halla su dia en vuestra clara lumbre,
 Soys ojos, vida y muerte, gloria y pena,
 El bien es natural, el mal costumbre,
 No mas ojos, no mas, que es agraviaros,
 Sola el alma os alabe con amaros.

Ed. 1613; fol. 44.

SONNET.

Divino rostro, en quien està sellado
 el postrer punto del primor del suelo,
 pues de aquel, en quien tanto puso el cielo,
 tanto el pincel humano ha trasladado.
 Rostro divino, fuiste retratado
 del que Natura fabricò de yelo,
 o del que amor passando el mortal velo,
 con vivo fuego, en mi dejò estampado.
 Divino rostro, el alma que encendiste
 i los ojos que elaste en tu figura,
 por ti responden, i por ellos creo.
 Rostro divino, que de entrambos fuiste
 Sacado, en condicion, i en hermosura
 pues tiemblo, i ardo, el punto que te veo.

SONG OF ALFEO.

Sale de oriente con ligero passo
 Febo, vistiendo el cielo de alegria,
 comunicando al mundo su grandeza :
 Mas apenas le alberga el frio Ocaso,
 quando se ve una sombra, und tristeza
 de negra noche temerosa y fria :
 Deste arte el alma mia
 del Sol de hermosura,
 gozo la luz mas pura
 que se puede mirar con vista humana,
 i desta arte es ya noche su mañana,

i desta arte en su ausencia
es de tiniebla, i muerte la sentencia.

La verde hierba que el arroyo baña
la tierra, el aire, el Sol, la favorecen,
mas si le falta el agua, assi se muda,
Que el viento fresco la inficiona, i daña,
què mala el Sol, la tierra no le ayuda,
i su verdor, i su virtud fenecen.

Desta suerte parecen
gracia, salud, y vida,
estando despedida
De tu presencia el alma que te adora,
porque sin este solo bien, Señora,
qualquiera que se ofrezca,
es mal, i daño, con que mas padezca.

Pp. 76-77.

SIRALVO'S SONG.

Fílida, tus Ojos bellos
el que se atreve a mirallos
mui mas facil que alaballos,
le será morir por ellos.
Ante ellos calla el primor,
rindese la fortaleza,
porque mata su belleza
i ciega su resplandor.

Son ojos verdes rasgados
en el revolver suaves,
apacibles sobre graves,
mañosos, i descuidados.
Con ira o con mansedumbre,
de suerte alegran el suelo,
que fijados en el cielo,
no diera el Sol tanta lumbre.

Amor, que suele ocupar
todo quanto el mundo encierra
Señoreando la tierra,
tiranizando la mar,
para llevar mas despojos,
sin tener contradicion,
hizo su casa, i prision
en esos hermosos ojos.

Alli canta, i dice: Yo
ciego fui, que no lo niego;
pero venturoso Ciego,

que tales Ojos hallò,
que aunque es vuestra la victoria,
en darosla fui tan diestro,
que siendo cautivo vuestro,
sois mis Ojos, i mi gloria.

El tiempo que me juzgavan
por ciego, quiselo ser,
porque no era razon vèr,
si estos Ojos me faltavan,
serà ahora con hallaros,
Esta Lei establecida,
que no pàgue con la vida,
quien se atreviere a miraros.

Pp. 286-7.

THE "GALATEA" OF CERVANTES.

Three years afterward, in 1585, Cervantes published his 'Galatea,'⁷⁴ a pastoral romance in six books, and like so many of these works, this also was left unfinished, a fact which we need not regret, to judge by this very long fragment. It was the first work that Cervantes published, though Montalvo had already mentioned him as a poet three years before. It is, however, one of the poorest of all Cervantes' works, and gives little promise of his becoming the greatest name in Spanish literature. He was now nearly thirty-eight years old, and one might fairly say, had passed his *edad juvenil*, which could no longer be an excuse for the extravagances of his work. Many of the descriptions in the 'Galatea' are certainly natural and graceful, and there are situations which are very skilfully managed, yet its general style is diffuse and rambling; many of the pictures are greatly over-drawn; there is a continual tendency to exaggeration, and his erudite shepherds and shepherdesses delight in philosophical discussions, and use the most polite and high-sounding phrases, often with an effect that is truly ridiculous. There seems to be no attempt at plot or connected narrative, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the reader keeps track of the various characters; a great number of shepherds and shepherdesses are brought successively upon the scene, and the maze of incidents is almost inextricable. Scattered through the book is a great deal of poetry,—some is very good, but much of it is unworthy of Cervantes; his sonnets will not bear comparison with those of Montemayor; they are lacking in grace and finish and are not redeemed by any strikingly beautiful thoughts. And though Cervantes seems always to have cherished for the 'Galatea' a singular affection, no one was surely better aware of its excessive sentimentality and unnaturalness than himself. Nearly thirty years later, in his 'Colloquy of the Dogs' he speaks as follows of these pastorals:

⁷⁴ The "*Aprobacion*" is dated Feb. 10th, 1584, but Salvá y Mallén has shown that the 'Galatea' was first published at Alcalá, the birthplace of Cervantes, in 1585, and not at Madrid in 1584, as had been supposed. Cervantes was born "in the early days of October, 1547."

“ In the silence and solitude of my siestas, it occurred to me among other things that there could be no truth in what I had heard tell of the life of Shepherds—of those, at least about whom my master’s lady used to read, when I went to her house, in certain books all treating of shepherds and shepherdesses; and telling how they passed their whole life in singing and playing on pipes, reeds, rebecks, and other strange instruments. I heard her read how the shepherd Anfriso sang divinely in praise of the peerless Belisarda, and that there was not a tree on all the mountains of Arcadia upon whose trunk he had not sat and sung from the moment Sol quitted the arms of Aurora, till he threw himself into those of Thetis, and that even after black night had spread its sable wings over the face of the earth, he did not cease his well sung and better wept complaints. Nor did I forget the shepherd Elicio, more enamoured than bold, of whom it was said, that without attending to his own love or his flock, he entered into others griefs; nor the great shepherd of Fílida, unique painter of a portrait, and who had been more faithful than happy; nor the anguish of Sireno and the remorse of Diana and how she thanked God and the wise Felicia, who, with her enchanted water, undid the maze of entanglement and difficulties. I used to remember many other books of this same kind, but they were not worthy of being remembered. All these things enabled me to see the more clearly the difference between the habits and occupations of my masters and the rest of the shepherds in that quarter, and those shepherds of whom I had heard read in the books. If mine sung, it was no tuneful and finely composed strains, but very rude and vulgar songs, to the accompaniment, not of pipes and rebecks, but to the knocking of one crook against another, or of bits of tile jingled between the fingers and sung with voices not melodious and tender, but so coarse and out of tune, that whether singly or in chorus they seemed to be howling or grunting. They passed the greater part of the day in hunting up their fleas or mending their brogues; and not one of them was named Amarillis, Fílida, Galatea, or Diana; nor were there any Lisardos, Lausos, Jacintos, or Riselos; but all were Antones, Domingos, Pablos, or Llorentes. And from this I concluded what I think all must believe, that all those books [about pastoral life] are only fictions ingeniously written for the amusement of the idle, and that there is not a word of truth in them, for, were it otherwise, there would have remained among my shepherds some trace of that happy life of yore, with its pleasant meads, spacious groves, sacred mountains, beautiful gardens, clear streams and crystal fountains; the tender terms as decorous as they were ardently spoken, with here the shepherd, there the shepherdess all woe-begone, and the air made vocal everywhere with flutes and pipes and flageolets.”

See also ‘Don Quixote,’ Part 1, ch. vi, and Part 2, ch. lxxvii.

In accordance with the custom of the time, Cervantes introduces a number of poets as shepherds, he himself appearing as Elicio;⁷⁵ Galatea being a young lady of Esquivias who soon afterward became his wife. The 'Galatea' has always been considered as an offering to this lady, and having accomplished the purpose for which it was written, it was never concluded. Cervantes however, often recurs to the work in later years, and there may be concealed beneath its pastoral allusions a meaning and significance which the second part might have revealed, and the 'Galatea' "thus have won the full measure of grace that is now denied it." As late as 1615, one year before his death, he says in the preface to the second part of 'Don Quixote': "thou mayest expect the *Persiles* which I am now finishing, and also the second part of *Galatea*." The 'Persiles' he finished, writing with the last strokes of his pen, the graceful and grateful dedication to the count of Lemos, four days before his death, which happened at the age of sixty-eight, on the twenty-third of April, 1616. The 'Galatea' is a dull book: the only episode of any interest is the recital of Timbrio's adventures. The story in brief is as follows:

Timbrio, being challenged to a duel by another knight, sets out for Naples. Silerio, his friend, being detained by sickness, follows after some days, and being left on the coast of Catalonia, by the Galley in which he sailed, perceives, on the next morning, a crowd following a man who is being led to execution. It is Timbrio, who had been captured during a descent made upon a robber band by which he had been way-laid and held. Silerio rescues him, and both finally escape to Naples, where the duel is to be fought. Here Timbrio falls in love with Nisida: Silerio, his friend, disguised as a buffoon is received into Nisida's house, where he pleads the cause of Timbrio, at the same time also falling in love with Nisida, while Blanca, her sister, becomes enamoured of him. Nisida returns the affection of Timbrio; all now proceed to the duelling ground, Nisida's parents going also, accompanied by Blanca. Nisida, however, had remained behind some distance and had arranged with Silerio to give her a signal from afar, so that she might know whether Timbrio were safe.

⁷⁵ Navarrete says:

"Under the names of Tirsi, Damon, Siralvo, Lauso, Larsileo and Artidoro, he (Cervantes) introduced into this *fabula* Francisco de Figueroa, Pedro Lainez, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Luis Galvez de Montalvo, Luis Barahona de Soto, Don Alonzo de Ercilla and Micer Andres Rey de Artieda; all friends of his, and very celebrated poets of that time."

'Vida de Cervantes,' p. 66.

One can hardly believe that any of these poets considered this a very great compliment, for many of them cut sorry figures; especially, however, must that poet have been flattered who is represented by Artidoro, and who appears upon the scene with a rope about his neck, and knife unsheathed, kneeling before a scornful shepherdess and holding on to the folds of her gown.

Book iv.

After the duel, Silerio appears, but neglects to wear the sign,—Nisida falls in a swoon; all believe her dead, Timbrio departs for Spain, and Silerio returns to become a hermit, while the two sisters wander forth afterward to seek Timbrio. Timbrio's vessel, however, is obliged by a violent storm, to return to Gaeta, departing again a few days afterward. One day while Timbrio is singing on the vessel, Nisida suddenly appears beside him, accompanied by Blanca. She relates how, accompanied by an attendant, and in pilgrim's attire, they went to Gaeta, and embarked on the vessel, after its return from the storm, intending to seek Timbrio at Xeres. Shortly afterward some Turkish galleys are seen in the distance, which greatly increase in numbers and attack Timbrio's vessel. A desperate fight ensues, which lasts for sixteen hours, when Timbrio's vessel is finally captured by the corsairs, who are lead by the Arnaut Mami. They are all taken aboard a Turkish galley, subjected to the most cruel treatment, and are ready to give up all hope, when a terrible storm suddenly arises, which is so violent that it scatters the Turkish vessels, sinking many of them and driving the Arnaut's galley toward the Catalonian coast. As the storm increases in fury, the Turkish leader requests the christians to invoke their saints and Saviour to shield them from destruction. Their prayers are not in vain, for the storm abates, but the next morning they find themselves so close to the coast of Catalonia that escape is impossible and they decide to land, for "love of life made slavery appear sweet to the Turks," who are promptly murdered by the Catalonians. This takes place on the very spot where a short time previously, Silverio had saved Timbrio's life.

It would be hard to find a more improbable story than this, or one more poorly invented. In the sixth book, the shepherds assemble in a beautiful valley to celebrate the funeral rites of Meliso. While sitting around Meliso's tomb eating refreshments, a brilliant light suddenly appears and out of it rises a beautiful Nymph, who addresses the shepherds, and declares herself to be Calliope, the Goddess of Song. Accompanied by a harp, she recites a long poem in praise of the Spanish poets. Telesio, the high priest, now discourses upon the immortality of the soul, after which they have riddles and conundrums. Of Elicio and his love for Galatea, we learn very little: the work concludes with the shepherds proceeding to remonstrate with Aurelio, the father of Galatea, for presuming to marry his daughter to a shepherd who is not of their number.

It is quite safe to say, that had Cervantes never written his 'Don Quixote,' the 'Galatea' would not have survived till this late day. The appended poems fairly represent the verse of the Galatea.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The *Carta* of Timbrio to Nisida in Book iii, bears, at the beginning, a striking resemblance to the letter to Cardenia in Book ii of the 'Diana' of Perez.

LISANDRO'S SONG.

O alma venturosa
 Que del humano velo
 Libre al alta region viva volaste,
 Dexando en tenebrosa
 Carcel de desconsuelo
 Mi vida, aunque contigo la llevaste!
 Sin tí, escura dexaste
 La luz clara del dia,
 Por tierra derribada
 La esperanza fundada
 En el mas firme asiento de alegria:
 En fin con tu partida
 Quedó vivo el dolor, muerta la vida.

 Envuelto en tus despojos
 La muerte se ha llevado
 El mas subido extremo de belleza,
 La luz de aquellos ojos
 Que en haberte mirado
 Tenian encerrada su riqueza:
 Con presta ligereza
 Del alto pensamiento,
 Y enamorado pecho
 La gloria se ha deshecho,
 Como la cera al sol ó niebla al viento;
 Y toda mi ventura
 Cierra la piedra de tu sepultura.

 El llanto sempiterno
 Mi ánima mezquina
 Los años pasará, meses y dias:
 La tuya en gozo eterno,
 Y edad firme y continua
 No temera del tiempo las porfias:
 Con dulces alegrías
 Verás firme la gloria
 Que tu loable vida
 Te tuvo merecida;
 Y si puede caber en tu memoria
 Del suelo no perderla,
 De quien tanto te amó debes tenerla
 Goza en el santo coro

Galatea: Salud te envia aquel que no la tiene,
 Nisida, ni la espera en tiempo alguno,
 Si por tus manos mismas no le viene.

Diana: Salud te embia el que para si, ni la tiene, ni la quiere, si ya de tu sola no
 le viniesse, etc.

Con otras almas santas,
 Alma, de aquel seguro bien eterno,
 Alto, rico tesoro,
 Mercedes, gracias tantas,
 Que goza el que no huye el buen sendero :
 Allí gozar espero,
 Si por tus pasos guio,
 Contigo en paz entera
 De eterna primavera
 Sin temor, sobresalto, ni desvio ;
 A esto me encamina
 Pues será hazaña de tus obras dina.

ERASTRO'S SONG.—Book ii.

Vea yo los ojos bellos
 Deste sol que estoy mirando,
 Y si se van apartando,
 Vayase el alma tras ellos :
 Sin ellos no hay claridad,
 Ni mi alma no la espere,
 Que ausente dellos no quiere
 Luz, salud, ni libertad.

Mire quien puede estos ojos,
 Que no es posible alaballo,
 Mas ha de dar por mirallos
 De la vida los despojos :
 Yo los veo y yo los ví,
 Y cada vez que los veo
 Les doy un nuevo deseo
 Tras el alma que les dí.

Aunque durase este dia
 Mil siglos como deseo
 A mí, que tanto bien veo,
 Un punto me parecia :
 No hace el tiempo ligero
 Curso en alterar mi edad,
 Mientras miro la beldad
 De la vida por quien muero.

En esta vista reposa
 Mi alma y halla sosiego
 Y vive en el vivo fuego
 De su luz pura y hermosa :
 Y hace amor tan alta prueba
 Con ella, que en esta llama
 A dulce vida la llama
 Y qual fenix la renueva.

Salgo con mi pensamiento
Buscando mi dulce gloria,
Y al fin hallo en mi memoria
Encerrado mi contento:
Alli está, y alli se encierra
No en mandos, no en poderios,
No en pompas, no en señorios,
Ni en riquezas de la tierra.

"THE ENLIGHTENMENT OF JEALOUSY,"

BY LOPEZ DE ENCISO.

In the following year (1586) appeared a romance entitled: 'The Enlightenment of Jealousy.'⁷⁷ Of its author—Bartholomé Lopez de Enciso, we know nothing, except that he was a native of Tendilla, a small town in the province of Guadalajara.⁷⁸ In his "Epistola al Lector" he says that having observed the disastrous effects of jealousy, he has endeavoured to ascertain "whether in any way this confessed evil might not be rooted out and banished from the breasts of those who have cherished it. And among the many things that my fancy proposed to me, I chose as best for my purpose, to write of the disastrous results that have been produced by jealousy, and, likewise, to show the infinite advantages that result from its absence."

The author feared, inasmuch as his work consisted 'merely of admonitions and counsels,' that 'in view of the debased taste of these times' his work would not receive the attention that was its due. He, therefore, clothed it in a pastoral style "to render it agreeable to all readers, never swerving, however, one iota from my main purpose, which is to expose the vanity and absurdity of jealousy." He continues:

"Having written this first part, I had determined to use it only for my own contemplation, and that it should remain hidden, . . . but communicating it to some of my friends, they were of the opinion that I should publish it. And not only this, but so much did they persuade me that I was obliged to yield to their pleasure and their prayers."

⁷⁷ *Desengaño de Celos*. Compuesto por Bartholomé Lopez de Enciso, natural de Tendilla. Dirigido al Ilustrissimo Señor Don Luys Enríquez, Conde de Melgar. Con Privilegio. Impreso en Madrid en casa de Francisco Sanchez, Año 1586, 321 leaves, small 8vo. In a MS. note Ticknor says "This is one of the rarest books in Spanish Literature." See also 'Don Quixote' ed.

I have also used a copy in the Göttingen University Library, which contains some very rare old Spanish books. The translation of the title given above is not an accurate one:

"Der Titel bedeutet so wohl die Widerwärtigkeiten welche die Eifersucht mit sich bringt, als die Erkenntnis der Thorheiten die sie uns begehen lässt."

Braunfels' translation of 'Don Quixote,' Vol. i, p. 89, note.

⁷⁸ Nic. Antonio merely says of Enciso: *Tendillensis, scripsit adversus zelotypiae furor-em hoc titulo*: *Desengaño de Zelos*, 1586.

Besides, he says, it had been seen and read by "*cierta persona*" "whom he could not fail to obey" and by whom he was commanded to publish it. He calls it the work of a young man and the first upon which he has labored, and begs that it may be received as such and that its errors may be pardoned. This, he concludes, would give him courage to publish the second part. Surely this was frank enough and modest enough yet his readers seem to have considered his errors unpardonable, for he never had an opportunity to publish the second part.

In this romance the scene is again laid upon 'the lovely banks of the golden Tagus,' along which 'the pitiful shepherd Laureno' pursues his way, 'having left on his right hand his beloved village.' Suddenly he hears voices as of men quarreling and presently sees two shepherds with drawn knives about to rush upon one another, when suddenly from a clump of trees a beautiful shepherdess appears and pacifies the bellicose shepherds, saying; "as you are both unbeloved (*desamado*) of the shepherdess Clarina, there is no reason why you should be jealous of one another. Then, "desiring to reconcile them, she took them both by the hand and sat down with them close by a sweet spring, which was there." This being seen by the lorn Laureno, "together with what he had seen and heard of the shepherds, brought upon him the most terrible despair: knowing jealousy only without ever having been loved, it had driven him to such a point, that recalling the happy time in which he enjoyed the most pleasant life that one can imagine, and seeing himself not only deprived of that happiness, but exiled from his native land, and so filled with grief without any hope of remedy; with an anguish which seemed to rend his soul; uttering loud cries and heaving passionate sighs, he let himself fall upon the earth, deprived of all senses." Here he lay "uttering such cries, and making such sad echoes, that the two shepherds with the charming shepherdess, hearing his sighs, had arisen to see what it was." They found him "writhing on the ground with clenched fists, and gritting his teeth in such a manner that they became afraid." Recovering from their fear, "they endeavoured to restore him to his senses, but seeing that these efforts were in vain, one of the shepherds returned to the fountain and bringing some water in a cup, dashed it into his face." Seeing that he is about to recover, they withdraw amongst the trees where they can observe his actions. They see him take a letter from his scrip "and with violent rage, he tears it to pieces, then drawing forth a rebeck⁷⁹ that was out of tune and attuning it in harmony with his sighs, making a very direful and lamentable sound, he began with the sadness with which the hoarse swan is wont to sing in his last moments to recite these verses." After finishing his song, he throws away his rebeck "lest the memory of it should increase his grief, although it is already so great, that it allows of no increase." Then "he draws forth from his scrip a yellow spoon, beautifully carved and made of smooth box-wood, and throwing it far from him" says: "thou spoon, with which that mouth, as beautiful as it is false was wont to eat, no longer shalt thou be in my company," etc.

⁷⁹ Rebeck, in Spanish *rabel*, a small three-stringed lute of Moorish origin.

Surely absurdity has reached its very verge in such stuff as this. And so this history continues its weary course through six books. On fol. ninety-six Rosano, a shepherd, relates the story "of the unhappy fate of the Lusitanian prince."⁸⁰

In book iv the shepherds speak of Polyphemus, of Herakles and Dejanira, of Medea and Dido, and otherwise show a knowledge of ancient lore, while in Book v, as in nearly every one of these romances that followed the 'Diana,' the shepherds are conducted by a nymph to the temple of Diana, where they see the statues of Charles V, Philip II, Don John of Austria and Philip III, "*hijo del segundo, y sin ygual monarca, nieto del famoso Carlos emperador,*" etc. It is one of the dullest books imaginable,⁸¹ written in a cumbrous and diffuse style, the monotony of which is only relieved, now and then, by some absurdity. Of the verse scattered through the book, and which is much better than the prose, a few specimens follow:

LAURENIO'S SONG.

Del resplandor del Sol, y las estrellas
de la veldad mayor que tiene el cielo
un retrato purissimo en el suelo
mostrandonos esta mil gracias bellas
quien quiera ver cifrada del altura
la hermosura
en un humano
y souerano
rostro, y talle
no a bus calle
al cielo suba, vengase a este prado
do todo lo vera muy acauado.

Quien pretendiese ver la perficion
y donde remato naturaleza
el extremo mas alto de belleza,
donayre, gracia, brio y discrecion
y quien de grauedad, y de valor,
desea el primor

⁸⁰ Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, who died in captivity at Fez, in 1443, and upon whose tragic fate Calderon has founded one of his best *Comedias*: 'El Principe Constante.'

⁸¹ The curate in 'Don Quixote' certainly shows it no mercy. See Bk. 1, ch. vi. Whether our author wrote the play, "El casamiento con zelos y rei D. Pedro de Aragon," there seems to be some doubt. Barrera (Catalogo, p. 131) thinks he may have written it. Salvá y Mallen, however, in his Catalogue (Vol. i, p. 409) under "Parte treinta y tres de Comedias nuevas," etc. (Madrid, 1670, 4to) in which the play first appeared,—spells the author's name Anciso, "and not Enciso, as Barrera says."

ver con los ojos ;
 dando en despojos
 por vista tal
 lo mas ynmortal
 no canse en otras partes, à este fuente
 venga do lo vera mas excelente.

Vera aqui en el ynbierno riguroso,
 convierte en agradable primavera
 y quien subgeta y rinde à toda fiera,
 con solo un mirar de ojos amoroso,
 vera quien del calor del seco Estio,
 un grato frio
 su vista ofrece
 y reberdece
 las florecillas
 que ya amarillas
 estan del rojo Sol con ser tocadas.
 de sus hermosas plantas delicadas.

Folio 66.

SONNET.

Hermosa y dulce fuente, verde prado
 floridos campos, arboles sombríos,
 a donde solia yo los males míos,
 cantar en vuestros troncos recostado.
 Si con lagrimas hize en lo passado,
 crecer las aguas destes claros ríos,
 escuchad de mi muerte los desvíos,
 y en bien a que mi suerte me ha llegdo.
 Oyres de amor hazañas nunca oydas,
 de fortuna grandissimas mudanças
 y de un pastor el hado venturoso.
 Pues quien puede quitar oy cien mil vidas,
 gusta de darme firmes esperanças
 que me ha de ver muy presto aqui gozoso.

Folio 79.

“And now the doleful Fenisa, playing upon a delicate though
 husky bagpipe, with more sadness than the widowed turtle-dove,
sacando la deuil voz del triste pecho, sang the following” :

Hermoso ameno y agradable valle
 eras en todo tiempo al alma mia
 quando mi dulce Flamio en ti vivia,
 dandote el ser que el solo podia dalle.
 Mas ya no ay gusto en ti y querer buscallo
 mayor lo cura y torpedad seria

que pedir vivo fuego al agua fria,
 O que el bulgo querer hacer en calle.
 Para todos produces vellas flores
 a todos tu sombrío da contento,
 Y tu yerua sustento a los ganados.
 Renuebanse en mirarte los amores,
 Suspendes a los tristes el tormento
 Ya mi sola me doblas los cuydados

 O fiera muerte que mi bien llebaste
 insana, mira ya que conseguiste,
 pues por tu causa a todo queda triste,
 despues que el cielo al suelo le quitaste.
 Si solo un cuerpo piensas que privaste,
 de vida con el golpe que heziste,
 engañaste que a dos la muerte diste,
 ya todo el orbe sin el sol dexaste.
 Terrible nuncio de mi dura muerte,
 no pretendas jamas mi compañía,
 que muero aunque es de viva mi divisa.
 Al punto feneci que mal tan fuerte
 supe pues de contino residia,
 en la de Flamio el alma de Fenisa.

Fol. 242-243.

The next two pastoral romances to make their appearance,—both contained in the famous library of 'Don Quixote' are⁸² the 'Nymphs and Shepherds of the Henares' by Bernardo González de Bobadilla, published in 1587 at Alcalá de Henares, and the 'Shepherds of Iberia' by Bernardo de la Vega, printed at Seville in 1591. I have never seen either of these books.^{82b} Cervantes, however, mentions the latter in his 'Viage al Parnaso,'⁸³ and judging from his words, and the summary manner in which the curate in 'Don Quixote' deals with both works, they must have had very little merit.

82 Has alçado al cielo la fortuna
 De muchos que en el centro del olvido
 (Sin ver la luz del Sol ni de la luna,)
 Yazian ni llamado ni escogido,
 Fue el gran Pastor de Yberia, el gran Bernardo
 Que de la Vega tiene el apellido.
 Fuiste embidioso, descuydado y tardo,
 Y a las ninfas de Henares y pastores
 Como a enemigos les tiraste un dardo,
 Y tienes tu Poetas tan peores
 Que estos en tu rebaño, que imagino
 Que han de sudar si quieren ser mejores.

In chap. iv, p. 38, edition of 1614 (Madrid).

82b Since writing the above, I have had an opportunity to examine a copy of 'The Nymphs of Henares' in the British Museum. See appendix.

83 Cf. *Ibid.*, i, 9.

THE "ARCADIA" OF LOPE DE VEGA.

In 1598 Lope de Vega published his 'Arcadia.'⁸⁴ Both Ticknor⁸⁵ and Schack⁸⁶ say that it was written for Lope's patron, Don Antonio de Toledo, Duke of Alba, and grandson of the great Duke of that name. This statement is evidently made upon the authority of Montalvan, who says that Lope entered the service of the Duke of Alba shortly after his return from the University of Alcalá: that the Duke not only made Lope his secretary, but also his favorite (*su valido*), a favor which Lope repaid by writing at the Duke's direction "la ingeniosa *Arcadia*," etc. Ticknor also states that the 'Arcadia' was written "immediately after the publication of the 'Galatea' of Cervantes in 1584." Barrera discredits the statement of Montalvan and gives his reasons for so doing, adding: "todos los indicios parecen demostrar que su composición debió de ser poco anterior al año de 1598, en que se imprimió por primera vez."⁸⁷ The 'Arcadia,' moreover, contains references to events subsequent to 1584. This had already been observed by Schack, and attention is again called to this fact by Barrera.⁸⁸

Lope left the service of the Duke of Alba in 1596(?) and became secretary of the Marqués de Malpica, and finally, in 1598, at the age of thirty-six, became secretary of the Marqués de Sarria, afterwards Count of Lemos.⁸⁹ That the 'Arcadia' was written while Lope was still in the service of the Duke of Alba is proved by Lope's own words in his "Eclogue to Claudio":

⁸⁴ 'Arcadia, Prosas, y Versos de Lope de Vega Carpio, Secretario del Marqués de Sarria. Con una exposicion de los nombres Historicos y poéticos. A Don Pedro Tellez Giron, Duque de Osuna,' etc. Con Privilegio, en Madrid por Luis Sanchez. Año 1598. A copy of this first edition, which is unknown to Salvá and to Gallardo,—and which is so rare that Barrera says he had never seen but one copy, and that was without title-page,—is in the Ticknor Library.

⁸⁵ 'History of Spanish Literature.' Boston, 1888, Vol. ii, p. 185.

⁸⁶ 'Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien.' Frankfurt a. M., 1854. Vol. ii, p. 166.

⁸⁷ Barrera y Leirado. 'Nueva Biografía. Obras de Lope de Vega.' Madrid, 1890. Tom. i, p. 42. note.

⁸⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁸⁹ Barrera, *Ibid.*, p. 69.

"Sirviendo al generoso Duque Albano
Escribí del *Arcadia* los pastores."

Barrera fixes the date of the composition of the 'Arcadia' between 1592 and 1596:⁹⁰ the first date being determined by a supposed reference, in the 'Arcadia,' to the death of Lope's first wife, Doña Isabel de Urbina, which took place at Alba de Tormes, one of the residences of the duke of Alba, in 1592. In the *Prologo* Lope tells us that his Shepherds "are not so rude that they may not, at times, rise from shepherds to courtiers, and from rustics to philosophers." He says, elsewhere,⁹¹ that the 'Arcadia' is a true story, and in answer to some objections that had been made when it was first published, four years before, he says, "if, by chance, some matters are obscure, those who are ignorant, speak ill of my book, because they would like to have it entirely filled with tales and novels, a thing unworthy of men of letters, since it is not right (*justo*) that their books should go amongst mechanics and *ignorantes*, which, though it is not to instruct, is not to be written for those who cannot learn." And if any doubt yet existed, as to the immediate influence of Sannazaro's 'Arcadia' upon this kind of fiction, it would be dispelled by this epistle to D. Juan de Arguijo; for Lope here discusses the work of the Italian, quoting a passage from it, and commenting upon its style:

The scene of the 'Arcadia' is laid "entre los dulces aguas del caudaloso Erimanto, y el Ladon fertil (famosos, y claros rios de la pastoral Arcadia: la mas intima region del Peloponesso.) allí estava el blanco Narciso listado de oro, y oloroso testigo de la filautia, y amor proprio de aquel mancebo que engaño la fuente: y la rosa encarnada que restituyo á Apuleyo en su primera forma, nacida de la sangre de los pies de Venus, quando corriendo por las espigas, fue a socorrer a Adonis; y la flor en que por ella fue transformado, no menos olorosa que su madre Mirra: y el lino en que se combirtio su esposso de Hipermestra, tan semejante a los que aman por sus infinitos martirios; y tan florido y verde, que parecia que despreciava el lino Indiano, que tanto admirò los antiguos, viendole resistir al fuego; la açuzena que tomó la Aurora del blanco seno de la ninfa Clorida: y la flor, que fue engendrada de las lagrimas de la Troyana

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 66.

⁹¹ In the epistle to Don Juan de Arguijo, prefixed to the "Segunda parte de las Rimas de Lope de Vega." The volume which I possess, contains "La Hermosura de Angélica," the "Rimas," and the "Dragontea," and was printed at Madrid, 'en casa de P. Madrigal, 1602.' It is the first edition of the 'Angélica.' In the 'Arcadia,' Lope, "al gusto de aquellos tiempos, cantó ciertos amores de su señor el Duque de Alba, y algunos de sus propios sucesos"; the shepherd Anfriso being supposed to represent the young Duke of Alba D. Antonio.

Helena, tan favorable a la hermosura de las mugeres," etc. And again: "Por la una parte las juncosas margenes, un pequeño brazo del Orimanto fertilizauan: y por la otra unos arroyos puros, que de una sierra baxauan de los elados vientos del invierno, las espaldas le defendian. Esta eterna habitacion de Faunos, y Amadridas, era tan celebrada de enamorados pensamientos, que apenas en toda la espesura, se hallara tronco sin mote escrito, en el liso papel de su corteza tierna, porque ni el rio corrio jamas sin amorosas lagrimas, ni respondió la parlera Eco, menos que a tristes quejas: porque hasta los dulces cantos de las libres aves repetian enternecidos sentimientos y las indomables fieras, con mal formados bramidas enamorados lastimas, etc.

Page 18 (the copy, from which I quote, is dated Antwerp, 1605).

The heroine is Belisarda, "as unhappy as she is beautiful," who loved Anfriso *castamente*. In a dream she sees "her beloved Anfri-so in the arms of another shepherdess, who called him husband"; and now sings the following song:

O burlas de amor ingrato,
que todas soys de una suerte,
sueño imagen de la muerte,
y de la vida retrato.
Que importa que se desvelen
los interiores sentidos,
si los dé afuera dormidos
sufrir sus engaños suelen.
yo vi sin ojos mi dueño
en agena voluntad:
que pudiera la verdad
si pudo matarne el Sueño?
Donde dormir presumí,
descansè para mi daño,
que el sueño de amor engaño,
me ha desengañado à mi.
Amorosas fantasias
sueñan alegres historias,
yo sola en agenas glorias
contemplo desdichas mias.
Porque con ser mis contentos
sueño ligero y fingido:
aun en sueños no he tenido
fingidos contentamientos.
O triste i naginacion
para el mal siempre despierta
quien dira, viendo os tan cierta
que los sueños sueños son?
Que si no son desvarios
ver a Anfriso en otros brazos
antes de tales abraços
se bueluen laurel los mios, etc.

Anfriso, coming through the trees, approaches Belisarda, whom he addresses in the most extravagant language, after which he makes the following vow: "The Sun shall first set in the East and rise in the West, the snows of the Alps be united in peace with the flames of Aetna, or the dangers of Scylla and the Ausonian sea be joined to the shore of Sicily, ere I shall cease to be thine." P. 29. *Aquí, con un abraço honesto, ligava Belisarda el venturoso cuello del enterrecido Anfriso, when they hear Leriano and Galafron singing:*

A quien yela el desden, y el amor arde
que sufra ingratitud a su despecho,
por mas que en mi enemiga me acouarde,
de piedra el coraçon, de nieue el pecho:
y que en el alma sus agravios guarde,
reducidos al punto mas estrecho,
por qué tarde, o temprano siempre alcança
un largo amor, justissima vengança.

Un largo amor justissima vengança
pide à los cielos de un ingrato olvido,
que ni tiene así mismo semejança
ni se parece a quanto es oy, ni ha sido:
Todo animal que algun sentido alcança,
su deuda paga a amor de aquel sentido,
quien no conoce a amor, ni vee, ni siente
llamase piedra y huya de la gente.

While these two shepherds, both enamoured of Belisarda, "and of unequal age, though equally abhorred" are singing, Anfriso and Belisarda drive their flocks elsewhere. Presently they hear Isabella, who appears with Leonisa, singing "both of them intimate friends of Belisarda" and with them Alcino and Menalca. The shepherd Olimpio appears singing the following sonnet in Lope's true style:

No queda mas lustroso y cristalino
Por altas sierras el arroyo elado
Ni està mas negro el euano labrado
Ni mas azul la flor del verde lino,
Mas rubio el oro que de Oriente vino,
Ni mas puro, lasciuo y regalado,
Espira olor el ambar estimado,
Ni està en la concha el carmesi mas fino
Que frente, cejas, ojos y cabellos,
Aliento y boca de mi ninfa bella,
Angelica figura en vista humana,
Que puesto que ella se parece à ellos
Biuos estan allí, muertos sin ella
Cristal, euano, lino, oro, ambar, grana.

Menalca now relates a story, in the course of which these shepherdesses speak of Messalina and Semiramis, Nero, Octavian, Seneca and Vergil. Suddenly a band of shepherds appears, including Celio,

Tirsi, Amarilis, Danteo,—the latter carves effigies of the shepherdesses upon the ends of their crooks,—and also, *el ingenioso Benalcio*, *sabio Matematico* ‘and considered an oracle in these mountains’ as well as Celso, who wrote epigrams and hung them on the trees, *a honor de las Musas*: he afterwards sings about four hundred lines for the gratification of the company—the last four being:

Porque me dicen pastores
Con experiencia de agravios
Que sera la muerte sola
El medico de mis daños.

The first book concludes with the song of Benalcio, the wise mathematician. We are now introduced to Sylvio, “one of the most valiant shepherds of all Arcadia, feared not only by men, but by the wild boars, bears and lions.” Through the treachery of Galafron, Anfriso is banished, going to the valley of “the famous Liseo.” He bids farewell to his fathers “pensive, melancholy and sad,” singing this sonnet:

Excelsas torres y famosos muros
Cerca antigua, lustrosos chapiteles,
Ocultos sotos, que jamas pinzeles,
Supieron retratar vuestros escuros.
Liquidas aguas, y cristales puros,
Dignos de Zeusis, y el diuino Apeles,
Hermosas plantas, celebres laureles
De todo tiempo y tempestad seguros.
A Dios prendas que un tiempo de la gloria
(Que pensando no veros se me acorta)
Fuistes, qual sois agora de mis daños,
Biuid, mientras biuiere en mi memoria,
Si ya la Parca en el partir no corta,
El tierno tronco de mis verdes años.

There is a festival in honor of the goddess *Pales*—whose temple is hewn “out of the very bowels of the mountain,” where satyrs, fauns, nymphs, hamadryads, *y otras figuras de semidioses* appear. Leriano sings a song ‘to Jealousy’ beginning:

Nace un terrible animal
En la prouincia sospecha
Mas ligero que una flecha
Y que un veneno mortal.
Al amor tiene por padre
Y es legitimo en rigor
Y con ser su padre amor
Tiene la embidia por madre.

After which Celsio discusses “the various *composturas* introduced into the world by women for the purpose of heightening their beauty or concealing their defects.” By this time they have arrived at a cave containing the tombs of Don Gonzalo de Giron, the Marques de Santa Cruz, and the Duke of Alva, when the astrologer Benalcio, recites a poem at the tomb of each.

The third Book opens with Anfriso in his banishment reciting these beautiful lines :

Amargas horas de los dulces dias,
Que un Tiempo la fortuna, amor y el cielo
Juntos, quisieron que gozasse el alma
Que agora os llora en soledades tristes,
Que me quereis mostrandome memorias
De aquellos años de mi vida alegres?

Los estados mas prosperos y alegres,
Con el ligero curso de los dias,
Que nos suelen dexar sino memorias?
Todo es mudable quanto cubre el cielo,
En todo vengo hallar memorias tristes.
Pena del cuerpo, y confusion del alma . . .

.....
Passe mis años en discursos tristes,
Por la inclemencia del contrario cielo,
Haziendo noches los hermosos dias,
Ciego el entendimiento, luz del alma,
En cuya essencia imagenes alegres
Me representan miseras memorias.

O ausencia, madre inutil de memorias
Que asi condenas los sentidos tristes,
A dessear las que gozava alegres
Quando lo quiso el disponer del cielo,
La vida, el gusto, el corazon, el alma
En el plazer de aquellos breues dias.

La edad es flor, qual sombra son los dias,
Presto se desvanecen sus memorias,
O vida en fin mortal carcel del alma
Que largos muestras los pesares tristes,
Mas bien podia con mudarse el cielo,
Mudar estas fortunas en alegres.

He then draws Belisarda's portrait from his scrip, reading :

Ojos que sin luzes veis
Boca que sin lengua hablais
Como sin alma escuchais?
Y sin sentido entendeis?

Lealdo and Floro arrive from Monte Menalo, saying that Belisarda had gone to Cilena, whither Anfriso goes disguised and meets Belisarda. Again, the shepherds arrive at a cave containing marble statues of heroes and great worthies, which are explained by the sage, always present on such occasions. There is plenty of verse,—a stanza to each of the statues, which include Romulus, Remus, Lycurgus, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Charlemagne, Cleopatra, Semiramis, Zenobia, Bernardo del Carpio, The Cid, Alonzo Perez de

Guzmán, Charles V, Fernan Cortes, the Duke of Alba and others.
A sonnet follows by Belisarda :

De verdes mantos las cortezas cubre
El matizado Abril de aquestas plantas,
De varias flores, y de frutas tantas,
Mayo vistoso la sazon discubre.
Junio que de la tierra nada encubre,
La frente ciña con espigas santas,
Y por las vides con mojadas plantas,
Negros razimos, el desnudo Otubre,
Componese de flores el manzano,
Que puso el labrador en confianza,
Que espere a tiempo fertiles despojos.
Todo lo que sembrò trabajo humano
Rinde su fruto al fin y mi esperanza,
Tras tantos años me produze enojos.

Pp. 131 and 132.

Anfriso, becoming jealous of Olimpio, returns to his home, where he is scarcely recognized, so great is the change in him. He now bestows his affections upon Anarda : afterwards, however, he begins to doubt that Belisarda loves Olimpio. On seeing Anfriso weep one day, Belisarda says : What are you weeping about? yesterday, laughing with Anarda, and to-day weeping with me? What means this feigned fondness? whom dost thou hope to deceive here, who may not know you? Belisarda leaves him, reciting a poem beginning :

Dueño de mis ojos
Mientras tienen lumbre
Pues soy tus despojos
Por gusto y costumbre,
El alma te dexo
Que el cuerpo no es mio
Y mientras me alexo,
Suspiros te embio.
Injustas venganzas
Mataron mis dichas
Fingidas mudanzas
Fueron mis desdichas,
Quien no piensa y mira
Primero que intente
En vano suspira
Tarde se arripiente.
.
Tuya fue la culpa,
Yo tengo la pena
Tardia disculpa.
Para nada es buena.
.

Casada y cansada
 Estoy en un dia
 Amando pagada,
 Quando no soy mia.
 Pero eternamente
 Mi dueno te nombra,
 Que el tirano ausente
 Servira de sombra

 Tan aborrecida
 Estoy de perderte
 Que temo la vida
 Y adoro la muerte.

To which Anfriso replies in the following lines. (*Romance*, *assonante i-o*):

Hermosissima pastora
 Señora de mi aluedrio,
 Reyna de mis pensamientos,
 Esfera de mis sentidos.
 Cielo del alma que os doy,
 Sol que adoro, luz que miro,
 Fenix de quien soy el fuego,
 Dueño de quien soy cautivo,
 Regalo de mi memoria,
 Retrato del parayso,
 Alma de mi entendimiento
 Y entendimiento divino.
 Hermosa señora, Reyna,
 Esfera, cielo, Sol mio,
 Luz, Fenix, dueño, regalo,
 Imagen, alma, y aviso,
 Si os he ofendido,
 Matenme zelos, y en ausencia olvido.
 Embidias me den la muerte
 Vengando a mis enemigos
 Con las armas encubiertas,
 Y voz de amigos fingidos, etc.

P. 389.

Surely language cannot go much beyond this.

In the fifth book, the shepherds are lead by the wise *Polinesta* to an immense temple, "much larger than that of Diana and Apollo" where they see a beautiful maiden teaching youths. She recites dull poems on Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, Astrology, Music, Poetry, etc. Hanging in the halls, they see portraits of the Duke of Sessa, Diego de Mendoza, *el divino* Garcilasso, *el cortesano* Boscan, etc. "And now, it seems to me, said the venerable sage, that you, Anfriso are prepared to go to the sacred temple of enlightenment," etc. (*templo*

del desengaño.) "Let us go, said Anfriso, for there is nothing that I desire so anxiously, for if it were not to leave you suspicious, I believe that I would ask you who you are, for of my *enemiga* (Belisarda), I, already, scarcely remember the name. Frondoso and Polinesta, as was just, laughed at this carelessness" (*descuydo*) etc., Anfriso concluding with the lines:

La verde Primavera
De mis floridos años
Passè cautivo, amor, en tus prisiones:
Y en la cadena fiera,
Cantando mis engaños,
Lloró con mi razon tus sinrazones:
Amargas confusiones,
Del tiempo que has tendido
Ciega mi alma, y loco mi sentido.

The last stanza:

Quede por las cortezas
De aquestos verdes arboles,
Ingrata fiera, con mi fe tu nombre,
Imprima en las durezas
De aquestos blancos marmoles,
Mi exemplo amor, que à todo el mundo assombre,
Y sepase que un hombre,
Tan ciego y tan perdido
Su vida escribe, y llora arrepentido.

A dictionary of Poetical and Historical names, consisting of fifty-eight double column pages with which the work concluded, will give an idea of the learning with which it is crowded.

The 'Arcadia' of Lope, however, despite this ostentation of learning, its great length and its flowery and extravagant language, was very successful. It did not escape the metaphysical discussions with which its predecessors were burdened, nor could it claim much merit on the score of originality and invention, as it followed pretty closely in the beaten track, and when all was hopelessly involved, the *deus ex machina*, the convenient sorceress, was called in, who, by some mysterious means, brought about the desired end. The pastoral tone, however, is almost entirely sacrificed and the story is wanting in truth to nature, a number of episodes are introduced that have no connection with what either precedes or follows, and in at least two instances, for the sole purpose of praising the house of his patron. Its poetry, however, plainly foretells the great master, and contains all the peculiarities of his later manner; the ex-

travagant hyperboles; the peculiar repetition of the thought in another form; the easy and graceful versification,—all are already here.

VALBUENA—"THE AGE OF GOLD."

Ten years afterward, the 'Age of Gold in the forests of Erífile' appeared, being first published at Madrid in 1608.⁹² Its author, Don Bernardo de Valbuena, was Bishop of Porto-Rico, and for an account of his life we are principally indebted to the introduction to the edition published in 1821⁹³ by the Spanish Academy, for which most of the facts were furnished by Valbuena's *Grandeza Mejicana*, a descriptive poem in eight cantos, first published at Mexico in 1604.

Valbuena was born in Valdepeñas, on the 22d of November, 1568. His parents, Don Gregorio Vallaneuva and Doña Luisa de Valbuena, were both descendants of noble families, well-known for having long exercised high offices in that city. Very little is known of his early life, save that, as he himself says, he studied the humanities in one of the colleges of Mexico and gained prizes in three poetical contests,—in one of them, over three hundred (*sic*) competitors,—when only seventeen years old.⁹⁴ He applied himself, however, to serious studies and became a Bachelor of Theology in the University of Mexico, and Doctor in Siguënza,⁹⁵ for which purpose he had returned to

⁹² Siglo de oro en las selvas de Erifile del Dotor Bernardo de Balbuena. En que se describe una agradable y rigurosa imitacion del estilo pastoril de Teocrito, Virgilio, y Sanazaro. Dirigios al Excelentissimo Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, etc. Madrid, 1608. 8vo.

⁹³ Siglo de Oro en las Selvas de Erifile, compuesto por Don Bernardo de Valbuena, Obispo de Puerto-Rico. Edition corregida por la Academia española. Madrid, 1821. 8vo. The references are to this latter edition when not otherwise stated.

⁹⁴ These "justas literarias" were then very common in Spain, and, probably, also in America. In Spain, *justas* were held in 1595, 1608, 1614, and 1620 in which the greatest Spanish poets competed. See the "Justa poetica, y alabanzas justas que hizo Madrid en las fiestas de San Isidro." Sm. 4to, Madrid. My copy has no date upon the title page, but it is given as 1620 in the "Tassa." Upon this occasion Lope de Vega was the judge who distributed the prizes and recited the introductory poem. See also Suárez de Figueroa, 'El Passagero,' Madrid, 1617 (fol. 118), who says that "at such joustings there were more poets than sand upon the sea-shore." Figueroa was a competitor at one of these *fiestas* held at Toledo that very year (1617). See Spanish Tr. of Ticknor, Vol. iii, p. 528. The opinion of Cervantes upon these tournaments is given in 'Don Quixote,' Part ii, ch. xviii. He had gained the first prize at one held at Saragossa in 1595.

⁹⁵ One of the smaller Universities of Spain, the degrees of which were often ridiculed by the Spanish humourists. See 'Don Quixote,' Part i, ch. i.

Spain, but it is not known when. At the age of thirty-nine he was an abbot, and in 1620 was made Bishop of Porto Rico. From documents in the archives of Seville, it is known that he was present at the provincial Council of Santo Domingo in 1622 and 1623. He died on the 11th of October, 1627.⁹⁶

The 'Age of Gold' is divided into twelve 'eclogus,' and forms, in the republication, a volume of two hundred and forty pages, and though its brevity is greatly in its favor, when compared with other works of the same class, it seems never to have enjoyed much success. No edition was published between the first, in 1608, and that of 1821. It was, however, highly praised by some contemporary poets.⁹⁷ The scene is laid in a valley watered by the Guardiana: among the things there most worthy to be celebrated, the author says, one, above all is "the extraordinary beauty of a clear and limpid little fountain which with its sweet waters bathes the better part of a valley, and which is known by the beloved name of Erífle." There is so much sameness in respect to incident, however, in all these works that it would be useless to chronicle the sufferings and vicissitudes of Filis and Galatea, of Delicio and Clarenio, and the various other shepherds and shepherdesses, who were nearly always unfortunate enough to love some one by whom they were not beloved in return. But the book is very much better

⁹⁶ He also published: 'El Bernardo, o la victoria de Roncesvalles,' first ed., Madrid, 1624. I have a reprint in three volumes, dated Madrid, 1808. 12mo.

⁹⁷ Lope de Vega praises Valbuena in his 'Laurel de Apolo,' saying:

Y siempre dulce tu memoria sea
Generoso prelado
Doctísimo Bernardo de Balbuena
Tenias tu el cayado
De Puerto rico, quando el fiero Enrique
Olandes rebelado
Robó tu libreria
Pero tu ingenio no, que no podia
Aunque las fuerzas del olvido aplique.
Que bien cantaste el Español *Bernardo!*
Que bien al *Siglo de Oro!*
Tu fuiste su prelado y su tesoro.
Y tesoro tan rico en Puerto rico
Que nunca Puerto rico fue tan rico.

Edittion of 1630, *Selva Segunda*, fol. 13b.

Likewise, Cervantes, in his 'Viage al Parnaso,' ed. of 1614, chap. iii, p. 12.

Esta es aquel Poeta memorando
Que mostro de su ingenio la agul'za
En las *Selvas de Erífle* contando.

than many that were more esteemed, and if its prose sometimes bears signs of affectation, it is often very graceful and flowing, as the following extracts will show :

“ Todos en torno de la cristalina fuente nos sentamos, gozando las maravillas que en el tendido llano se mostraban ; lo que sobre todo mayor deleite ponía era el agradable ruido con que los altivos álamos, silbando en ellos un delgado viento, sobre nuestras cabezas se movían, cuajados sus tembladores ramos de pintadas avecillas que con sus no aprendidos cantares trabajaban de remedar los nuestros, donde la solitaria tortolilla con tristes arrullos vieras llorar su perdida compañía, ó al amoroso ruiñeñor recontar la no olvidada injuria del fementido Teréo. Aquí el ronco faisán sonaba, allí las suaves calandrias se oían, acullá cantaban los zorzales, las mirlas y las abubillas, y hasta las industriosas abejas á nuestras espaldas con blando susurrar, de una flerecilla en otra iban saltando ; todo olía á verano, todo prometía un año fértil y abundoso : olía el romero, el tomillo, las rosas, el azahar y los preciosos jazmines : olían las tiernas manzanas y las amarillas ciruelas, de que todo el campo estaba cuajado ; los ramos, que apenas podían sustenar la demasiada carga de su fruta ; y nosotros entre tanta diversidad de frescuras todo lo gozábamos y por todo dábamos gracias á su divino hacedor.”

Page 211.

“ De tanta suavidad fueron los versos de los pastores y con el silencio de la noche tan agradables de oír, que unos, vencidos de su dulzura se quedaron en el sosegado sueño sepultados, y otros levantando los espíritus á contemplaciones mas altas, alabaron las celestiales lumbres, que puestas por testigos de nuestras vidas con resplandecientes ojos consideran los secretos de la noche que en aquella sazón con tan agradable vuelo pasaba, que si en nuestros mortales oídos cupiere semejante gloria, entonces mejor que nunca pudieramos oír los divinos cantos de las estrellas, si es verdad que también como las demás cosas ellas en medio de nuestra quietud alaban con doradas lenguas la fuente de adonde su hermosura nace.”

Page 228.

Valbuena excels in his descriptions of nature ; in this respect he surpasses all the other Spanish writers of pastoral romances. As examples of his poetry, I copy the following :

SONNET.

Hebras del oro que el oriente envía
Tras el rosado carro de la aurora ;
Lazos donde enredada mi alma mora
Cautiva con cadenas de alegría ;

Clar. Frescas guirnaldas de tempranas flores,
 Ninfas, coronarán vuestros altares,
 Si propicias guías nuestros amores.

From Eclogue viii (p. 153):

Nace el invierno, y à las tiernas rosas
Sucedé un cierzo que con soplo helado
Desnudo deja el campo de frescura :
Mueren secas las flores en el prado,
Ni queda en las riberas mas umbrosas
Rastro de su pasada hermosura
Y mientras esto dura,
Y con la blanca nieve
Toda la sierra llueve
Arroyos sin sazón a la llanura,
Ni suena caramillo, ni hay quien diga
En tonos de dulzura
Primores o querellas de su amiga
Tambien quien viere el campo desta suerte,
Apenas quedara con esperanza
De verlo en su pasada primavera.
En todo imprime el tiempo su mudanza
Y todo tiene fin, sino esta muerte
En que Tirrena gusta que yo muera :
Nadie esta de manera
Que una ocasión cumplida
No le dé nueva vida
O mas dichosa ó menos lastimera ;
Ni habra tan desterrado peregrino
Que no halle siquiera
Donde sentarse al fin de su camino.

SOLORZENO: "THE TRAGEDIES OF LOVE,"

In 1607 there appeared at Madrid the 'Tragedies of Love' by Juan Arze Solorzeno.⁹⁸ He was born at Valladolid in 1576, and in his *Dedicatoria* refers to this work as "these rustic thoughts, the first fruits of my tender years, brought forth when I was nineteen years old; (*estos rusticos pensamientos, primicias de mis tiernos años, engendrados en los diez y nueve de mi edad*;) and in his address *Al Lector* says that he is then not yet twenty-eight years old (the *suma de Privilegio* is dated 1604) and that in his early youth he wrote fifteen eclogues, of which he now offers the first five, saying further, "receive them well, if you would see the remaining ones."

The book is best described in the author's own words:

"Avendo en estas eglogas con artificiosas historias, antiguas fabulas, filosoficos discursos, latinas y griegas imitaciones dado alguna parte de dulce, puse al fin de cada una su breve allegoria," etc.

This very 'allegorical interpretation' is the dullest, and most insipid part of what is certainly a very dull book.

The first eclogue begins as follows:

"Rumor confuso, y clamor desordenado, de albogues, orlos, y flautas, con son funestô, y temeroso acento, en los bosques y valle resonava, quando el ingenioso Acrisio, pastor montañes gallardo (recien venido à aquella fertil ribera, y en ella tan enamorada de la bella Lucidora que fue digno de hõrosa corona de sagrado Mirto) baxaua por la fresca orilla del Sil, caudaloso rio, a tiempo que el roxo dios calentando el Signo de Leon en el dia consagrado a su triforme hermana, matizava los montes de aljofaradas listas," etc.

Here is an extract from fol. 100. The shepherds visit the tower of Fame:

⁹⁸ Tragedias de Amor, de Gusto y Apacible entretenimiento de historias, fabulas enredadas marañas, cantares, bayles, ingeniosas moralidades del enamorado Acrisio, y su Zagala Lucidora. Compuesto por el licenciado Juan Arze Solorzeno. Dirigido a Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, etc. Con Privilegio. En Madrid, por Juan de la Cuesta. Año. mdcvii. 196 leaves. Gallardo, 'Bibliotheca Española,' Vol. i, p. 264, mentions an edition of the 'Tragedies of Love' printed at Zaragoza in 1647. Solorzeno also translated the following work: 'Historia de los dos soldados de Christo, Baalam y Iosafat.' Escrita por san Juan Damasceno, Madrid, 1608.

"A la qual subieron por una larga escalera en caracol, hasta llegar a la sala de la inmortalidad, que era en figura de pyramide, que començava en ancho, y yua enangostandose hasta acabar en un espacio redondo de treynta pies de circunferencia, en el qual auia un teatro de plata fina, y subiasse a el por siete escalones de Jaspe leonado y blanco, y encima estaua un trono preciosissimo, pero cubierto con un gran velo de raro carmesi.

El suelo estaua ladrillado de marfil, y euano el techo, y paredes cubiertas de laminas, florones y labores maravillosos, hechos de pieças de oro, plata, cristal, y aljofares: y en la cupula del techo auia entre cuatro esmeraldas un Apyroto, que privava de vista al que en el ponía los ojos, y de la una parte y otra muchas estatuas de plata fina de valerosos hombres armados, de altura de ocho pies geometricos cada una, y en medio dellas, y de la sala una altra coluna de cristal, sobre la qual estaua la ligera fama, cubierta de ojos y bocas, lenguas, y plumas, y a sus pies un quadro de marfil, y escrito en el con letras de oro este arrogante blason":

La fama soy, que contra el tiẽpo, y muerte
y a pesar de la invidia, y del olvido,
doy vida eterna, y nombre esclarecido,
al varon virtuoso, sabio, o fuerte
(por quien se vera el mundo enriqzido)
estoy ganando mi valor perdido,
y assi mi canto a ellos se convierte.
Ved pues, de quan illustre y noble gente
Espero renacer en dulce canto,
pero passadlos todos uno a uno,
hasta los tres que estan ultimamente
que me diran los tres que dezir tanto
que jamas dire mas de otro ninguno.

Among these silver statues, which are now described, the first is *Crastino*, a valiant captain, who, following Cæsar's faction, hurled the first lance "*contra el campo de Pompeyo en la guerra Farsalica*," etc.; then follow the counts of Castile, Fernan Laynez, Ruy Fernandez, and Fernan Ruyz de Castro, etc. On page one hundred and three is told the tragic story of Fernan Ruyz de Castro and his wife Estefania (daughter of the Emperor Alfonso VII) which is the only interesting episode in the book: this is followed by a long genealogy and praise of the Castro family. Mythological deities are plentifully scattered throughout the book, which concludes with a long dictionary of names, and is, upon the whole, by far the dullest of all these romances.

"THE CONSTANT AMARYLIS" OF FIGUEROA.

The 'Constante Amarilis' of Christóval Suarez de Figueroa, was the next pastoral romance to make its appearance. It was first published at Valencia in 1609. Its author was a native of Valladolid, *doctor en ambos derechos*, and like most Spanish poets of his time, followed also the profession of arms. He passed much of his life in Italy, translated the 'Pastor Fido' of Guarini,⁹⁹ and wrote a number of other works that enjoyed considerable reputation. All that is known of his life he tells us in a work entitled 'The Traveller,'¹⁰⁰ a series of ten discussions between four travellers journeying to Italy. In this autobiography, in which is mingled much that is purely fictitious, he tells us his father was a Galician jurist, not overburdened with this world's goods, for the son says that '*truxo consigo de Coruña no mas que su habilidad* and that he removed to Valladolid to practice his profession: that he had a brother, and that both studied *Gramatica* (that is, Latin). At the age of sixteen¹⁰¹ envious of his brother, who being in poor health, was

⁹⁹ Of this translation, Ticknor, Vol. iii, p. 104, note, says: "It was printed, I believe, at Naples in 1602, but was improved in the edition at Valencia in 1609. 12mo, pp. 278." The edition of 1602 here referred to, is described by Salvá y Mallén as fol.: *El Pastor Fido. Tragicomedia pastoral de Battista Guarino. Traducida de Italiano en verso Castellano por Christoval Suarez. Napoles. Tarquinio Longo. 1602, 8vo, 286 pp. Nota. Primera edicion mui rara, desconocida á Clemencin, Pellicer y Nic. Antonio: los Traductores de Ticknor no han podido verla. 'Catalogo,' Valencia, 1872, pp. 447-448. It is true that the Spanish translators of Ticknor say that they have never seen this edition of 1602, but they have seen an edition of 1622, by Christoval Suarez, Doctor en ambos derechos, and that on comparing this edition with that of 1609, the difference is at once apparent; the latter is, moreover, addressed to the Duke of Mantua and Montferrato, while the former is dedicated to Don Juan Bautista Valenzuela Velazquez. "Authors and booksellers," they continue, "were not at that time in the habit of changing the *Dedicatorias* of their books without good reasons." Vol. iii, p. 543. They believe the edition of 1622 at Naples, to be a reprint of the edition of 1602, and, therefore, not by Suarez de Figueroa. The difference between the translation of 1609, known to be Figueroa's, and that of 1622, is such that it is hardly possible that they were both made by the same person. We know, however, that Figueroa was in Naples in 1600. See note below. One Christoval Suarez Treviño contributed a *Glossa de Burlas* to the poetical tournament held at Madrid in 1620. It has been conjectured that he is the translator of the ed. of 1602. See 'Justa Poetica' (Madrid, 1620), where the verses occur on the verso of fol. 117.*

¹⁰⁰ 'El Passagero.' Advertencias utilíssima á la vida Humana. Madrid, Sanchez, 1617.

¹⁰¹ The year 1586 is sometimes assigned as the date of Figueroa's birth, but upon what authority I do not know. He says in one of his works ('*Varias noticias importantes á la humana comunicacion*,' Madrid, 1621, *variedad* 4, fol. 38) that in the year 1600 he dis-

favoured by his father, he resolved to go to Italy, and declared in the presence of his parents that he would never return to Spain during their life-time; a resolution which he afterwards kept. He now went to Barcelona, thence to Genoa, thence to Milan, undecided whether to follow the profession of arms or letters. He finally resolved to study at Bologna or Pavia. On obtaining his Doctor's degree, he entered the service of the Governor of Milan, and afterwards served as Auditor of the troops in Piedmont against the French, and then returned to Milan. At this time his mother and brother died. He tells us that his parents often wrote to him, asking him to return, but that he always refused; afterwards, however, *el amor de la patria vencid*, and he returned to Valladolid.

As he makes no mention of his father, we infer that at this time he also was dead. "Here," he continues, "in my native country, the paths of any pretension whatever were closely barred, which abroad I had found wide open." He afterwards went to Granada, and finally to Seville, his account of which, and of the women of Seville is interesting:

"El estio Sevillano es insufrible, mucha sed, poca nieve y largo sudor a corto ejercicio." Of the Sevillanas, he says: "Las mugeres se puedan preciar con razon de aseadas y limpias, de airosas y desembueeltas tanto como quantas produce España. En general son trigueñas, de gentil disposicion, de conuersacion agradable, atractivas hasta con la suavidad de la voz, por ser su pronunciacion de metal dulcissimo."

Fol. 373.

From Seville he went to San Lucar and finally, to Madrid. Here, he says, "I returned to my early life, to the past painful idleness. I took my pen, and for my amusement wrote some sketches, which scholars received kindly." Still, he continues, "I could not dismiss from my thoughts the continual anxiety of absenting myself to seek, in strange lands those, who in former times, had served me so generously as a shield and protection." And when asked whether there was no prince in Spain, who might lend him a hand, on account of his studies and experiences, and being told that the complaint of *los mas ingenosos*,

embarked from the Barbary coast on board of a Naples galley, and as he was sixteen years old when he left Spain, and then studied in Italy, his age at this time might reasonably be fixed at twenty years, which would place the date of his birth about 1520. He was, therefore, about thirty five years old when auditor of the Spanish troops in Piedmont at the time of the French invasion in 1614-1617.

continually oppressed by poverty, was of long standing, he replied :

“ Es cosa insufrible professar, teniendo cortas partes, exquisita libertad de animo, requisito que por ningun caso adquiere aficion. *Paseo las dos circunstancias que casi siēpre suelen andar unidas, sovervio y pobre. De mi boca no ha de salir adulacion.*”

He speaks with bitterness of the Count of Lemos—the patron of Cervantes, to whom he dedicated a book and to whose presence he says that he was not even admitted, and that he returned from Barcelona to Madrid “without speaking to, nor seeing, the face of him, who had been the principal object of that journey.” Indeed, he says, “you should know that of the seven books that I have published, three were dedicated to persons whose faces I have never seen, though at Court.” Fol. 376. He was evidently out of favour at Court, and consequently out of office,¹⁰² for he exclaims,

“Of what use are Universities, when men are put into office, who have never opened a book, and whose lives and characters are stained with dishonest deeds.”

Fol. 385.

Finally, he determined to leave Spain, *donde son poco estimados los documentos politicos*, and proceeded again to Italy where “arms and letters are a recognized title of nobility.” The last certain date in the life of Figueroa is October 10th, 1633, on which date his name is signed to the *Licencia* of the ‘Pastores del Betis’ of Saavedra, published at Trani, Italy, in that year.

It is not difficult, after reading the above slight account, to form an opinion of Figueroa’s character. His must have been a narrow and selfish nature, and the sarcastic and deprecating tone in which he speaks of Cervantes in his ‘Passagero,’ is ill requiting the kindness of the great Castilian, over whom the grave had barely closed, for his praise in his ‘Don Quixote,’¹⁰³ and only two years before his death, in his ‘Journey to Parnassus.’¹⁰⁴ Indeed, his unfaithful and ungrateful character is ap-

¹⁰² He appears to have been a more or less successful place-hunter (*pretendiente*) all his life. See his ‘Passagero,’ fol. 289. In his last work ‘*Varias noticias*,’ etc., Madrid, 1621, he styles himself: *fiscal, juez, gobernador, comisario contra bandoleros y auditor de Gente de Guerra*.

¹⁰³ Chap. lxii. El doctor Cristóbal de Figueroa en su Pastor Fido donde felizmente pone en duda cuál es la traducion, ó cuál el original.

¹⁰⁴ Figueroa estotro el Doctorado
Que cantó de Amarili la costancia
En dulce prosa, y verso regalado.

parent throughout his work. He speaks well of none of his contemporaries, but scatters his malevolent words freely among those more favoured by fortune than himself.¹⁰⁵ He was of an unloving and unlovable nature,—a disappointed and carping man, at odds with the world, which, doubtless, treated him as he deserved. The ‘*Constante Amarilis*’ was not very successful, as the author himself says. In the *prologo* he gives its purpose: “my intention has been to celebrate the constancy and suffering of two persecuted lovers, from the beginning of their lives to their happy marriage.” It is written in four ‘discourses’ and is a dull book, which all the author’s poetical talent failed to make interesting. Many incidents quite foreign to a work of its class are introduced, such as the long discourse of Menandro on the art of poetry; nor are there any descriptions of natural scenery anywhere in the book, which might not have been written by a poet who had never ventured beyond the walls of his native city. Appended are a number of the best poems:

TERCETOS.

Mas! hai de mi; ¿quién oye mis lamentos?
hai! qué valen, si el aire se los lleva,
Y siempre fueron sin piedad los vientos

Sueño, si cosa hice que no deba
contra ti, ya te hallas satisfecho,
Ya es tiempo que a mi bien de mi des nueva.

Dile que estoy en lagrimas deshecho,
Y huyendo ve sin estorvar mi gloria,
el daño basta que hasta aquí me has hecho

Hermano de la muerte. ¿que victoria
sacarás de este trance, si envidioso
usurpas de mis ansias la memoria?

Es la noche un amante descoso
apacible, cortes y lisongera,
deteniendo su curso presuroso:

Tu assi, vaso y licor de adormidera
con que en ocio sepultas los mortales,
cortés arroja de tu mano fiera.

Y vos, queridas puertas, dad señales
de ser por gusto y por piedad ahora
el unico remedio de mis males.

¹⁰⁵ See his attack upon Lope de Vega, ‘*Passagero*,’ fols. 103 and 108.

Sus alas tiende ya la bella aurora,
ya se mueven, ya cantan ruiseñores:
puertas, dexadme ver a mi señora,
Que a vuestro ser aplicaré loores,
y colgando guirnaldas amorosas,
vuestro umbral cubriré de varias flores

.....
Levantaos con silencio de la tierra
y conocedme entrada poco a poco
mi bien sereis, sereis paz de mi guerra.
.....

Ten lastima de mi, o tarsia mia
sino oirás en toda noche oscura,
mis llantos y mis queexas a porfia.
Vos puertas, vos sereis mi sepultura
sino mudais la desdichada suerte
de quien en vos ha puesto su ventura.

P. 73.

CANCION

Centella vuelta ya la losa fria,
haran obsequias sobre el cuerpo muerto;
la piedra bañarán con tierno llanto,
llenaran de suspiros el desierto;
y en memoria del joven a porfia
tristes entonarén funebre canto.
Las Ninfas entre tanto
ofreceran piadosas
guirnaldas olorosas;
adornarán con ellos los altares;
y en partiendo de alli, se oiran cantares,
endechas tristes de aves diferentes:
si acaso te llegares
leeras las letras que veras presentes.
Huesped, cubre este marmol un lloroso amante
amante de prisiones desatado:
sabrás que fue la causa de su muerte
la que fue de su gloria y su cuidado.
Aquí sus huesos gozan del reposo
que en vida les negó su triste suerte;
si quieres detenerte
mira la sepultura,
a quien dan sombra oscura
estos laureles cuyo movimiento
a tristeza provóca al mas contento:

las galas de los arboles despoja
enronquecido viento,
y secase en cayendo aqui la hoja.

P. 107.

SONNET.

Tendio la noche el tenebroso engaño
y difunta dexó la alma del dia :
Morpheo en los mortales esparcia
el que es de nuestra vida desengaño :
Quando yo por huir de ausencia el daño,
de Elisa el dulce albergue recorria :
su rostro vi, por quien la sombra fria
de luz y ardor cubrio su negro paño.
Mientras al cielo, dixé, tantos ojos
abre, quantos el suelo agora cierra,
da fin, Elisa bella a mis enojos.
Cesse, me respondió, de amor la guerra,
y pues te doy el alma por despojos,
concede al cuerpo paz, que es poca tierra.

ESPINEL ADORNO: "THE REWARD OF CONSTANCY."

The 'Reward of Constancy' by Jacinto de Espinel Adorno appeared in 1620.¹⁰⁶ The author dedicates his work to Don Diego de Añaya y Mendoza, and begs him to receive it favorably,—it being his first work—as an earnest of better service in future. And in the address to the reader, he says: "If perchance the language and invention do not please you, remember that a poor wit (*corto ingenio*) like mine, can do no better," etc., and further, "one thing I would ask you, and that is, that you read the entire book." The granting of this request of the author proved an easier and more agreeable task than one would have supposed, judging from the opening paragraph; his book, moreover, is the only source of our scanty knowledge of his life, for it is believed that one or two facts put by the author into the mouth of 'Arsindo,' are to be referred to himself. He was born at Manilva¹⁰⁷ and brought up at Munda,¹⁰⁸ in the province of Malaga, which he was obliged to leave, having wounded his opponent, in a nocturnal brawl, the result of an unfortunate love affair.

The 'Reward of Constancy' never reached a second edition, nor is it known that its author published any other work; his name, however, occurs several times as a contributor to the *justas poeticas* of the time. The book begins as follows:

Adonde con tan pressuroso passo encaminas el curso violento de mi desdicha, termino fatal del rigor (ô suerte contraria) con-

¹⁰⁶ 'El Premio de la Constancia y Pastores de Sierra Bermeia,' por Iacinto de Espinel Adorno. Año 1620, en Madrid. The Sierra Bermeja is a range of mountains on the confines of the Provinces of Malaga and Cadiz, in the Ronda chain; called Vermeja, from its reddish soil.

¹⁰⁷ A town of Spain in the province, and fifty-five miles south-west of Malaga, near the Coast.

¹⁰⁸ On folio 36, he tells us that his parents took him to Munda where they had relatives, and here he was brought up and sent to school. He studied Latin, *no con cuydado por yrme divertiendo en cosas que si importavan al gusto, danavan al alma*. And again, in Book ii, speaking of the poet Vicente Espinel, who was "the first inventor of *Déximas*," also called *Espinelas*, and who was born at Munda, Arsindo, says: "long have I known him by reputation, not personally,—*aunque he estado yo en su patria muchos d'as.*" See also, Gayangos, Vol. iii, p. 543.

que apriessa me amenazas: tormento aparente conquie aguijoneas, pecho que sino dessea vivir, es por estar a pique de tantos incendios, que muestran el trãce duro en que estoy puesto: infelize daño, terrible pena, fragoso tormento, temeraria fatiga, todos juntos contrarios, no temidos deste desdichado, venid, venid, y dadle fin al cuerpo que entre aquestos riscos, solitarias grutas, y cavernosas peñas, aguarda el triste golpe de la parca rigurosa, para cõmigo ingrata, no a tal mano, etc., etc.

In the following passage, the beauties of a pastoral life are happily described:

“Aqui, dixo Felino, engañamos la v.ida lo mejor que podemos, nunca faltos de gusto, ni agenos de regalo, por ser esta vida la mas quieta que todas. Aqui estamos alexados y remontados de los negocios y pretenciones de los que andan hechos camaleones de los poderosos Principes. Aqui estamos, ya guardando nuestros ganados, ya arando y cultiando los campos y heredades que fueron de nuestros mayores, cogiendo y abarcando cada uno menos aun de lo que puede, estando alegres y contentos con solos dos bueyes, mas que con grandes tesoros los ricos Monarcas. Aqui no tenemos los sobresaltos que en los rezios combates los discipulos de Marte tienen, con el zumbido de las lluvias espesas de balas, reliquias de bombardas y culebrinas, parte donde cadaqual encoge sus miẽbros aunque mas el animo se dilate, no dexãdo de tener algun genero de temor, cada uno por su incierta suerte. Ya miramos los ganados, y rebaños de toros, y vacas, que andan dando bramidos, vagando por los campos espaciosos, y valles amenos abundantes, si de pastos, no avaros de aguas. Ya otra vez se nos antoja el recostarnos debaxo de la sombra de una antigua y acopada enzina, cuyo suelo vestido de grama, nos sirve de entretenernos con blando sustento, combidando a dulce sueño . . . Ya oymos quexarse las aves con sus cantos, emboscadas entre las espesas ramas destas selvas, respondiendose unas a otras, con particular y acordada armonia, etc.

Fol. 5.

As I have said above, the book is pleasant reading, its style generally being easy and agreeable and its descriptions of natural scenery often very beautiful. Long and dull stories from Greek and Roman history are, however, also intermingled, and the shepherds seldom miss an opportunity to indulge in moralizing. They grapple with some of the profoundest problems; as an example, Arselio, speaking of children, says that punishment is good for them, where upon Arsindo says:

“No child has ever died from chastisement, but, on the other hand, from not being chastised in time, great troubles have fol-

lowed. There is no greater punishment in this life than not to be punished."

The poetry scattered through the book is poor. Here is a sonnet (page 11):

Sale el Sol por las cumbres del Oriente
 Para llenar el mundo de alegría,
 Yen la distancia de tan solo un dia
 Su curso gira, y llega al Occidente :
 Sigue la noche luego velozmente,
 Muestra su manto azul de argenteria,
 Diana sale que en su plata fia
 Del cielo al suelo puesta frente a frente :
 Sale risueña la rosada Aurora,
 Y la mañana que los campos dora :
 Buelue á llenas los prados de contento,
 El Sol con su dichoso navimiento :
 Y todo tiene fin, que es sombra vana
 El Sol, la noche, el Alua, y la mañana.

SONG OF THE DRYADS.

Las fuentes que el alva matiza
 quando hace al mundo salua
 con gusto alegre risueñas
 Saltan, bullen, brillan, y dançan.

Si el ausentarse la noche
 las selvas estan vizarras
 con la venida de Sintio
 que las adorna y engasta.

Y las avezillas libres
 con harpados picos cantan
 pidiendo albricias al dia
 y el fin de sus esperanças

Y los campos apacibles
 con rosiclères de nacar
 forman a la vista cielo,
 y a los olfastos dan ambar

Todos con el nuevo huesped
 que ya sus alfombras passa
 con gusto alegre risueños,
 saltan, bullen, brillen, y dançan.

(Fol. 94).

Sometimes, however, the author descends to mere word-quibbling, as in the following sonnet, which is sung by Fenicia and Laureno (Book ii, fol. 61.):

Laur. Temblando miro si constante adoro
rostro que engendra gloria, y triste llanto :
Fen. Yo siento pena, si contenta canto,
descubro el mal, y mi remedio ignoro :
Laur. Sufro temor, si aguardo mi tesoro.
Fen. Lagrimas muestro, si mi bien espanto :
Lau. Tanto me aclaro, que me pierdo tanto.
Fen. Quanto me anima amor, tanto mas lloro.
Lau. Mi bien espero. *Fen.* Mi contento aguardo.
Lau. Huyo del mal. *Fen.* Pretendo mi ventura.
Lau. Tristezas me dà amor. *Fen.* Yo en gozarla tardo.
Lau. Temo. *Fen.* Vazilo. *Lau.* Tiempo. *Fen.* Coyuntura.
Lau. Espero. *Fen.* Aguarda. *Lau.* El pecho. *Fen.* El pensamiento.

CUEVAS, "THE EXPERIENCES OF LOVE AND FORTUNE."

Six years afterwards, in 1626, Francisco de Quintana, a friend of Lope de Vega, under the name of Francisco de las Cuevas, published the 'Experiences of Love and Fortune.'¹⁰⁹ Quintana was born in Madrid, and in 1626 became a member of the Congregation of San Pedro, in which he served the cause of the church with great zeal, and seems to have had considerable reputation for eloquence as a preacher. In 1644 he became rector of the "Hospital de la Latina" of Madrid. But such were the litigations and entanglements in which Quintana became involved, that he was reduced to the greatest poverty. He died January twenty-fifth, 1658.¹¹⁰

The 'Experiences of Love and Fortune' is dedicated to Lope de Vega, who, in his address, speaks of it as "esta primera piedra de sus estudios, aunque tan sazonado fruto de sus verdos años." From this it is evident that Cuevas was then a young man, and this may be some excuse for his very wearisome book. It is divided into five *poemas* "because *poema* is a generic name which embraces not only verses, but also prose, as Cicero intimates in his book 'de Oratore,' etc. He concludes thus: "I do not think that the learned will be displeased with reading it, for as Quintilian says: 'In grandibus coenis hoc saepe nobis accidit, ut cum optimis saciati sumus, varietas tamen nobis ex vilioribus grata sit.' "

The first 'poem' begins thus:

¹⁰⁹ *Experiencias de Amor y Fortuna*, A Frey Lope de Vega Carpio, del Abito de S. Juan, Procurador fiscal de la Camara Apostolica, y su Natario descrito en el Archivo Romano, Familiar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Por el Licenciado Francisco de las Cuevas, natural de Madrid. Año 1649, en Barcelona. The *Licencia* is dated 1633. This, which is the copy I used, is the fourth edition according to Brunet. That the *Experiencias* passed through four editions during this period is evidence that it enjoyed considerable popularity, and shows how easily the taste of the time was satisfied. The book is no better and no worse, however, than the author's next attempt, the 'Historia de Hipolito y Aminta' first published the following year. It is written in the manner of the 'Persiles y Sigismunda' of Cervantes, and was, perhaps, prompted by the latter work. Quintana's literary success was, doubtless, due in no small measure to the powerful influence of his friend, Lope de Vega.

¹¹⁰ See Alvarez y Baena, 'Hijos de Madrid,' Vol. ii, p. 152; also, Barrera's biography to the 'Obras de Lope de Vega,' Madrid, 1890, p. 502.

“ No leños de una pequeña fuente, que a un verde sauze puso de transparente cristal candidas prisiones, Silvio, pastor por su entendimiento, y por su disposicion celebrado en los montes, que a la imperial Toledo vezinos, son aspera poblacion de duros robles, ò albergue poco culto a varias fieras, mayoral de un mediano aprisco, dueño de un apacible rebaño, que a trechos era esmalte del prado, nieve del monte, siendo en partes aumento de las peñas : estava una tarde, de las que suavemente alienta Mayo, respirando a un tiempo zefiros y flores, tan melancolico, que ni los campos le divertian, ni las fuentes le davan alegria : antes le sucedia tan al contrario (efeto antiguo en los perfetos tristes) que le servia de mortal veneno lo que pudiera sanar sus fieros males.”

Here is a passage from the second ‘ poem ’:

La malicia de los presentes siglos, tan conforme en toda a la de los passados, nos muestra claramente, que siempre ha sido uno mismo el mundo, y siempre flaca nuestra naturaleza. Quando miro que Seneca in Agam. dize estas palabras : Peciéron las costumbres, la fuerça, la piedad, y la verguença, que una vez perdida, ignora los caminos de boluer a su dueño ; pienso, ò que Feniso vivio en tiempo de Seneca, ò que Seneca estuvo presente a los sucessos de Feniso. Sano de su indisposicion estaua, solicito restaurar su perdida pretendia, y cuerdo su sentimiento ocultava nuestro noble Cauallero a tiempo que una mañana de las que el hermoso padre del dia calienta las duras escamas de Escorpion, llegò cansado de hacer ocultas diligencias a su posada Leonardo, no hallò en ella a don Luis, porque le desvelava el y casa mismo cuydado ; y assi opresso de su imaginacion (tormento que mata sin acabar la vida, y daño, cuyo remedio es tan dificultoso, como contra enemigo inescusable) se arrojò sobre la cama para descansar, porque vive engañado el que piensa que los pesares no cansan el cuerpo, quando atormentan el alma.

Fol. 50.

As a specimen of Quintana’s verse, I have copied the following *Epigrama*, which the shepherds sing upon seeing Theodora with a carnation (clavel) in her mouth :

Clavel hermoso que espirando olores
Al dulce aliento de mi bien te mueves,
No se inquietan tus hojas por ser leues,
Antes son de temor esos temblores.
Al competirte injurias otras flores,
Y es bien que igual rigor aora prueves,
Aunque a tu osada competencia debes
El tener de verguenza esas colores.
Pienso que fueran tus consijos sabios

Si mudáras el ser, si cristal fueras,
 Iuzgarante reflexos de sus labios,
 Mas en tanta porfia es bien que infieras,
 Que por necio mereces mas agravios,
 Pues viendote exceder, vencer esperas.

Fol. 47.

Here are some *Décimas*:

No sè si le llame amor
 a esto que mi pecho alcanza,
 que amor y sin esperanza
 mas me parece rigor:
 es imposible mayor
 no consiste en ser mi empleo
 indigno deste trofeo,
 porque el mayor imposible
 advierto en no ser possible
 todo quanto yo deseo.

Vuestra beldad me assegura
 de que con razon me empeño,
 de mi pecho os haze dueño
 deseos de mi ventura:
 vuestro ingenio me procura
 quitar vida y libertad,
 mas en la seguridad
 con que mis afectos nacen,
 deshaze el temor quanto hazen
 deseo, ingenio y beldad.

The book is written in a rambling style, with no attempt at invention, the various episodes being of the most commonplace character. It is remarkable that so dull a book should have passed through several editions.

CORRAL, "THE CYNTHIA OF ARANJUEZ."

Two years had elapsed when, in 1628, the 'Cintia de Aranjuez'¹¹¹ by Don Gabriel del Corral appeared at Madrid. The author was born at Valladolid and was chaplain to the Constable of Castile. Two years before the appearance of the 'Cynthia' he had published a translation of the "Argenis" of Jean Barclay,¹¹² entitled: 'La prodigiosa historia de los dos amantes Argenis y Poliarco,' Madrid, 1626, 4to. There seems to have been two authors of the same name (Gabriel del Corral) in the early part of the seventeenth century. Lope de Vega mentions the author of the 'Cintia de Aranjuez' in the third *Silva* of his 'Laurel de Apolo.'

"Don Gabriel del Corral, cuya famosa
Cintia al laurel aspira," etc.

and again in the eighth *Silva*. Barrera¹¹³ says:

"If there really were two wits by this name, one of them must have been almost unknown: the only one that attained celebrity, was the author of the *Cynthia*," etc.

Corral passed some years in Italy, being at Rome in 1632, in the service of the Count of Monte-Rey, the Spanish Ambassador. Returning to Spain, he was made Canon of Zamora and afterwards Superior of the Collegial Church at Toro, which office he certainly held in 1640.¹¹⁴ In the *prologo* to the 'Cynth-

¹¹¹ 'La Cintia de Aranjuez, Prosas y Versos.' Por el Licenciado Don Gabriel del Corral, natural de Valladolid. Al excelentissimo Señor Condestable de Castilla, mi Señor. En Madrid, en la imprenta del Reyno. No date, but the privilege to print is dated July 10th, 1628.

¹¹² The 'Argenis' of Barclay, written in Latin, was first printed in 1621. A French translation appeared as early as 1623.

¹¹³ Barrera y Leirado, 'Catálogo,' p. 102. Nicholas Antonio, 'Bibl. Hisp. Nova,' Vol. i. 505, merely says of Corral: "D. Gabriel de Corral, Pincianus, juris que utriusque doctor, & ut credimus ecclesiae Zamorensis canonicus," and also, that he translated out of the Latin, the poetical works of Pope Urban VIII. Barrera's 'New Biography' prefixed to the Spanish Academy's new edition of Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1890) contains no additional facts concerning Corral's life, but goes to confirm that the latter enjoyed considerable reputation as a poet.

¹¹⁴ In the 'Obras de Don Luis de Ulloa Pereira,' first published in 1659, there is an "Epistola de D. Gabriel de Corral, Abad entonces de la Iglesia Colegial de Toro." In my copy, which is of the second edition, Madrid, 1674, it occurs on pages 155-160, and is dated

ia' (dated Zaragoza, August fifteenth, 1628) he says that he is writing these 'sketches' on his journey to Rome, without books or helps (*prevencion*) of any kind, "no para estimacion, sino para dar a entender mi afecto asi a la pluma, como a la atencion de los obligaciones en que V. Merced me ha puesto," etc. He does not write for the cultured, saying: "No hablo con los Patricios de la cultura, sino con el vulgo"¹¹⁵ con quien Marcial se entiende tal vez diciendo, Vobis pagina nostra dedicatur," and again, "I, at least, desire to please the people." He tells us how the book was made up: "I shall confess to you that all the verses that this volume contains, were written *antes del intento*; and in order to make them acceptable, I have linked them with prose and accompanied them with these discourses, not daring to publish the mere *rimas*, in doing which, men of greater intellect run a risk that is well-known.". "What seemed more venturesome, was to publish a book for diversion or entertainment, although pure and exemplary, when, from the nature of my studies, more serious matters were expected." The author succeeded in making a prosy and tiresome book, which it is quite a task to read.

This 'Eclogue' which the shepherds sing to a lovely "auditorio de zagalas acompañadas de garçones bizarros" will give an idea of the poetry:

Dulce remora del viento
Coro entero en una voz
Que fue mordaza invisible
De arroyo murmurador.
Iman del risco, y del eco,
Impossible imitacion,
Y de un aliso pomposo
Alada y parlera flor
Avecilla en fin quexosa
De amor, si bien desmintio

Feb. 26th, 1640. In Vol. xxxi of the "Comedias nuevas escogidas de los mejores ingenios de España," Madrid, Sanchez, 1653-1704, there is a *Comedia* 'La Trompeta del juicio,' by Gabriel de Corral. Whether this is the same person as our author, there seems to be some doubt. See Barrera above.

¹¹⁵ Dass darunter noch immer nicht der Pöbel, ja dass unter diesem Spanischen *Vulgo* noch ein sehr achtbarer Theil der Nation, die ganze ländliche und kleinstädtische Bevölkerung im Gegensatz zu den Hauptstädten auch damals (mitte des 16 Jahrhunderts) noch begriffen gewesen sei,—hat Huber (Gütt. Anz. 1857, s. 452) sehr gut nachgewiesen. Ferdinand Wolf. Studien zur Gesch. d. Spanischen u. Port. National literatur.

P. 543, note.

A las quejas el conuento,
 Y la musica al dolor.
 Calla tu cuidado,
 No le digas no,
 Que diran, si le cantas,
 Que te falta amor.
 Como blasones martirios,
 Si en los indicios del Sol
 Madrugan tus sentimientos
 A templarse con tu voz?
 Qual amante sus querellas
 Tan suaves disfrazò,
 Si el merito del amor
 Se pierde en la explicacion?
 Merezcate amor silencio,
 Imitemonos los dos,
 Aprende a morir callando,
 Agradecido al rigor.
 Calla tu cuidodo, etc., etc.

He is not more fortunate in his sonnets than in his 'eclogues.'

SONNET.

Esta tremula lumbre, que del viento
 Vive sobresaltada, y mal segura
 Atalaya del tiempo, que apresura
 De las horas el facil movimiento:
 Este, o Lelio, alumbrado aduertimiento:
 Que generoso luce lo que dura,
 Que ignorante de noche de hora escura
 La vida ha vinculado al lucimiento:
 Indice claro, aviso es elocuente,
 Si de otro que la vista necessitas,
 Y del estudio noble de tu idea,
 Para que pues del ayre estas pendiente.
 No a tan breve periodo permitas
 Accion que de la luz indigna sea.

Fol. 94 b.

In Book ii there is a *Vexamen*. One of the characters expresses astonishment that "there should be hospitals for so many different bodies and nations and yet that one for poets should be wanting, although they have so many ills." The book is accordingly divided into seven *Camas* or beds. We are told, moreover, that

he llegado la necesidad poetica a tal estado, que de hambre mas

que de intencion, si no se comen, se muerden unos a otros. No es trato la poesia que ha dado hasta hoy principio a algun mayorasgo, porque los romances y sonetos aunque sean del Señor Danteo, un año con otro, no valen nada: Solo para esta nueva fundacion faltará Medico, ya porque juzgavan la cura destos enfermos impossible, ya porque auia pocas esperanças del stipendio, etc.

Apollo now visits the different beds where the poets lie. The first one he declares “por hetico y tisico; y era asi, porque se avia *desainado de consonantes, y padecia fluxo de sonetas, y colica de romances*; a cuyos achaques socorrio con esta receta:

Para que por buen
Engorde este cecinado,
Esqueleto amortajado
En pieles de pergamino:
Recipe una gauioneta
Tan cortès y comedida,
Que le quiera, y no le pida;
Y abstengase de poeta.

Lope de Vega in his ‘Laurel de Apolo’ bestows the most extravagant praise upon Corral, whom he calls the Spanish Propertius, another proof, if any were needed, of the untrustworthiness of Lope’s poem, and how useless it is as a help to forming any opinion of his contemporaries. Corral’s name occurs several times in poetical contests that were then so frequent.

SAAVEDRA : "THE SHEPHERDS OF THE BÉTIS."

The 'Shepherds of the Bétis'¹¹⁶ by Don Gonzalo de Saavedra, a "Veintiquatro"¹¹⁷ of the city of Cordova, next appeared at Trani, a town of Naples, in 1633.¹¹⁸ The work was published after the author's death by his son, who dedicates it to Don Manuel de Fonseca y Zuniga, Captain General of the kingdom of Naples, and calls it "the diversions of my father's youth" (*divertimientos de la mocedad de mi padre*). Of its style, the son speaks as follows in the *Prologo*: "The prose is written without verbosity; ingeniously and elegantly; not too profusely, nor laconically from affectation; nor is it obscure, nor prolix, but with well-disposed periods, and with clauses marvellously and helpfully arranged." The following extract, which is a very fair example of the style of the 'Shepherds of the Betis,' will enable one to form an independent opinion upon this point:

"Entre otras tan famosas, como fertiles, y levantadas sierras, que nuestro Hispano Reyno posee, y lo atraviesen, està una, adonde vienen a juntar los extremos quatro Provincias del, a la qual llaman Sierra de Segura; no se yo porque, pues no ai persona que lo estè de las hermosas Pastores, que lo habitan: de la qual un leuantado monte, a quien la naturaleza abrio sus peñascosas entrañas, lança tanta cantidad de agua, que da principio, y nombre a la corriente del celebrado *Betis*, cuyos poblados margenes de aldeas son causa de que lo esten ellos, y sus hermosos campos de ganados, y perdidos Pastores, de Zagales, que mas cuidados de amorosos pensamientos, que del gouierno de ellos, olvidados de todo lo que no es mostrar la firmeza de sus voluntades, passaron el tiempo en amorosas juntas. Aqui la maestra naturaleza, usando de su politica invencion, enrique-

¹¹⁶ Betis, i. e., Guadalquivir.

¹¹⁷ Veintecuatro. The corporation of Seville and of other towns in Andalusia, consisted of twenty-four members, called Veintecuatros.

¹¹⁸ 'Los Pastores del Bétis,' versos y prosas de Don Gonzalo de Saavedra, veintecuatro de la ciudad de Córdoba: dadas a luz por D. Martin de Saavedra y Guzman su hijo, con algunos Fragmentos suyos añadidos, al Ilmo. y Excmo. Sr. D. Manuel de Fonseca y Zúñiga, conde de Monterey, etc. En Trani, por Lorenzo Valerij, etc., 1633. The *Licencia* is signed by D. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa, at Trani, October 10th, 1633--the last authentic mention of Figueroa that I have found. See also Gallardo 'Biblioteca Española,' Vol. iv, p. 296.

cio estos Valles de agradables fuentes, contrapuestas a los temporales, assi, que en el ardiente estio apenas las manos pueden resistir la frialdad de sus cristales, y en el riguroso inuierno, en ellos entradas se estienden, y regalan con su templança los encogidos neruios: de algunas de las quales las sobras forman agradables, y murmurantes corrientes, que de amorosos pechos con tiernas lagrimas, aumentadas, llegan fertilizando el distrito, que desde su nacimiento, hasta el famoso rio; inclinando a trechos con su continuo curso, los delgados, y vierdes junquillos, y las pintadas, y tiernas florecillas, que puestas por limite de su anchura, hermocean sus humedos margenes."

Of Saavedra's poetry, I copy the song of Beliso (p. 79):

Dulce y sabrosa fuente,
Si tu cristal enturbian los despojos,
Y continua corriente
Que el corazon te ofrece por los ojos,
Para que te acompañen
Y destos olmos las raizes bañen.

Porque como murmuras
Entre las pedrezuelas, y la arena,
Remedio no procuras
Para que cesse mi tormento, y pena,
Y acabados mis males
No enturbiara mi llanto tus cristales?

Mueve tu muda lengua
Para reparo de mi triste vida,
Pues mi dolor no mengua,
Ni el rigor de una fiera enpedernida,
Y di a esta ingrata bella
Con la razon que l'alma se querella.

Y tu esmaltado prado
Mas que la misma habitacion de flora
Si por estar pisado
De los divinos pies de mi Señora,
A Chipre te aventajas
Porque mi daño, y su rigor no atajas?

Vosotros airecillos
Que mil voces formais, dando en las hojas
De aquestos arbolillos,
Formad alguna que de mis congojas
De cuenta a mi Pastora
Bella en el rostro, en condicion traidora.

Mas ay prado florido
Arboles, aires, fuente dulce y bella,

Que me tiene rendido,
 Y ella lo sabe bien, que à no verella
 Tan rendido mi pecho,
 Menos lagrimas fueran de provecho.

The Shepherds are, as is customary, lead to the Temple of Diana, and upon one of its columns read the following prophecy :

El que llegare a ver de aquesta casa
 Los transparentes muros de diamante
 O sea pastor libre, o tierno amante
 De los que premia Amor con mano escasa
 En llegando a mirar la primer vasa
 Pierda la vista luego en esse instante
 Y de cuenta sin ella a Dios tonante
 De la passion que el corazon le abrasa.
 Porque no puede serla manifiesta
 A nadie deste templo la grandeza,
 Y las cosas que en el hay encerradas.
 Hasta que de un Pastor con risa, y fiesta
 De su pastora, mansa la fiereza
 Se celebren las bodas deseadas.

Of this prophecy the sage says :

“ Do not trouble yourself to solve it, for it will be in vain, as I assure you that, until the day comes in which the Gods permit that this may be fulfilled, it will be impossible for any human intellect however clever (*aventajado*), to understand the mysterious secret hidden in these few letters.”

‘ The Shepherd’s of the Betis ’ never reached a second edition.

THE DECLINE OF THE PASTORAL ROMANCES.

The principal pastoral romances that appeared in Spain for nearly a century after the publication of the 'Diana' of Montemayor, have now been passed briefly in review.¹¹⁹ They all possess the same general characteristics and followed closely in the steps of their Spanish model, though they never attained the excellence reached by Montemayor. They all picture that ideal life in Arcadia, where the shepherds and shepherdesses "fleet the time carelessly as they did in the Golden World." In none of them is there any attempt at plot or connected narrative; the characters appear and disappear at the will of the writer, and nothing was deemed improbable in the forests and meads of their fancied world. But while the pastoral romance was meeting with such great favor in gentler circles, forms of literature had been gradually developing which soon became its formidable rivals, and finally succeeded in obscuring it entirely:—forms of literature that were destined to endure, because they were based upon the national life. In 1554 the "Novela Picaresca" made its appearance in 'Lazarillo de Tormes,' and, finally, the national Drama, the foundation of which had been laid as far back as the close of the fifteenth century, was developed with

¹¹⁹ In the foregoing pages only those pastoral romances have been discussed that I have read, except in two cases where the fact is mentioned. Of other works, described as pastoral romances, but also inaccessible to me, a short account, taken mainly from the Spanish translation of Ticknor and from Gallardo's 'Ensayo,' will be found in Appendix ii. The 'Menina e Moca' of Bernardim Ribeiro, first published in 1554, contains incidents strikingly similar to some in the 'Diana,' and one might infer that the latter was, in some respects at least, influenced by the former. The incidents, however, most alike in the two works are just those, at the beginning, that were furnished by Montemayor's own life. Moreover, the early portion of the Portuguese romance is rather in the style of a *novela caballeresca*, while the pastoral form is adhered to by Montemayor. The latter, however, was a friend of Ribeiro's, and certainly knew of his 'Saudades.' See Puibusque, 'Histoire Comparée des Littératures Espagnole et Française.' Paris, 1843, Vol. i, p. 154; Puymaigre, 'Romanceiro Portugais.' Paris 1881, p. xxxvi. A late Portuguese writer, however, speaks in no doubtful terms of the influence of Ribeiro upon the 'Diana.' He says:

"As relações pessoais entre Bernardim Ribeiro e Jorge de Monte-Mór, que se descobrem pelas Eclogas d'aquelle bucolista, vem explicar-nos agora a influencia que a *Menina e Moca* exerceu na criação da *Diana*. Jorge de Monté-Mór escreveu a historia dos seus amores infelizes em castelhano, e ainda que a sua obra seja uma das mais notaveis de litteratura hespanhola, pertence-nos pela naturalidade do poeta e pela origem da sua imitação."

Braga, 'Manual da Historia da Litteratura Portuguesa,' p. 335; also *ibid.*, "Bernardim Ribeiro e os Bucolistas," p. 76 et seq.

an ardor and enthusiasm for which we find a parallel only in the Greek and English dramatists. Dramatic literature was popular, because it was written for the whole people. It was hardly considered a respectable form of literature at first, just as we know was the case in England; but it had struck its roots deep in the very heart of Spanish life; it was the faithful mirror of the Spanish character in all its ages and phases, and finally overshadowed every other form of literary composition. With the advent of the realistic novel and the drama, as illustrators of the national life, the more artificial and courtly pastoral romance gradually disappeared from the scene, but not without leaving its impress upon the literature of Spain. Like the romance of chivalry, it was an important factor in the development of style in Spanish prose, and the easy and graceful diction of Cervantes is, doubtless, due in no small measure to the influence of the pastoral romance, which made itself felt even in the drama; witness the exquisite pictures of rural life which occur in some of the plays of Lope de Vega.

But the pastoral romance has passed away forever, with the time and the manners that produced it. The singing and sighing of shepherds that were a pastime and pleasure in a more ingenuous age, find no responsive echo in this more practical century. Though but two years have elapsed since the 'Diana' reappeared at Barcelona in a new edition, we may hardly hope that the fragrance of the fields and forests of its Arcadia is still as perceptible or as agreeable to the modern reader as it was to the reader of three hundred years ago; but considered as a mirror reflecting other times and other conditions, the pastoral romances will always maintain an important place in the literature of the golden age of Spain.

APPENDIX. I.—(See page 7).

This *Carta* or letter of Montemayor is not to be found in any of his works, so far as I know. It is certainly not in the edition of his *Cancionero* published at Alcala in 1563. That portion of it which relates to his life, is here subjoined :

Riberas me crié del rio Mondego,
Ado jamas sembro el fiero Marte
Del Rei Marsilio aca desasosiego.
De ciencia alli alcanzé mui poca parte
I por sola esta parte juzgo el todo
De mi ciencia i estilo, ingenio i arte.
En musica gasté mi tiempo todo ;
Previno Dios en mi por esta via
Para me sustentar por algun modo.
No se fió, señor, de la poesia,
Porque vió poca en mi, i aunque mas viera,
Vió ser pasado el tiempo en que valia.
El rio de Mondego i su ribera
Con otros mis iguales paseava, .
Sujeto al crudo amor i su bandera.
Con ellos el cantar exercitava
I ben sabe el amor que mi Marfida
Ia entonces sin la ver me lastimava.
Aquella tierra fue de mi querida ;
Dejé la, aunque no quise, porque veía
Llegado el tiempo ia de buscar vida.
Para la gran Hesperia fue la via
Ado me encaminava mi ventura
I ado senti que amor hiere i porfia.
Alli me mostró amor una figura ;
Con la flecha apuntando dijo : aquella !
I luego me tiró con fuerza dura.
A mi Marfida vi mas i mas bella
Que quantas nos mostró naturaleza
Pues todo lo de todas puso en ella.
El *mar* de Perfeccion i gentileza,
Fida por la mas fiel que nadie vido,
Suma lealtad de fe i de firmeza.
Mas ia que el crudo amor me huvo herido,
Le vi quedar tan preso en sus amores
Que io fui vencedor siendo vencido.

Alli senti de amor tales dolores
Que hasta los de aora no creía
Que los pudiera dar amor maiores.
Pero despues que un mal en mi porfia,
El qual se llama ausencia, es quasi nada
El otro grave mal que antes sufria.
En este medio tiempo la estremada
De nuestra Lusitania gran princeza
En quien la fama siempre está ocupada,
Tuvo, señor, por bien de mi rudeza
Servir se, un bajo ser alevantando
Con su saber estraña i su grandeza,
En cuia casa estoi ora, pasando
Con mi cansada musa ora en esto,
Ora de amor i ausencia estoi quejando,
Ora mi mal al mundo manifesto ;
Ora ordeno partir me, ora me quedo ;
En una ora mil vezes mudo el puesto ;
Ora, a hurto de Amor, me finjo ledos ;
Ora me veo tan triste que me muero ;
Ora querria morir me i nunca puedo.
Mil vezes me pregunto que me quiero
I no sé responder me ni sentir me :
Enfin me hallo tal que desespero, etc.

APPENDIX II.

THE HABIDAS OF ARBOLANCHE.

Among the first of the imitations of the 'Diana,' the Spanish translators of Ticknor say, was the 'Habidas of Arbolanche,'¹ in which are related the *amores* of Abido, son of King Gargoris of Spain. The brief analysis of the story there given shows, however, that it is rather a "Novela Caballeresca" Gallardo describes it as a poem in nine cantos of *versos sueltos* (unrhymed verses), intermingled with rhymed verses of various kinds. The book is excessively rare,—I have never seen a copy. Some of the poetry is very beautiful as the following extracts will show. The author in his epistle to Don Melchor Enrico, "su Maestro en Artes," is very candid and modest concerning his own poetical gifts, while his arraignment of some of the Italian and Spanish poets is very amusing. He says :

Señor maestro, la voluntad mia
Tamás fué á imprimir libros inclinada ;
Pero mandóme aquella que podia,
Sacase á luz esa obra mal trobada.
Concedo que no entiendo poesía,
Y solamente sé que no sé nada ;
Y sé que si no sé, muchos no saben ;
Y al fin no se me da que no me alaben.

Que ne bebí en la fuente Cabalina
Ni yo soné jamas en el Parnaso,
Ni entiendo qué es octava, ó qué es sextina,
Ni de las nueve musas hago caso ;
Ni tengo vena yo tan repentina
Que vomite coplones cada paso ;
Ni sé medir los versos por los dedos,
Ni con la boca hacer dos mil denuedos."

He does not hire himself to make complimentary sonnets for the new books that are being printed :

"Ni yo me alquilo para hacer sonetos
Á los libros que imprimen nuevamente."
"Ni sé qué cosa sean los piés quebrados,
Que sanas tengo yo las piernas mias."

He is no admirer of the Italian measures introduced by Boscan :

"Ni sé yo hacer mi pluma muy famosa

¹ Los Nueve libros de las Habidas de Hierónimo Arbolanche, Poeta tudelano. Zaragoza, 1566.

Llevando el hurto italiano á cuestas,
Como el Boscan," etc.

His judgment of the great Catalan poet is very severe :

"Ni sé hacer versos que ninguno entienda,
Como Ausías Marc, en lengua lemosina."

Montemayor is treated without pity :

"Ni traducillo yo jamás supiera
Tan torpemente como el Lusitano
Ni sé hacer *Cancioneros* de manera
Que mezcle lo divino con lo humano.
Ni *Diana* segunda ni primera
Jamás supo trobar mi torpe mano
Por parecerme todas niñería ;
Ni hago '*Florestas de vária Poesía.*' "

He concludes, however, by saying that he does not speak ill of these distinguished men because his own talents equal or surpass theirs, but merely wonders if these famous men have been the subject of a "thousand reproaches," what are the stupid and envious going to do with him :

"Porque no digo mal destos varones
Tan altos por sentirme yo bastante
Para poder llegar á sus blasones,
Ni áun á poder ponérmeles delante ;
Mas porque sin sufrir mil reprensiones
Nadie alcanzó la fama muy triunfante ;
Y pues destos dijeron tan famosos,"
¿ Qué harán de mí los necios y envidiosos ?"

CANCION.3

Partirme quiero, zagala,
Partirme quiero de vos ;
Mi zagala, á Dios, á Dios.
Á Dios, montes, á Dios, prados,
Á Dios, bosques y selva fria ;
Que los lirios que aqui habia
En abrojos son tornados,
En ausencia mis cuidados
Partiendome yo de vos ;
Mi zagala, á Dios, á Dios.

Dexo las cabrillas mias
Y el ganado en grande pena

² Gallardo, 'Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española,' etc., Madrid, 1863, Vol. i, p. 260.

³ Salvá y Mallen, 'Catalogo.' Vol. ii, p. 19.

Al Calor y á la berbena⁴
 Por esas silvas sombrías ;
 Voy a ver sus agonías,
 Partiendome yo de vos ;
 Mi zagala, á Dios, á Dios.

CANCION.⁵

Soltáronse mis cabellos,
 Madre mia,
 ! Ay ! ¿ con qué me los prenderia ?
 Dícenme que prendo á tantos,
 Madre mia, con mis cabellos,
 Que ternia por bien prendellos
 Y no dar pena y quebrantos ;
 Pero por quitar de espantos,
 Madre mia,
 ! Ay ! ¿ con qué me los prenderia ?

CANCION.⁶

Ai Dios ! qué cosa vana
 querer enamorarme
pues ya no hai desviarme
de tí, linda Adriana.
 Si todas las nacidas
 me diesen a escoger,
 y las aun por nacer
 me fuesen ofrecidas,
 ai Dios ! qué cosa vana
 Seria enamorarme,
pues ya no hai desviarme
de tí, linda Adriana.

Por tí en la noche oscura
 yo pierdo el dulce sueño,
 por tí con gran desdén
 quejé de mi ventura ;
 tu imagen soberana
 del todo pudo atarme,
y asi no hai desviarme
de tí, linda Adriana.

En prados y en oteros
 tu nombre he yo cantado,
 de mí se han apiadado
 los animales fieros ;

⁴ Gallardo here gives *á la serena*.⁵ Salvá y Mallen, 'Catalogo.' Vol. ii, p. 19.⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

mi ánima malsana
 pudiste tú robarme,
y ya no hai desviarme
de tí, linda Aldriana.

CANCION.7

Caudaloso y fresco rio,
 tanto mal no merecí,
 siempre honré tus claras aguas
 y honraré más desde aquí.
Ai, de tí! mas ai de mí!

Siempre honré todas tus ninfas
 cuantas en tus prados ví,
 siempre de tus verdes ramos
 los mis cabellos ceñí,
Ai, de tí! mas ai de mí!

¿ Como, dime, consentiste
 que se fue y no me fuí,
 aquel que con sus canciones
 tu ribera alegró así?
Ai, de tí! mas ai de mí!

Aquel que con su zampoña
 las fieras atraía á sí,
 al son de la cual mil vezes
 en sus haldas me adormí,
Ai, de tí! mas ai de mí!

Abido, los tus ganados
 como paceran sin tí?
 como cantaran las ninfas?
 dímelo, mi Abido, dí.
Ay, de tí! mas, ai de mí!

Porqué, dime, en tu partida
 yo triste no me partí?
 y ¿ porqué si tu eres muerto
 no me muero desde aquí?
Ai, de tí! mas ai de mí!

Salvá y Mallen here calls attention to the untrustworthiness of Cervantes' criticism of his contemporaries; in the 'Viage al Parnaso,' chap. vii, the 'Abidas' is characterized as a "breviary of enormous bulk," in prose and verse. In 1594 there was printed at Valladolid a pastoral romance entitled "La Enamorada Elisea" by Jerónimo de Cobarrubias Herrera.⁸ It is in prose and verse, in the manner of the

7 Salvá y Mallen, Vol. ii, page 19.

8 Los cinco libros intitulados La enamorada Elisea, compuestos por Jerónimo de Cobarrubias Herrera, vecino de la villa de Medina de Rio seco, residente in Valladolid. Dirigidos á D. Felipe II, primers rey de las Españas, nuestro señor. Valladolid, 1594. 8vo.

'Diana,' the scene being laid in Egypt, on the banks of the Nile. As is frequently the case in these pastoral romances, Gallardo says, the story in the 'Enamorada Elisea' is a mere thread upon which to string a number of poems "not sufficient to make a book, but quite enough to adorn a tale."

The versification is easy and fluent, and it is a pity that the author did not use his talent with better judgment. The fourth and fifth books are composed almost entirely of poetry, of which the following "Romance de Rodrigo de Narvaez" is of interest, in connection with the tale of Montemayor:

En el tiempo que reinaba
Fernando, bravo guerrero
Hubo un alcaide en Alora,
Animoso caballero,
Á quien llamaban Narvaez
(Rodrigo el nombre primero),
En las armas y caballo
Astuto, diestro y ligero.
Éste en ganar Antequera
Se halla ser el primero,
Por eso la fuerza della
Se le entrega al caballero ;
Entrambas fuerzas tenía,
Por ser fiel y verdadero ;
Mas habitaba en Alora
Este valiente guerrero
Con cincuenta caballeros
Á sueldo del rey severo.
Pues una noche en verano,
No con la luz del lucero,
Mas con la clara Diana
Que alumbre el valle y otero,
Salio il valeroso alcaide
Con cuarto por un sendero,
Echando por otra parte
Otros cinco de su fuero,
Todos con lanzas y adargas,
Con ánimo verdadero
Van á recorrer el campo,
Por si topan caballero
Que puedan traer á Alora
Rendido por prisionero
Entre sí van concertados
De hacerse seña primero
Si sienten gente en el campo,
Si encuentran aventurero.

Ya que llegaban los cinco
Sin el alcaide guerrero
A vista de una emboscada,
Por debajo de un palero,
Vieron con la clara luna
Un gallardo caballero,
Y no en caballo morcillo,
Alazan, bayo ni overo
Mas era rucio rodado,
Al parecer, muy ligero,
Con marlota de damasco
Carmesí, traje extranjero,
Borceguí, toca morisca,
Como moro verdadero.
Una lanza de dos hierros,
Con una adarga de cuero,
Cantando en algarabía
Las palabras que refiero :
" En Cártama fui criado,
Nací en Granada primero,
Tengo mi dama en Coin,
Y de Alora soy frontero."
Los cinco que al moro vieron
Con ánimo verdadero,
Dieron sobre el fuerte moro,
Y él acometió ligero,
Tanto que al primer encuentro
Se derrocó un caballero ;
Y volviéndose á los otros,
Siguió el segundo al primero :
De suerte les apretaba,
Que lo mismo hizo al tercero.
Á esta sazón los otros
Hizon señal al guerrero,
Que es Rodrigo de Narvaez,
El cual llegó muy ligero,
Y se puso rostro á rostro
Contra el enemigo fiero,
Que era dispuesto y tallado
Cual nunca se vió Rugero.
En busca de Bradamante
En medio del campo fiero :
Al cual dió ciertas heridas
Y rindió por prisionero.

APPENDIX III.

The following account of the 'Nymphs and Shepherds of the Henares' is taken from Gallardo. The author explains his motive for writing about the Henares :

"that peaceful stream, of little renown in literature for lack of knowledge in the writers." "For, living by the level banks of the Tórmes where celebrated Salamanca is situated, and being a native of the famous Canary Islands, it may seem extraordinary in me to attempt to describe what my eyes have never seen. And that it may not seem a mere idle whim of mine to meddle with matters of which I have no knowledge, be it known that I was moved solely by having heard a companion of mine, a native of the famous Alcalá, bestow such praise upon its river, tell such marvellous tales of the country, so eulogize the beauty of its ladies and the courtliness and wit of its gallants, that I was naturally inclined to describe in my rude prose and ill-turned verse what my companion had related of the Summer festivities," etc.

He then sends his book into the world with the following *envoy* :

Bernardo á su Libro.
! O pobre librito mio,
Pues descienes de aldeanos !
Más te valiera en los llanos
Apacentar tu cabrío,
Que tratar con cortesanos.

The work is divided into six books: prose and verse. The verse is better than the prose, and is generally agreeable, easy and graceful.⁹ In another volume, however, where the same author is treated under the name of Gómez de Bobadilla, we are told "although there are some well-turned verses in some of his compositions, there are scarcely any that rise above mediocrity."¹⁰

Since writing the above, I have examined the copy of the 'Nymphs of the Henares' in the British Museum. It begins as follows:

En las umbrosas riberas que el apazible Henares con mansas y claras olas fertiliza, andaua el pastor Florino mas cuydoso de alimentar el fuego que en su corazon se criaua, que de apacentar su ganado por las viciosas y regaladas y eruas de los

⁹ Gallardo, 'Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española.' Vol. iii, p. 86.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, p. 1187.

floridos prados. Pastor que en un tiempo toda su gloria tenia puesta en mirar libremente los sonoros arroyuelos, que por-entre blancas guijas se derramauan: y los frondosos salzes transluzidos en la claridad de las espejadas aguas: y en oyr cantar dulcemente los paxarillos que meneando las harpadas lenguas hinchén los ayres de suaues accentos. Mas agora tiene tan mudado el gusto que sino es quando sus ojos presurosas lagrimas vierten no puede sentir rastro de alegría, por darle la fortuna no menores encuentros, que el amoroso fuego desconfianças. Siempre andaua en la consideracion de su mal excessiuo, que de dia ni de noche, le consentia un punto poder dar a sus cansados miembros algun aliuio. Viendose pues en un lugar solitario y vestido de las riquezas del alegre verano, forçado de su profundo sentimiento, de un lanudo çurron saco un pulido instrumento y tocandole espaciosamente, esparcio la voz por el ayre deste suerte:

Dorada aurora que con luz hermosa,
tanto esclareces la terrena esphera,
en ti comienza mi congoxa fiera
a cobrar fuerza en mi serena Diosa.
Horrida noche, obscura y tenebrosa
de mi dolor esquiuo mensagera
pues mientras passas tu veloz carrera
passo vida mas triste y mas penosa.
Tu diosa que de gracies y grandeza
tienes a amor un templo fabricado,
Sobre cordura y virginal limpieza.
Do fuerzas yr el corazon prendado,
a dar la libertad a tu belleza,
tu tambien el mio sojuzgado.

Dando a entender que no solamente el, pero muchos y muy pulidos pastores amauan a la hermosa Roselia, la mas linda pastora que en todas aquellas riberas apacentaua ganado. Inuidiada de las bellas ciudadanas y señoras, acostumbradas a conuersar con caualleros cortesanos. Que aunque en rusticos exercicios criada y nacida, las sobrepujaua a todas en discrecion y belleza de grande honestidad acompañada. Sus cabellos eran como el oro de Arabia en madexuelas compuesto, su blanca frente, mas luziente que el christal, sus ojos amorosos, zarcos y modestos, la nariz proporcionada, todo su rostro quajado de blanquisima leche, sus labios vertiendo sangre, sus mexillas mas que los corales finos coloradas, las manos rollizas y de tal suerte, que parecian hechas de las sabrosas mantequillas de su aldea. No podia el rigor del Sol ardiente empecer el resplandor de su lustroso rostro, ni el pesadillo cayado exasperas sus ternissimas manos,

It would be hard to find anything more absurd than this, and it was such books as the 'Nymphs of the Henares' that brought upon the Pastoral Romances the ridicule with which Cervantes treats some of them.

PHONOLOGY

OF THE

PATOIS OF CACHY (SOMME)

BY

THOMAS LOGIE, PH. D.

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INTRODUCTION.

The differences which exist in the spoken language of France in different districts have been caused by two sets of influences, the one arising from a condition already existing before the Latin language was spread over the Gallic territory by the conquering Romans, and the other due to events which occurred after that language had gained a firm footing there. From the variety which exists to-day in the language of any speech district, we are justified in assuming that a like variety existed in the Celtic language of France before the Romans arrived there. The Latin language, coming in contact with a language thus variegated, was necessarily influenced in one part, in a different way from the influence it felt in another part. In this way the Neo-Latin language was broken up into dialects.

With the wandering of the Germanic tribes the second set of influences commenced. In one part the Burgundians settled; in another, Salian Franks; and, later, came the Northmen. The dialect spoken by each of these had a different influence on the language with which it came in contact. This intensified the work of differentiation wrought by the Celtic.

The common mode of classifying dialects is the geographical one,—a mode far from satisfactory, for linguistic peculiarities always overlap geographical boundaries. A more rational mode of classification is that adopted by Caix for the Italian dialects,—the grouping together in one dialect group of all communities which have certain peculiarities in common. But as each particular phenomenon would thus give a separate dialect group,

Paul Meyer¹ objects to any classification at all. He considers the popular language of France as an *ensemble* which it is arbitrary to divide into dialect groups. While it is true, as he states, that the linguistic peculiarities of one district dovetail into what is called the dialect of a neighboring district, and that often there is no single characteristic which can be set down as belonging exclusively to what is known as a certain dialect; yet the sum of all the phenomena of one district compared with the sum of all the phenomena of a neighboring district, renders a dialect separation between these two districts not arbitrary, but rational.² It is for this reason that I speak of a Picard dialect, and of a patois of that dialect.

After the dawn of European history the first people found dwelling in the territory which, afterwards, became known as Picardy, were the Belgians,—a branch of the Celtic family. These occupied the country between the Seine and the Rhine, the Vosges mountains and the Ocean. With regard to the degree of mixture which existed between this people and the Germans, nothing is known before the wandering of the German tribes whom Cæsar found inhabiting this territory, which, under Roman rule, was known as *Belgica Secunda*, were the *Suessiones* (around Soissons), the *Bellovaces* (of Beauvais), the *Ambiani* (of Amiens and Poitou), and the *Vermandui* (of the Vermandois). All these tribes were conquered during Cæsar's Expedition of 57 B. C., and, from that time, the work of romanising went on. From the time of the Roman conquest to the time of the Frankish invasion, in the fifth century, large numbers of Germans were employed as mercenaries in the Roman army, and, at the close of a war, these were frequently paid off by grants of land, on which they settled as colonists. Such a Germanic colony was founded at Amiens, but of the source of the Germans who composed it nothing is known.

After more than four centuries and a half of Roman rule, came the advance of the Teutonic hordes on Gaul, and, in the year 406, Amiens and the surrounding country fell into the hands of the Suevi, Vandals and Alans. Meanwhile, the Franks had been continually encroaching upon the northeastern part of the Gallic territory, and in the year 355, they occupied a space of three hundred *stadia* on this side the Rhine, and had devastated

¹ *Romania* iv, 294-6; *ibid.* v, 504-5.

² Ascoli: *Arch. Glott. It.* ii, 385.

the whole region for three times that distance in front of them. By the end of the fifth century, the whole of *Belgica Secunda* was under Frankish power.

During the time of Charlemagne, the Saxons invaded the eastern part of France, but were promptly repelled, and do not appear to have made any settlements.

Then came the incursions of the Northmen on the north coast; their vessels sailed up the Somme, and the effect of their invasion is seen on the language.—The province of Picardy now passed into the possession of the counts of Flanders. It was taken by the English during the reigns of Philip VI and Charles III, but it does not appear that any English settlements were made, and the occupation was entirely a military one. It was restored to the French crown in 1463, under Louis XI, and since that time, has remained a part of the French dominion.

The ethnological complexion of this province has not materially changed from that time to the present. The slight changes which have taken place have been brought about by influences from the East, and not from the West.

The name *Picardie* is not known before the thirteenth century, and its origin is still in doubt. The derivation which stands at present is the Celtic *pic* (=point), and the Germanic termination *hart*. The name is supposed to have been applied to these people because of their use of the *pic*, or *pique*, in war, and also because they manufactured the weapon.

My investigations on the modern Picard in this monograph have been confined to the *patois* of Cachy, with a few comparisons with other communes of the Department of the Somme. Linguistically this Department may be divided into four districts:

- a. The Vermandois, toward the Department of Aisne;
- b. The Santerre, consisting of the plateau between the Somme and the Avre;
- c. The northeast of the Department, bordering on the Walloonian;
- d. The rest of the Department which consists of the Amiénois, and the Ponthieu.

The shades of difference between the *patois* of the communes of the Amiénois, and the *patois* of the Ponthieu, are very slight. As the disturbing causes come from the east, and northeast, so it is here that the greatest differences are found. On the south,

the French has made considerable encroachments, and, indeed, it has in all parts of the Department, owing to the efficiency of the schools under the present Republic, and the extended trade relations with other parts.

Cachy is a village of three hundred and twenty inhabitants, about sixteen kilometers southeast of Amiens, in the *arondissement* of Amiens, and in the *Canton* of Boves. It is two kilometers from the nearest railway station. I was informed that it is only within the last ten years that the teacher in the village school has required the children to use the French language during school hours. This regulation appears to have no force outside the limits of the school, for the *patois* is always used in the playground and in the home.

Concerning ethnological changes in the village during recent times, there were no traditions of migrations from other communes in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, with the exception of an occasional inter-marriage.

SIGNS USED IN THE TRANSCRIPTION OF VOWELS:

i=i in épi.
é=é in bébé.
ae=ai in faire, plaire.
æ=e in retard.
ē=e in ciel.
ê=a sound midway between é and e.
â=a in madame.
a=a in âme.
ø=eau in beau.
ø=o in joli.
ö=eu in peu.
u=ou in cou.
ü=u in lune.
ü=u in puis.
j=i in hiatus in lien.
w=w in Eng. ware.

NASAL VOWELS:

ã=a in pan.
ũ=u in humble.
õ=o in son.
ẽ=in Amiens.
æ̃=a semi-nasal sound midway between the pure vowel *æ* and the nasal sound of the same (*æ̃*).

THE CONSONANTS:

b=b in balance.
č=ch in Eng. church.
d=d in Didier.
f=f in frère.
g=g in garde.
h=h in Eng. home.
k=c in campagne.
l=l in louvre.
m=m in mordre.
n=n in nappe.
ñ=gn in It. ragno.
p=p in père.
r=r in rat.
s=c in ciel.
š=ch in chat.
t=t in terre.
v=v in voleur.
z=s in casier.
ž=j in jamais.

THE VOWELS.

I. TREATMENT OF *a*.

a. Tonic *a* in open syllable.

This becomes a sound which is neither *é* nor *ɛ*, but an intermediate sound *ê*:

FRATREM > *frêr*; CLARUM > *klêr*; PATREM > *pêr*; AMATUM > *emê*; HOSPITALEM > *otêl*; MORTALEM > *mortêl*.

In order that the sound *a* should become *ê* it must have passed through the sound *ɛ*, for the latter stands between *ê* and *a* in the vowel scale. While the French shows in this case a front wide vowel, the vowel of the patois has passed through this stage, and is on its way to the state of a front narrow vowel. Thus, although the tendency of the French is towards frontness and narrowness,³ the patois goes still farther in this direction.

The Latin verbs of the first conjugation change the *a* to *i*, according to the regular law of the patois for this class of words: VOLARE > *voli*; MANDUCARE > *mẽnzi*; CAMBIARE > *kãzi*. In Crinon the same peculiarity is found, although not invariably: MANDUCARE > *maingi* (Crinon, Sat. i. 1.); CAMBIARE > *cangi* (Sat. v. 54.); but PERDONARE > *pardouner* (Sat. i. 36.); PROMINARE > *proum'ner* (Sat. v. 14). In the *Franc. Picard* the form ending in *i* does not occur, but the termination in *-er* for verbs of the first conjugation alone is found:—*meinger*, *prier*, (F. Pic. 1882, p. 148); *canter* (*ibid.*, p. 151); *laissier* (*ibid.*, 1872, p. 203).

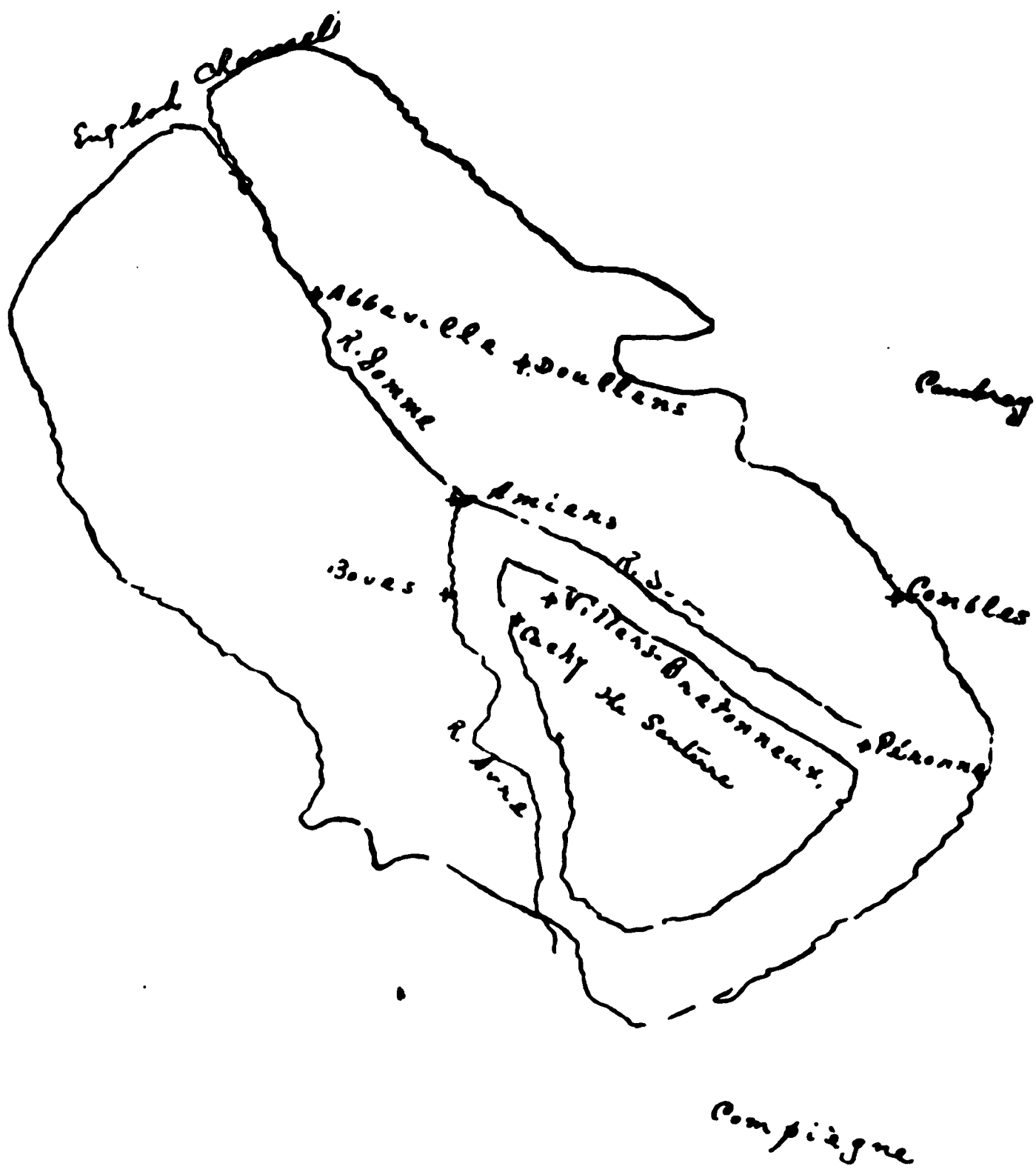
In the *Bonhomme-Picard*, however, printed and published, like the last named work, at Amiens, the termination in *-i* is found:—*raconti* (1887, p. 93); *quittii* (*ibid.*, p. 96). As the *-i* termination is not used by the natives of Amiens, the writer of these stories in the *Bonhomme-Picard* belongs to a territory farther east;—in the 'Célèbre mariage de Jeannin et de Prignon,' it is always represented by *ê*; *contê* (Suite, 14); *acouquiê* (*ibid.*, 39).

The termination *-i* for verbs of the first conjugation is not found in the selections from the different patois given by Corblet in his Glossary; there is no example in the 'Dis dou vrai aniel,' 'Durmart le Galois,' 'Li Chevaliers as devs Espees,' 'Aucassin et Nicolète,' nor in any other Picard text to which the writer has had access.

At the present time the part of the Department of the Somme in which this peculiarity is found is extremely limited. It is not found at Amiens (that is, it is not used by those native to that city), nor in

³ Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik,' p. 54.

any place west of it. It commences at Boves, Cachy, Villers-Bretonneux, is found in nearly the whole of the Santerre, and as far south as Compiègne, and, towards the east, in the region of Péronne, and Combles, in the direction of the Wallonian.



In the sixteenth century there was a tendency in the French itself to assimilate the forms of the first conjugation to those of the second.⁴

This peculiarity is in very extensive use in the Wallonian,⁵ and particularly at Liège.⁶ The communes of Paifve, Wihagne, Tuprelle, Alleur, Rocour, Liers, Voroux, Oupeye, with many others are cited by Wilmotte⁷ as having this peculiarity for verbs ending in *y+n+are*.

There is thus a direct territorial connection, by way of Péronne and Combles, between the Wallonian and that part of the Somme in which this *-i* termination is found.

This connection, and the fact that it is not found on the west of Amiens, nor on the south-west, nor south of the Santerre, and the wedge-shape of the district itself, justify the conclusion that it has spread west and south from Wallonian to Picard territory.

In the Chartes of Vermandois,⁸ tonic *a libre* very often gives *ei*. This is not found, however, in the documents belonging to the western part of the Picard territory (in the Ponthieu and Aire), but only in the Vermandois and the region east and north of it. And here this *ei* is only found in certain positions: before a dental; in the infinitive termination (*donneir*, xxxvii, 10); before a mute+*r* (*freires*, xxxii, ii; *meire*, iii, 6; *peire*, xxxv, 10); before a labial+*r*; before *l*.⁹

b. Tonic *a* preceded by *k* gives the same result as in French:—

CANEM > *éjẽ*; DECANUM > *duéjẽ*; PAGAVUM > *péjẽ*; *quien* (pron. *éjẽ*, Crimon, Sat. ii, 2); *cien* (Auc. et Nic., x, 27, 71)

c. Pretonic *a* preceded by *k*.

CADERE > *éɛr*; CABALLUM > *gɔɔ*; CAMINUM > *kmẽ*; CANALEM > *kànàl*.

In all words of popular formation it falls; in words of learned origin, such as *kànàl*, it is retained.

The fall of this sound was due to its pretonic position; the voice passed lightly over it in its haste to reach the tonic vowel. The sound has passed through the following changes:—*a* > *ɛ* > *ɔ* > and then fell.¹⁰

⁴ "Au seizième siècle, on assimila parfois la première conjugaison à la seconde, et l'on dit: *j'aimis, tu aimis, il aimit*, etc. Robert Etienne dans sa grammaire française le déclare explicitement"—Darmesteter et Hatzfeld—"Le Seizième Siècle en France," p. 237.

"Solche Formen [forms of the first conjugation in *-i*] sind im 15 und 16 Jahrhundert auch in der Schriftsprache nicht unbeliebt, und werden von den Grammatikern des 16 Jahrhunderts ins Paradigma aufgenommen. Später werden sie in der gebildeten Sprache wieder ausser Kurs gesetzt, doch haben zahlreiche Patois an dieser Bildung festgehalten"—Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 614.

⁵ "Dans quelques localités on dit *dansi*"—Sigart 'Dictionnaire du Wallon de Mons,' p. 45.

⁶ *abrjẽ* [pron. *âbrézi*], *abreie* [pron. *âbrési*], *acigi* [*ásiži*], *acouk* [*âkuki*].—Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liégeois-Français,' s. v.

⁷ *Revue des Patois*, vol. i, p. 21. Chart. i.

⁸ 'Chartes françaises du Vermandois de 1218 à 1250' par Le Proux. Paris, 1875.

⁹ Neumann, 'Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranzösischen.'

¹⁰ Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik,' p. 23.

Quèrre (pron. *érr*, Crimon. Sat. iv, 28); *g'veu* (*ibid.*, xvi, 57); *g'veux* (Franc-Pic. 1882, p. 146.); *caïr* ('Auc. et Nic.', p. 99.); *cenain* (*ibid.*, ii. 5. 19); *caïr* and *keoir* ('Rec. de Moll.', Van Hamel, p. 385).

d. Tonic *a* in closed syllable.

This is retained with the same sound as in French:—ARBOREM > *àb*; PARTEM > *pàr*; VACCAM > *vàk*. In some cases, however, it becomes *o*;—SACCUM > *so*; PASSUM > *pò*; CATTUM > *kò*; RATTUM > *rò*.

The form *pau* is cited by Corblet,¹¹ and he says¹² it belongs to the Vermandois, but it will be shown later that it belongs, as a negative, also to a part of the Amiénois. This transformation of *a* to *o* was unknown in Old Picard:—*sac* (Carité, 51. 7); *pas* (Car. 66. 12); *pas* (Aniel, 154. This change of *a* to *o* is exceedingly rare in French. One example of it is in *fantôme*. The change is quite common, however, in the pretonic syllable:—*ormoire*, *dommage*, *josmin*.¹³

In Early English this change of *a* to *o* was very frequent¹⁴:—*hál* > whole; *mál* > mole; *dál* > dole; *snaw* > snow; *dras* > drove; *rád* > road; *lád* > load; *átān* > oats; *wrát* > wrote; *sápe* > soap; *pápa* > pope.

This change was especially liable to take place before nasals:—long, lomb,—and the *o* was so frequent in the earlier period of English as almost to supersede the *a*.¹⁵

The change also took place before *s*. Although all the examples quoted from the English have the tonic vowel in an open syllable, yet these cases are analagous to those of the patois in which *a* has become *o*, for it has just been shown that the change only took place in Modern Picard where the vowel is in an open syllable. The change is due to the tendency to narrow the vowel, a tendency which is strong in this patois.

e. *a* in Romance closed syllable.

ANIMAM > *am*; IMAGINEM > *imàž*; AETATICUM > *àz*; VILLATICUM > *vilàž*.

This gives the same result as in French. So also O. Pic.:—*arme* ('Aut. et Nic.', vi, 22); *ame* (*ibid.*, 16 1); *aage* (Mis. 217, 10); *ostage* (Char. du Vermand., i, 9); *irctage* (*ibid.*, iii, 6). In some of the O. Pic. texts the termination *-aige* is found from -ATICUM. Joret¹⁶ considers this form to be peculiar to the Lorraine and Burgundian, but it had a much wider extension. It is found in the 'Chartes du Vermandois' *arieraiges* (xxxvi, 22); *iretaige* (xxii, 2); and in the 'Chartes du Ponthieu':—*imaige* (viii, 17); *oumaige* (xiv. 23). Yet, in all these Chartes the prevailing form is *-age*.

The form *-aige* is also found by Neumann¹⁷ in the 'Chartes d'Aire,'

¹¹ 'Glossaire,' p. 81.

¹² Glossaire, s. v.

¹³ Thurot, 'La Pron. fran.,' i. 33.

¹⁴ Skeat, 'Principles of English Etymology.' First Series. Oxford, 1887, p. 54.

¹⁵ Sweet, 'History of English Sounds,' p. 27. London 1874.

¹⁶ 'Du C dans les Langues romanes,' p. 59.

¹⁷ Laut- und Flexionslehre des Altfranz., p. 12.

and in the 'Chronique de Jean de Stavelot' (fifteenth century) from the region of Liège, and, in the latter work, the form in *-aige* is almost the general one. It thus appears that this latter form, besides belonging to the Lorraine and Burgundian, is found (although, in the earlier monuments, only rarely) in the whole of the Picard territory, as shown by the early texts. With regard to the sound of this *-aige*, the forms *visaedge*, *usaedge*, which Förster¹⁸ finds in 'Boudouin de Sebourg,' and the form *damage* in the 'Chev. as devs Espees,' would show the sound *-ɛge*. The sound *-ɛge* in the present border dialects between Metz and Belfort¹⁹ goes to confirm this sound, for the *-aige* of the Lorraine and Burgundian. But from the preponderance of the form *-age* in the Picard, and the occasional form *-aige*, Neumann²⁰ concludes that it probably had, in the Picard, a sound between *-age* and *-ɛge*.

f. *a+l+consonant*.

altum > *ö*; *altrum* > *öt*. *eute* (Crinon Sat. i. 5); *han* (Mar. de J. et P. 8); *autre* (*ibid.* 48); *autres* (Auc. et Nic., ii, 25; viii, 17); *autre* (Aniel. 103, 130, 159). The forms *autre* and *haut* do not appear in Crinon's 'Satires.' The forms *ö* and *öt* are found in the patois of the following Communes of the Somme and these are, undoubtedly, the only forms used in the whole Department:—Querrieux, Manancourt, Amiens, La Faloise, Doullens, Chaulnes, Tilloy, Margny-les-Compiègne, Gentelles, Fontaine-sur-Maye, Villers-Bretonneux, St. Léger-les-Authie, Ferrières, Pertain, Cachy. The form appears to be quite a modern one, since it is not found in any of the old texts, nor even in 'Le Célèbre Mariage' (1648), but is universal in Crinon, the *Franc-Picard*, and the *Bonhomme-Picard*. The change from *o* to *ö* in these words may throw some light on the form *bjö* of the modern Picard, which in O. Pic., was *bio*. The change from O. Pic. *autre* to Mod. Pic. *öt* is the secondary consequence of a widening under the influence of the accent.²¹ This process of widening is active in Mod. Pic.

¹⁸ 'Chev. as devs Espees,' xxxiv

¹⁹ Horning, 'Die Ostfranz. Grenzdialekte zwischen Metz und Belfort,' p. 15.

²⁰ 'Laut-und Flexionslehre,' p. 14, ²¹ Sievers, *Jen. r. Literaturzeit.*, 1874. Art. 145.



g. Tonic *a* + *m* or *n*.

This becomes *ā* as in French, FRANCAM > *frāk*; MANICAM > *māš*; PLANTAM > *plāt*. In CAMERAM the *b* has not been inserted between the *m* and *r*, as in French, and there is no nasality, but it becomes simply *šām*. In many words in the patois in which the Latin original had *m* or *n* + Consonant, the consonant has either fallen, if final, or has become assimilated to the nasal, and, by the coalescence of the two consonants, the nasal sound of the vowel has given way to a pure vowel sound:—GAMBAM > *gāb* > *gāmm* > *gām*. In O. Pic., however, both consonants still existed, and the vowel had a nasal sound:—*ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 11; xii, 28).

h. *a* + *m* or *n* + a vowel.

This gives in all cases *ǣ*, as in French:—PANEM > *pǣ*; DE + MANE > *dmǣ*; except where the vowel following *m* or *n* was *a*, which, as a final, became *e*, and, in this case there is no nasal sound developed, but the *a* before the nasal becomes *ǣ*:—GRANAM > *grǣn*; PLANAM > *plǣn*.

In the O. Pic. texts this is always represented by *ai*:—*pain* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 22; iii, 13); *demain* (*ibid.*, xvi, 13-15); *plaine* (*ibid.*, xxvi, 22). In 'Auc. et Nic.' *é* in this position is also transcribed by *ai*:—*paine* (xvi, 22); *plaine* (xx, 12); *sain* (xiii, 20), showing that, at this time (the beginning of the thirteenth century) the nasal developed from *é*, and the nasal developed from *a* had the same sound in Picard.

i. Tonic *a* followed by *k*.

FACERE > *fuér*; ²² FACTUM > *fué*; JAM + MAGIS > *žāmué*.

In all the Modern Picard texts the same sound is found. A parasitic *i* was developed before the *c*. After the fall of the *c*, this *i* combined with the *a*, and produced the sound *é* which, in the patois, has been treated as the *e* of SAPERE, etc., and has thus been diphthongised to *ué*.²³

In the Aniel we find the rhymes *faire*; *affaire* (97); *fait*; *trait* (129); 'Auc. et Nic.', *faire*; *aire* (iii, 14); In Carité: *faire*; *paire* (i, 4). In Auc. et Nic., the form *fare* is also found. This change of *ai* to *a* is frequent in Picard, Wallonian and Lorraine texts.²⁴

*PLACERE gives, in the patois *plér*, a form which has been adopted from the French.

j. Tonic *a* preceded by yod.

CARUM > *éér*; SCALAM > *éél*; CERCARE > *šérši*; SICCARÉ > *séšir*; CAMBIARE > *kāži*; INRABIARE > *ārāži*; PURGARE—*pürzi*.

This becomes *ǣ*, as in French, except in words from the first Latin

²² *fouaire* (Crin. Sat., i, 28); *fouire* (Mar. de J. et P., 33); *fouir* (Evang. selon St. Matt. xxii, 2.)

²³ For the development of this sound, see treatment of tonic *e* in an open syllable.

²⁴ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', p. 65.

conjugation, in which the *a* becomes *i*, according to the regular rule for this class of words. *cier* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ix, 5-14); *cerquier* (*ibid.*, xxvi, 27); *cangier* (Mis., 165-6); *purgier* (Car., 193, 8). In O. Pic. a parasitic *i* was regularly developed after the guttural, according to the Bartsch-Mussafia law. This *ie* was reduced to *e* towards the end of the thirteenth century,²⁵ and in the modern patois this termination has become *i*.

k. Post-tonic *a* falls, as in French.

TERRAM*t*>*er*; *STELAM>*étuél*; GLORIAM>*gluér*; PORTAM>*port*.

This *a* first became *e* and the fall of this *e* had already commenced at the beginning of the twelfth century,²⁶ and it had entirely fallen before the time of the monuments which are distinctively Picard.

l. Pretonic *a* preceded by *k*,

Remains, as in French:—ADORARE>*adpri*; APPROPRIARE>*apriši*; HABERE>*avnér*.

m. Nebentonic *a* in closed syllable before a nasal,

Becomes *ẽ*:—MANDUCATUM>*mẽžẽ*; COMMANDAMENTUM>*kmẽdmẽ*.

In this position *a* and *e* give the the same result,²⁷ but, in the thirteenth century, *an*+cons. did not rhyme with *en*+cons. in the dialects of Amiens, Vermandois, Ponthieu and Artois,²⁸ although, in the same period they gave a like result in the dialect of the Ile de France and of Lorraine.²⁹ In 'Auc. et Nic.' there are a few words in which *e* is found for *ã*:—*asoguentee* (vi, 21); *center* (xii, 6); *enfent* (xxviii, 13); *mengoient* (xviii, 10); *ẽ* and *ã* are generally separated in this work.³⁰ Rare cases of the mingling of *ã* and *ẽ* are also found in the 'Reclus de Molliens':—*mengeoit* (Mis., 150, 8), beside *mangue* (*ibid.*, 66, 12).

n. The termination -ARIUM.

PANARIUM>*pẽni*; ROSARIUM>*rosji*; FEBRUARIUM>*fẽvriji*; PRIMARIUM>*premi*. The termination *i* for this class of words is also found by Horning for the dialects between Metz and Belfort;³¹ but there he finds the termination with a monosyllabic form. In the dialect of Liège also, the monosyllabic termination in *i* is found, for example, *févrèr*.³²

All the Romance forms, except the Rumanian and the Italian, point to a form -*erium* as the original termination in this class of words. The explanation of Schuchardt is, that the form -*erium* arose out of *arium*, by the influence of the *i* on the preceding *a*, but Gröber says there was a change of termination from -*arium* to *erium*,

²⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

²⁶ Suchier, 'Reimpredigt,' p. xxxix.

²⁷ See *e*+nasal+consonant.

²⁸ Haase, 'Verhalten der pik. und wall. Denkmäler,' p. 10.

²⁹ Suchier, Auc. et Nic. p. 64.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³¹ 'Die Ostfran. Grenzdialekte zw. m. U. B.,' p. 13.

³² Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liègeois-Français,' s. v.

through association with other forms ending in *-erium*. But, however the change from *-arium* to *-erium* may have taken place, none of the forms existing in any of the French dialects, with the exception of a part of the Auvergne³³ (which has *er* or *eir*) can be explained, except by taking *-erium* as a base. Taking this form as the original, the development in the patois is as follows:—The *i* is attracted to the tonic syllable, giving *ei*; the *e* diphthongises, giving *iei*, then, by the fall of the medial vowel, *ii*. In *pohi*, one *i* is united with the *n* to form *h*.

TREATMENT OF *e*.

a. Tonic *e* in an open syllable.

PETRAM—*pjer*; BENE>*hjē*; TENET>*tjē*; REM>*rjē*. The *e* diphthongises to *je*, and, before a final nasal, produces *jē*. This is a rising diphthongue in the patois, although it is supposed to have been originally a falling one.³⁴ It was already a rising one in the Picard of the thirteenth century. This change from falling to rising took place first in the Anglo-Norman.³⁵ In O. Pic. tonic *e* in an open syllable generally gave *ie*: *pies* ('Ch. du Verm.', xxxii, 11); *bien* (*ibid.*, i, 13); *rien* (*ibid.*, vii, 12); *tient* (*ibid.*, v, 60), but cases are found in O. Pic., where this *ie* has been reduced to *i* through progressive assimilation of the *e* to the *i*:—*entirs* (Phil. Mous., v, 8083); *abaissir* ('Chev. as d. Esp.', 95-24); *vinent* (Band. Sib., 1803). This process was also common to the Burgundian and Lorraine.³⁶ This assimilation has taken place in the patois in *hjē*, when used in connection with the conjunction *é* (Fr. *eh*), when it becomes *hē*.

b. Tonic *e* in a closed syllable remains *e*, as in French:

PERDERE>*perd*; TERRAM>*ter*; INFERNUM>*ēfer*; TESTAM>*tēt*; PESTEM>*pest*. This is also the usual result in O. Pic. texts:—*terre* (Ch. du Ver., i, 12); *fenestres* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 4); *prestres* (*ibid.*, v, 7); *terre* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 6, 20); *perdre* (*ibid.*, iv, 6), but *e* diphthongised to *ie* is also found: *therre* (Aniel, 31, 40), and in other cases cited by Tobler.³⁷ But this *ie* formed assonance with *e*.³⁸ This *ie* is peculiar to the Hennegan and Wallonian.³⁹ It is rare at St. Omer, and is not found at Arras, Saint-Quentin, and Mézières, but it is the common form at Aire, Lille, Doai, Cambrai, Avesnes, Maubeuge, Namur, Liège, and in the region of Valenciennes and Mons.⁴⁰ It was found in Artois in the thirteenth century, but is not consistently carried out in the texts.⁴¹ In 'Auc. et Nic.', there is only one example of it (*iestre*, x, 40; beside *estre*, ii, 27). The diphthongised form is not found in any part of the Somme at present.

c. Tonic *e* followed by a final nasal,

Becomes *jē*, as in French. VENIT>*ojē*; BENE>*hjē*; REM>*rjē*.

³³ Paul Meyer, *Romania*, iii, 434. ³⁴ Havet, *Romania*, vi, 323.

³⁵ Neumann, 'Laut und Flexionslehre,' p. 54.

³⁶ Neumann, 'Laut und Flexionslehre,' p. 57. ³⁷ 'Aniel', p. xxiv.

³⁸ Tobler, 'Aniel', xxiv. ³⁹ Suchier, in Grober's 'Grundriss', i, 602.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 602. ⁴¹ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', p. 64.

Before a nasal ϵ is found in assonance with \tilde{e} in earliest French texts.⁴² The nasal deepened the sound of the vowel \tilde{e} in such a way that it became \tilde{e} .⁴³

d. Tonic ϵ followed by yod.

MEDIUM > $m\tilde{e}$; LECTUM > $l\tilde{e}$; PRETIUM > $pr\tilde{e}$; EBRIUM > iv . When final, it becomes \tilde{e} ; when not final, it becomes i . In all the modern Picard texts which I have examined,⁴⁴ it is in all cases transcribed by i ; so also in all the O. Pic. texts; *lit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi., 21); *mi* (Mis., cv., 3). The history, territory, etc., of the \tilde{e} is treated elsewhere.

e. Tonic ϵ followed by a labial FEBREM > $j\ddot{ö}v$; > LEVO > $fj\ddot{ö}v$.

The form in O. Pic., was *lieve* ('Auc. et Nic.,' viii, 5), and so also in the modern Picard texts: *lievre* ('Cél. Mar.-Suite,' 53); *iève*, (Crinon, Sat., ii, 42); except the 'Evangile Selon St. Matt.,' where it is *leuv*. (ii 1).

The tonic ϵ in an open syllable is diphthongised to ie , according to the regular law, and a parasitic u has developed in the modern patois, which has combined with the e to form the sound \ddot{o} . This u is not found in the transcription of the 'Cél. Mar.,' but, owing to the inaccurate transcription, it is not sufficient to prove that the u -sound had not developed at that time (1648).

f. $\epsilon + r$ + consonant.

MERCANTEM > $m\grave{a}r\grave{s}\tilde{a}$; PERDONNARE > $p\grave{u}rd\grave{o}ni$. This change took place under the influence of the uvular r . Owing to the difficulty of pronouncing e , a front vowel, and the uvular r in the same combination, the sound ϵ was changed to the sound \tilde{a} , which is nearer the r in physiological production. This change had already taken place in the twelfth century,⁴⁵ and is found in all the O. Pic. texts: *marceant* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxviii, 15); *markeant* (Car., clvi, 3); *pardoner* (Mis., cclxviii, 10). This reactive influence of the uvular r has been greatly extended in the modern patois of Cachy.

g. Pretonic ϵ + nasal + consonant.

This becomes \tilde{e} : PENSATUM > $p\tilde{e}s\tilde{e}$; *INTENDUTUM > $\tilde{e}t\tilde{e}d\tilde{a}$. So also in O. Pic. *pensée* (Mis., cxv, 8); *entendans* (Car., ccvii, 12).

h. Tonic ϵ + nasal + consonant.

This becomes \tilde{e} :—VENTUM > $v\tilde{e}$; PRENDERE > $pr\tilde{e}$; EXEMPLUM >

⁴² Schwan-Grammatik p. 80.

⁴³ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I. 576.

⁴⁴ In the 'Satires' of Crinon, the *Franc-Picard*: the *Bonhomme-Pic*. 'Evangile selon St. Matt.'

⁴⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 32.

ɛksɛ̃p. So also in O. Pic.: *prendre* ('Mis.,' lii, 5); *vent* (Car., cxxx, 5); *argent* (Aniel, 60); *gent* (Aniel, 59); *froument* (Ch. du Verm., xxii, 43).

According to Paul Meyer,⁴⁶ *en*+cons.=*an*+cons. for the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the Pic. monuments examined by Haase⁴⁷ he finds that, in the *Beauvoisis*, the endings *ont* and *ent* rhyme together; but that, in the patois of the present day, they are separated.

In the thirteenth century, in the Vermandois, in the dialect of Amiens, Ponthieu, Artois and Hennegau, these do not rhyme together, and, at Cambrai, they sometimes rhyme and sometimes do not.⁴⁸ In the patois of Cachy, and in the whole of the Department of the Somme, *ant* and *ent* are separated, except when pretonic, when *ant* passes to *ent*. In the Aniel *en*+cons. is found once in rhyme with *an*+cons.

i. Post-tonic *e* falls, as in French.

VENIRE>*vnir*; PATREM—*p̃er*; ESSERE>*ɛt*; CAMERAM>*ʃam*. The fall of this *e* took place before the time of the earliest monuments.

j. Pretonic *e* falls.

LEVARE>*loé*; RETIRARE>*rtiri*; VENIRE>*vnir*; TENERE>*tnir*; GENICULUM>*ʒnu*. The fall of this *e* is due to the light passage of the voice on to the tonic syllable. The preponderance of the tonic syllable led to a gradual weakening of the vowel preceding it, and, in this case, that vowel entirely disappeared.⁴⁹ It passed through the following stages: *ɛ*>*ə*>to whispered *e*, then fell.⁵⁰ This *e* is written in all the O. Pic. texts, and as late as the 'Cél Mar.' (1648) it is found: *appellé* ('Cél. Mar.' Suite 66); *vené* (*ibid.*, 112). In the modern texts it is never written: *rtirè* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' ii, 14); *vnir* (iii, 11); *lvan* (*ibid.*, ii, 2); *g'nou* (Crinon., ii, 44); *r'marquer* (*Le Bonhomme*, 1882, p. 87).

k. The termination—ÉLLUM becomes *jö*:

CULTELLUM>*kutjö*; MARTELLUM>*märtjö*; CASTELLUM>*kätjö*; BEL-LUM>*bjö*; MANTELLUM>*mèrtjö*; MORCELLUM>*morsjö*; FARDELLUM>*färdjö*; AGNELLEUM>*ájjö*. It gives the same result in all parts of the Department of the Somme, and this form is the only one found in the modern texts belonging to that territory: *bōyeux* (Crinon. Sat., v., 43); *capieu* (*ibid.*, iii 35); *cavieu* (*ibid.*, v. 64); *mantieu* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' v. 40); *morsieu* (*ibid.*, vii. 11); *nouvieu* (ix. 17); *égnieu* (xxi. 5); *potieu* (Tristesse in Corblet's 'Glossaire,' p. 43); *bieu* (*ibid.*, p. 43); *bieu* (*Franc-Pic.*, 1886, p. 149); *nouvieu* (*Le Bonhomme Pic.*, 1882, p. 88). In the 'Cél. Mar.' it has two forms: *iau* and *eau*. In Picard

⁴⁶ *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, i, 244.

⁴⁷ 'Verhalten der pik. and wall. Denkmäler in Bezug auf *a* und *e* vor ged. m.,' p. 10.

⁴⁸ Haase, *Oper. Cit.*, p. 10,

⁴⁹ Beyer, 'Franz. Phonetik', p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Loc. Cit.*

texts older than this, *iau* is the usual⁵¹ and almost universal form: *damoisiax* ('Auc. et Nic.,' v. 17); *caviax* (*ibid.*, xiii. 15); *biax* (*ibid.*, xv. 4); *bian(s)* (Aniel, 120.); *pastourials* ('Chev. as devs. Esp.,' 10514); *bians* (*ibid.*, 97); *biaus* (Guy de Cambrai, 3. 28).

This development of the Picard *iaux* (*iaus*) separates the O. Pic., from the O. Fr. dialects⁵² which had *els*, *eaus*, *eals*, *cax*, etc. The explanation of the O. Pic. form offers little difficulty, and Förster⁵³ gives the following development: *bels* > *béals* > *beáls* > *beau(s)*; *bials* > *biaus* was a later development from *beáls*. But the development of the modern form *bieu* (pron. *bj̃*) offers greater difficulty. Förster⁵⁴ wished to derive it from a form *biels* which gave, by the vocalisation of the *l*, *bieu(s)* (pron. *bj̃ö*): but although the form *biel* exists in the O. Pic. texts, the form *biels* has not been found.⁵⁵ But a form *biels* is not absolutely necessary, since it may be explained by Neumann's principle of *Satzphonetik* as follows: The form of the accus. sing., *biel*, vocalised the *l* before a consonant, giving *bieu* (pron. *bj̃ö*), but retained the *l* before a vowel.⁵⁶ The French dialects surrounding the Picard offer no help (with the exception of the Wallonian) for the solution of this difficulty, since, in the eastern dialects, the *l* falls, and the same takes place in the Norman, with the exception of the territory bordering on the Picard, and which has been influenced by the latter. There are a few words in the patois of Cachy in which the termination—*ELLUM* has received a different treatment:—*TINELLUM* > *tini*; *FLAGELLUM* > *fléji*; *MONTICELLUM* > *mōšji*; *RASTELLUM* > *rati*. Two of these words are cited by Jouancoux⁵⁷ from the O. Fr. with the termination *el*:—*flaïel*, *tinel*. In O. Pic. *TINELLUM* developed in the same way as other words with the termination—*ELLUM*; viz., to *iau*:—*flaiaus* (Car, cc xiii. 3). The other words cited above I have been unable to find in any O. Pic. text. The form *fléji* must, therefore, be a later introduction and probably came from those dialects⁵⁸ in which the *l* fell, giving *fléjē*, and was then changed, in the patois of Cachy to *fléji* after the analogy of verbs of the first conjugation.

51 Die pikardischen Texte haben alle *iaus*—Förster in *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, i, 565.

52 "Besondere Erwähnung verdient hier noch die Behandlung der romanischen Gruppen—*ill*+cons. and—*ell*+cons., beide—Fr. *el*+cons. durch deren lautliche Entwicklung sich das Pikardische von den übrigen Dialekten abhebt. *El*+cons. tritt, nämlich, wenn auch nicht unbedingt, so doch am häufigsten in Pikardischen unter der Form *iaus* auf gegenüber den *els*, *eals*, *eaus*, *cax*, etc., den übrigen afr. Dialekte. Letztere kommen, jedoch, bisweilen neben *iaus* im Pik. vor:—*iaus* (Ch. du Verm. iv. 7; vi. 5. 8; x. 13; xiv. 4); *entriaus* (*Ibid.*, xxvi. 6); *yaus* (*ibid.*, xxxiii. 11); *eaus* (*ibid.*, v. 29.); *eus* (*ibid.*, xxii. 27)." Neumann, 'Laut—und Flexionslehre', p. 66.

53 "Das Pik. biau lässt eine doppelte Erklärung zu: entweder mit wallonischer Diphthongirung *biels* (und vocalisirt *bieus*) und durch Einfluss des *l* daraus *bials* und mit vocalisirten *l* endlich *biaus*; diese Form gab dem heutigen Pik. biau, jenes dem bieu seinen Ursprung.

Diese Entwicklung möchte ich aber gern auf das Wallonische beschränken; für den übrigen Theil des Pik. möchte ich das Pic.—*iaus* aus vorausgehenden *els* > *eals* > *ials* erklären."—Förster, —*Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, i, 564. 54 *Loc. Cit.*

55 Dr. J. E. Matzke, *Mod. Long. Notes*, 1889. No. i, p. 16.

56 Matzke, *Loc. Cit.*

57 'Glossaire,' s. v.

58 The Eastern and Norman.

I am, however, unable to cite any example of the form *fléjé* in the patois,—a form which is necessary for a satisfactory proof of the theory.

m. Treatment of *g* + yod.

LECTUM > *læ̃*; PECTUS > *pæ̃*; DISPECTUM > *dé̃pæ̃*; DECEM > *dís*; SEX > *sis*. It becomes *æ̃* in words in which this becomes the final sound. *Dis* and *sis* are French introductions, and before a following consonant these are pronounced in the same way as in French. In O. Pic. this always gave *i*, by the production of a parasitic *i* before the yod, the diphthongisation of *g* to *ie*, the fall of the medial vowel in the triple combination, and the coalescence of the two *i*'s. *Lil* ('*Auc. et Nic.*,' vi, 21); *pis* ('*Car.*,' xcvi. 5); *sis* ('*Mis.*,' ccxxv. 7).

MELIUS and DEUM have developed in a different way; the former has become *mjiü* and the latter *djiü*. In the O. Pic. there was considerable variation in the transcription of the termination of this class of words; sometimes it is found as *iu* and sometimes as *ieu*.⁵⁹ Till the middle of the thirteenth century *iu* was the common form for this class of words, but, after that time, it became *ieu*;⁶⁰ yet *iu* was still retained as an archaism in some words. The form *ieu* did not become, as Neumann states, the only one; for in addition to the two words already given, the patois of Cachy retains the ending *iu* in the following words, although their history is a different one:—*mälüjü*, *pusjü*, *krëtjü*, *sëtjü*, *näjü*.

The variation between *iu* and *ieu* in the O. Pic. does not appear to have indicated a difference of pronunciation, for Tobler finds in the 'Dit de Gentillece' (in Jubin's '*Nouv. Rec.*,' II. 383) *diex* rhyming with *jus*.⁶¹

n. Prosthetic *e*.

The sound of this *e* varies all the way between *é* and *ə* according to the nature of the preceding and following consonants.⁶² It never arises before a single consonant followed by a pure vowel, but only before a cluster of consonants, or before a single consonant followed by a nasal vowel. This prosthetic *e* is not heard when single words are pronounced, but only in connected discourse. It is found in all recent Picard texts:—*Pour eq j'el croiche* (Crinon, *Sat.*, i, 7); *ein*

⁵⁹ "Die Schreibung zwischen *iu* und *ieu* schwankt durchaus; daher denn auch ein ursprüngliches *ieu* mit *iu* geschrieben wird, daher *liu*, *leiu*, *diu*." Förster, '*Chevalier as deus Espees*,' xlv.

⁶⁰ "Es ist wohl anzunehmen dasz in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahr. die ältere Generation der lebenden Pikarden noch *iu* sprach, während bei der jüngern sich die Neigung einstellte statt dessen *ieu* auszusprechen. Um die Mitte des Jahr. etwa u. 1250 mochten sich beide eine zeitlang in der angedeuteten Weise nebeneinander hergebenden Aussprachen dergestalt ausgeglichen haben—dasz *ieu* als die einzige den Sieg davon trug." Neumann, '*Laut-und Flexionslehre*,' p. 42.

⁶¹ Tobler, '*Aniel*,' xxvii.

⁶² Owing to the want of material, I am unable to give rules for the variations.

verre ed brain d'vin (*ibid.*, I. 2); *el socialisme* (*ibid.*, I. ii. 1); *erqusilli* (*ibid.*, viii. 50); *édpi* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' i. 17); *évu* (*ibid.*, II. 2); *édsu* (*ibid.*, v. 14); *édvan* (*ibid.*, v. 16); *éddin* (*ibid.*, xxvii. 34); *égu'min* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1885, p. 145); *j'em'su porté* (*ibid.*, p. 146.); *pemmes ed terre* (*Le Bonhomme Pic.*, 1882, p. 82). This peculiarity of the Picard appears to be of quite recent origin, since no example is found in the 'Cél. Mar', nor in any early Picard text to which the writer has access.

This prosthetic *e* is found in all the Eastern dialects: "*soin ed tortout ell'domestique, de'main* (dialect of Champagne⁶³ *ér mantiel* (Lorraine).⁶⁴ In the Emilian dialect of North Italy there is a similar phenomenon,⁶⁵ and also in the Engadine dialects.⁶⁶ The prosthetic *e* arose in this case from the same cause which produced the prosthetic *e* before the clusters *sp*, *st* and *sc* in the French dialects generally; namely, from the desire of separating, by a vowel sound, clusters of consonants, either difficult or impossible to pronounce. This prosthetic *e*, as a matter of course, only arose after the fall of the *e* in the pretonic syllable. Hence the reason of its modern origin.

TREATMENT OF *é*.

a. Tonic *é* in an open syllable becomes *uê*.

HABERE > *àvuér*; PLUERE > *pluér*; SAPERE > *sàvuér*. The earliest monument to show the transcription *oi* from *é+i* is the "Jonas Fragment," but there it is in the pretonic syllable. In the twelfth century this *oi* was pronounced *ói*; it then became *oé*, and, at the end of the fifteenth century, *uê*. This was afterwards noted by *uê* and *oé*. From the sixteenth century this *uê* underwent two kinds of change; on the one hand it went into *uâ*,—a pronunciation which triumphed in the French of the eighteenth century, and is the pronunciation of the present day. On the other hand, in the terminations of the imperfect indicative, and the conditional, and, in a few words in which unaccented *e* or final *s* followed,⁶⁷ it became *ê*.⁶⁸ While the French has developed in this way, the patois of Cachy has remained where the French was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has the sound which at that time was transcribed by the grammarians as *oué*.

The pronunciation *uê* is common to the whole of the Department of the Somme with the exception of the north east toward the Department of the Nord, in the direction of the Wallonian. At Lesboeufs, near Combles, we have *sàwér*, *àwér*, *étol*, *rô—i*, *drô*, *lô—i* etc., from SAPERE, HABERE, STELAM, REGEM, DIRECTUM, LEGEM. At

⁶³ Tarbé, 'Recherches sur le langage de Champagne,' p. 164.

⁶⁴ Adam, 'Patois lorrains,' p. 400.

⁶⁵ Häufig wird ein Vokal vorgeschlagen um die dadurch entstandene Härte [the hardness produced by an initial cluster of consonants] zu vermeiden, nicht in dem hier allgemeinen *ar* für *ri*, *al* für *le*, sondern Z. B. *avsin*. D'Ovidio, in Gröber's 'Grundriss' i, 557.

⁶⁶ Ulrich's 'Rhaetian Chrest.', i. ⁶⁷ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 588.

⁶⁸ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seiz. siècle en France,' p. 211.

Manancourt, in the Canton of Combles, we have *sûvor*, *ûvor*, but *ruê-druê*; at Chaulnes, *ro*, *dro*, *étol*, but *sâvuér*, *âvuér*. In the patois of Liège' the pronunciation is *avu* (HABERE), SAVU, (SAPERRE).⁶⁹

There is thus a border district in the region of Combles and Chaulnes, between the pure Picard and the Wallonian, in which the pure Picard forms are found along with forms such as *sâvor*, *âvor*, etc., which approximate to the Wallonian forms in *u*.

In MINUS > *mwê* and SETAM > *sua*, the pure French forms have been adopted into the patois.

⁶⁹ Forir, 'Dictionnaire Liègeois-français,' s. v.



I'ir (VEDERE) is heard still in all parts of the Somme. In Cachy it is the pronunciation of the old people, and *vuér* is that of the young, thus showing the tendency of the young to produce uniformity. It was common in O. Pic. as well as in all the eastern dialects to find *i* from closed *e* in an unaccented syllable.⁷⁰ *I'ir* has developed in the following way:—VEDERE > *vedeir* > *vecir* > *veir*, then, by the assimilation of the *e* to the *i* > *viir*, then, by the coalescence of the *i*'s > *vir*.

b. Tonic *é entracé* becomes *ε*.

MÉTTERE > *mεt*; VERGAM > *vεrε*; PEGRETIAM > *pεrεs*; MESSAM > *mεs*. In O. Fr. this remained⁷¹ *é*; the change from *é* to *ε* began in the twelfth century, and was completed in the next century.⁷²

c. Pretonic *é libre* before a nasal falls.

MENARE > *mni*; DEMORARE > *dmōri*. It has passed through the following sound—transformations before falling: *é* > *ε* > *e*, then fell.⁷³ This vowel continued to be written in all Picard texts up to modern times.

d. Pretonic *é* before a nasal + cons. becomes *ẽ*.

ENTRARE > *ẽtri*; CUM + ENITIARE > *kũẽĩĩ*; ENTENDUTUM > *ẽtẽdũ*; PREHENDERE + HABEO > *prẽdrẽ*. This had already become *ẽ* in the oldest French monuments,⁷⁴ although it was originally⁷⁵ *ẽ*.

In the O. Pic. texts this *ẽ* is generally transcribed as *e*, but sometimes it becomes *ā*: *asanlent* (Auc. et nic., xxi. 1); *sanbloit* (*ibid.*, xxxii. 19); *sanblant* (*ibid.*, xv. 9). *e* is also the transcription in the 'Cél. Mar.', but in more modern texts, it is *ei* which, however, has the same sound as *ẽ*:—*conteint'ro* (Crinon, I, ii, 31); *reindot* (*ibid.*, iii, 23).

e. Tonic *é* + nasal + vowel.

PLENUM > *plẽ*; RACEMUM > *ruẽzẽ*; FRENUM > *frẽ*; PENAM > *pẽn*; VENAN > *vẽn*; AVENAM > *avẽn*. This becomes *ε* when the nasal is followed by an original *a*, but, when it was originally followed by any other vowel, it becomes *ẽ*. This *ε*, from *é* + *n* + *a* had still in the 'Cél. Mar.' the nasal sound, as is shown by the following rhyme: *moair-inne*: *narĩne* (Suite, 417). Nasalization in this case was given up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and from that time the *ẽ* became a pure vowel.⁷⁶ Previous to this, this *e* had, in all cases, the nasal sound.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ "Aus langem *e* in betonter Silbe entsteht alfr. *i* in eglise, (vii. 15); prist (xi. 6). Ferner ergiebt im Pikardischen Dialect, wie auf dem ganzen ostfranz. Sprachgebiet, die Infinitivs-Endung der 2 Conjug.—*ĩre* oft *ir*; cf. eschair (xxxiv. 8); dazu escair; gair." Neumann, 'Laut-und Flexionslehre,' p. 22.

⁷¹ Schwan, 'Altfr. Grammatik,' p. 30.

⁷² Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 586.

⁷³ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁷⁴ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 80.

⁷⁵ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 576.

⁷⁶ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 589.

⁷⁷ *Oper. Cit.*, p. 576.

In the Old Pic. texts, beginning with 1150, *ein* and *ain* were written indifferently⁷⁸ to indicate this sound before a nasal—any original vowel showing that these two combinations had, from that time, the same sound: *a* is also found from this *ai* or *ei* in Picard, Wallonian and Lorraine texts:⁷⁹ *plain* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl. 33); *plaine* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xx. 12); *planne* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 17); *p'eine* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xv, 11).

f. Tonic *é*+yod+const.

DIRECTUM>*drui*; STRICTUM>*étrui*; FRIGIDUM>*frui*; TECTUM>*tui*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and combined with the *e* to form the diphthongue *ei* which developed in the same way as tonic *é*, till it arrived at the sound *ué*. This final *e* sound was changed to *i* from analogy with verbs of the first conjugation. This influence of the verbs of the first conjugation in producing the change is shown by the fact that the sound *ui*, for this class of words, is found in the same territory which shows the termination *i* in the first conjugation. In all other parts of the Somme we find, as the result of the combination under treatment in this section, *ué*. In the O. Pic. texts it is found as *oi*: *estroit* ('Mis.,' cxcvii, 3); *frait* (*ibid.*, civ. 7); *droit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xii. 28). This *oi* rhymed with the *oi*'s from all other sources from the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the common sound at that time was⁸⁰ *oi*.

Where the diphthongue does not become the final sound, the change of the last element (*é*) to *i* does not take place in the territory specified: NEGRUM>*nuér*.

g. *é*+yod+vowel.

LEGEM>*luà*; REGEM>*ruà*; VICEM>*fui*. This gives the same result, and has developed in the same way as the combination in the preceding section. *Luà* and *ruà* are pure French forms which have been introduced into the patois.

h. Tonic *é* preceded by yod.

MERCEDEM>*mersi*; CERAM>*sir*; PLACERE>*plezir*; TACERE>*tezir*. This becomes *i*, and develops in the same way as the same combination in French.

i. Pretonic *é*+yod.

LECERE>*luézû*; DECANUM>*duéjẽ*; NECARE>*nuéji*; PLICARE>*pluéji*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod; this *i* combined with the *e* to form the diphthongue *ei*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century it had the sound⁸¹ *gê*, and developed in the same way as the *oi* from other sources.

⁷⁸ *Opér. Cit.*, p. 582.

⁷⁹ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 65.

⁸⁰ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

⁸¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

- j. Pretonic *é* in any combination except the preceding, and before *m* or *n*+cons.

FERMARE > *fremi*; MERABILIA > *mertel*; PESARE > *pézi*; DELUVIUM > *délüz*. In O. Fr. this was a closed vowel.⁸² The change from a closed to an open sound is due to its position before the tonic accent. In this position there was a diminution of the fullness of the vowel in the haste of the voice to reach the tonic accent.⁸³

TREATMENT OF *i*.

- a. Tonic *i* in an open syllable.

VENIRE > *vnir*; AVISUM > *ävã*; INIMICUM > *ẽmã*; FICUM > *fig*; SERVIRE > *servir*; APRILEM > *avril*; RIPAM > *riv*; NIDUM > *nã*.

When followed by a pronounced consonant it remains in the patois; when it is final, it becomes *ẽ*.

- b. Tonic *i* in a closed syllable remains when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final it becomes *ã*.

VILLAM > *vil*; SCRIPTUM > *ẽkrã*; MILLIA > *mil*; TRISTEM > *trist*.

- c. *i*+*m* or *n*.

CAMINUM > *kmẽ*; SIMIAM > *sẽz*; LINEUM > *lẽz*; VINUM > *vẽ*; FINEM > *fẽ*. This becomes *ẽ*: *ẽ* as a nasal from *i*+nasal was unknown before the sixteenth century. It was unknown to Palsgrave. In the first half of the sixteenth century it was still a pure vowel, but in the second half of that century, it took a sound intermediate between the pure vowel sound and the nasal sound,⁸⁴ *ẽ*. This sound gradually opened during the seventeenth⁸⁵ century, and in the eighteenth took its present sound⁸⁶ *ẽ*. In the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' the rhyme *ẽine*: *mequinne* (545) is found. Now, as *ã* and *ẽi* already had long before this, the same sound, and, as each of these had the sound *ẽ*, it follows that *i* had already, in the Picard of that time (1648), the sound *ẽ*, which it has to-day. In the work named above we find the rhymes *Jennain*: *Tuenin* (287); *Jeannin*: *enfin* (259). In the same work, *i*, in the combination *i*+nasal+vowel, has also the nasal sound:—*moairinne*: *nerĩne* (417); *mequine*: *moairinne* (469); *moairinne*: *voisinne* (477). Nasalization in this case was lost in the eighteenth century.⁸⁷

- d. Pretonic *i* remains.

LIBERARE > *livri*; VIVENTEM > *vivã*; MIRARE > *mili*. It falls in the following cases:—DIVINUM > *dvẽ*; DIVISAT > *dviz*; DIMEDIUM > *dmã*.

⁸² Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 30.

⁸³ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁸⁴ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 214.

⁸⁵ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 588.

⁸⁶ D. and H. 'Le Seizième Siècle,' p. 214.

⁸⁷ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 589.

This is due to its pretonic position, and to its position in a cluster of consonants which can be pronounced when it falls.⁸⁸

e. *i*+yod.

INIMICUM > *ēmā*; BENEDICTUM > *bnā*; DICERE > *dir*. It remains when followed by a pronounced consonant. When final it becomes *ā*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and this coalesced with the original *i*.

TREATMENT OF *o*.

a. Tonic *o* in an open syllable.

PROBAM > *prōv*; POPULUM > *pōp*; SOLUM > *sōl*; OCCULUM > *ōl*; NOVAM > *nōv*. This is the sound found in all the modern Picard texts: *cuv* ('Evangile s. st. Matt.,' vi. 1); *peup* (*ibid.*, xi. 7); *seul* (*ibid.*, xviii. 14); *eul* (*ibid.*, xxv. 4); *aveu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1881, p. 205); *neuf* (*ibid.*, p. 209). This *ō*, according to Suchier,⁸⁹ was developed in the following way:—The original vowel was extended, and became *ōv*, then, by the deepening of the accented element *ō*, out of which the diphthongue *ūv* was developed. This *ūv* is the form found in the Eulalia and the St. Leger. Then the *o* was weakened to *e*, and the diphthongue became *ūē*, which is the most common form found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the next century forms with *eu* begin to appear, although the older forms are still used in the texts of this century. For example, in the 'Chev. as devs Esp.,' the following forms are found: *ue*, *u*, *œ*, *eu*, *oue*, *e*.⁹⁰ In Picard texts of the end of the twelfth century, the common form was *ue*,—the usual form of the 'Miserere' and 'Carité.' In the 'Chartes du Vermandois,' of the first half of the thirteenth century, we find *ue* and *eu* written indifferently, and, at that time, both these forms had the phonetic value of *ō*,—the sound found at present in the patois of Cachy, *puet* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xli, 5); *pent* (*ibid.*, xliii. 3); *neuve* (*ibid.* ix. 15). This form *eu* is found also in 'Auc. et Nic.,' although the older forms are also found:—*preus* (xv. 2); *seul* (II. 3. 9); *oeul* (xiv. 20); *aveuc* (iv. 22); *buef* (x. 7). In the present patois of Cachy BOVEM gives *bū*, and OVUM > *ū*. "Même ein tchou ü" (Crinon, Sat., viii. 82); *bu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1885, p. 148). In the O. Pic. these words developed in the same way as other words with tonic *o* in an open syllable, *buef* ('Auc. et Nic.,' x. 7; xxii, 17); *bues* ('Mis.,' xxxvi. 1); *ueve* ('Car.,' cxvii, 3). In these words, after the final consonant became mute, the *e* in *ue* followed the same rule as the other final unaccented *e*'s, and dropped, leaving *ū*. This may have taken place before the *o* in either of these words passed to the state of *eu* in the patois. The writer finds no example of *eu* in these two words in any Picard text of the thirteenth century. A con-

⁸⁸ Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23.

⁸⁹ In Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 573.

⁹⁰ Förster, 'Chev. as devs Esp.,' xli.

traction similar to that found in these words is represented by *puent* (Chev. as devs Esp., 75 75).

b. Tonic *o* in a closed syllable remains *o*, as in French.

PORTAM > *pɔrt*; ROCCAM > *roʔk*; MORTUM > *mɔr*; SORTUM > *sɔr*. This was also *o* in O. Pic., and was always separated in rhyme from *o* out of *ō* and *h entravé*.⁹¹

c. Tonic *o* + yod.

NOCTEM > *nivœ*; COCTUM > *tiwœ*; COQUERE > *tiwir*; NOCET > *nivœ*. This gives *œ*, except where followed by a pronounced consonant, where it gives *wi*, as in French. In all the modern Picard texts, however, it is always found as *ui*, since the sound *œ* does not belong to the patois of Amiens where all the modern texts at the writer's disposal were published.

This *wi* developed as in French, *nui* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.' II. 14); *kyuir* (*ibid.*, iii. 4); *innuyi* (Crinon, Sat., iii. 43); *edpuis* (*ibid.*, iv. 53). In the O. Pic. texts the same form is invariable: *cuite* ('Ch. du Verm.', iii. 9); *nuit* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi. 28); *nuire* ('Mis.', xxxii. 7; cx. 5); *cuisine* (*ibid.*, cxli. 9). In the 'Reclus de Molliens', Van Hamel⁹² finds this *ui* twice in rhyme with *ire*, which proves that the diphthongue was commencing at that time to be a rising one. In the old texts many examples of *ui* in rhymes with both *i* and *u* are found: *contredist*: *nuit* (Lous. Jehan., 39 25);⁹³ *annui*: *marri* (Rou, iii, 10270. A).⁹⁴

FOCUM gives *fœ*; JOCUM > *zœ*; LOCUM > *ljœ*. In these words the *o* gives the sound *œ*, except in LOCUM, where the *j* has been produced⁹⁵ by the *l*. In modern Picard texts the nasal sound is not indicated, and we find *fu* (*Franc—Pic.*, 1881, p. 206; *ibid.*, 1885, p. 145; p. 161; 'Evangile s. St. Matt.', iii. 10; 'Cél. Mar.', 36). The Eulalia has *fou*; the 'Frag. de Val.' has *lieu*; the Alexis *leu* (27c) and *liu* (114e).⁹⁶ In later O. Fr. documents, two forms are found for LOCUM: *leu* and *liu*. 'Guy de Cam.': *leu* (ccii. 31); *liu* (*ibid.*, cclxxvi. 2). In 'Guy de Cam.' JOCUM gives *jus* (clxxxvi. 35); *giu* (ccxxv. 21). FOCUM, in the same work gives *fu* (ccxciii, s); *feu* (ixviii, 27). In the 'Carité' JOCUM gives *gius* (lxii. 4); LOCUM > *liu* (clxxxvii. 11). In the 'Chev. as devs Esp.', it is generally *fu* from FOCUM.⁹⁷

In the Aniel the forms are *jus* (283); *lieu* (32, 277). It thus appears that the forms of the patois of the Somme at present: *zü*, *ljü*, *fü* (and in parts elsewhere specified *zœ*, *fœ*, *lœ*) are the same as those

⁹¹ Förster, 'Chev. as devs Esp.', xlii. Van Hamel, 'Reclus de Molliens,' cxxiv.

⁹² P. cxxx. ⁹³ Cited by Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.', xlii.

⁹⁴ Cited by Tobler, 'Aniel,' xxiv. ⁹⁵ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' § 108.

⁹⁶ Llleking, 'Mundarten,' p. 170.

⁹⁷ "Was feu (fücum) anlagt, so ist die pikard. Form *fu*, die sich auch meistens hier findet, 711, 5003, ähnlich *iu* (jücum) 1752, 8054. Da *ue* in späterer Zeit in der Aussprache mit *eu* zusammenfiel (bei *feu*, *leu*, *ieu*) wohl ursprünglich; doch steht öfter *feu*, *lue* in der Gregoires Handschrift von Tours." Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.', xl.

generally found in the Picard texts of the last half of the twelfth, and the first half of the thirteenth century.

The explanation given of these forms by Förster⁹⁸ is, that they came from the originals *FOCVUM*, *LOCVUM*. Neumann develops these forms through the principle of *Satzdoppelformen*. After the fall of the *m* in *JOCUM*, the *u* became semi-consonantal in the hiatus before the vowel of the following word, giving *jocʊ*. The *c* was then assimilated to the *u*, giving *jouʊ*, which was then reduced to *jou*, and the *u* lost its consonantal nature before a consonant.⁹⁹

The weak point in this theory is that he explains the transformation of the *c* to *u* by assimilation to the following *u*,—a process unknown in other cases in French.

d. Tonic *o*+nasal>vowel.

TRONUM>*trɔn*; *HOMINEM*>*ɔm*; *SONUM*>*sɔ̃*; *COMITEM*>*cɔ̃t*; *PONTEM*>*pɔ̃*. When followed by a pronounced consonant this remains *o*; when followed by a final nasal, it becomes *ɔ̃*. In O. Pic. this became¹⁰⁰ *ɔ̃*, and rhymed with *ɔ̃* from *ō* and *u*>nasal.¹⁰¹ The vowel took an open sound in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰² The nasal sound continued in all cases, even when followed by a single pronounced consonant till the seventeenth century.¹⁰³ Nasalisation still exists in the latter case in the 'Cél. Mar.': *courōne*: *personne* (Suite, 105).

BONUM gives *bwɔ̃*. This was the most common form of this word in the O. Pic. texts: *boin* ('Auc. et Nic.,' iii. 14); *boine* ('Chev. as ii Esp.,' 7, 424; 'Aniel,' 43, 213), but *bons* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i. 1). In the documents examined by Neumann for the 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' he does not find the form *boin*, and he says it is very rare before the fourteenth century.

Raynaud¹⁰⁴ says it does not exist before that time, but Neumann¹⁰⁵ quotes several examples. This form *boin* is found in O. Fr. in 'Flor et Blancheflor,' in the 'Livre des Métiers' as well as in Picard.

Jouancoux cites from a Charter of Encre (Albert) of 1304: *gue boin fust pour le pourfit*. In the 'Cél. Mar.' the form is *boen* (108) which has, no doubt, the same sound as *boin* (pron. *bwɔ̃*). In Crinon the form is *bon*. In all parts of the Somme at present, the sound is *bwɔ̃*. In the light of this and the previous history of the word, the form in Crinon is surprising; it is probably a pure French form which has been introduced.

e. Tonic *o*>nasal>cons.

LONGUM>*lɔ̃*; *RESPONSUM*>*rɛpɔ̃s*; *PONTEM*>*pɔ̃*; *TONDERE*>*tɔ̃d*; *COMPUTUM*>*kɔ̃t*. This gives *ɔ̃*. According to Diez,¹⁰⁶ *o* was already

⁹⁸ *Zeits. f. r. R. Ph.*, v, 591.

⁹⁹ *Zeits. f. r. R. Ph.*, viii. 385.

¹⁰⁰ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 35.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰² Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 588.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, i, p. 589.

¹⁰⁴ Raynaud, 'Etude sur le dialecte picard dans le Ponthieu' *Bib. de l'École des Chartes* xxxvii, p. 5-31.

¹⁰⁵ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 44,

¹⁰⁶ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 448.

¹⁰⁷ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 576.

a nasal vowel in the ninth century, and Suchier¹⁰⁷ thinks that all the vowels were nasalized at the same time. The nasalization deepened the sound of the open vowels in such a way that *ǫ* became identical with¹⁰⁸ *ǫ̃*. These both became open sounds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰⁹

f. Pretonic *ǫ* remains *ǫ*.

VOLONTATEM > *volǫ̃te*; ODOREM > *ǫdǫ̃r*; HONORATUM > *ǫnǫ̃rǣ*; VOLERE > *volǫ̃ér*; POTERE > HABEO > *pǫ̃rǣ*; TORNARE > *turnǣ*; TORMENTUM > *turnǣ̃*. *Turnǣ* and *turnǣ̃* are forms borrowed from the French. The original *ǫ* continued as *ǫ* till the twelfth century, but from that time forward, it gradually became *o* in the Ile de France, but the latter form never became universal, and there are many words in the French of today which still have the *ǫ* in this position.¹¹⁰

In contradistinction to the French, the Picard has kept the *ǫ*, and never changed it to *o*. There is no reason for supposing that, in Picard, this *ǫ* became *o*, and then, later, became *o*. In O. Pic. it is always represented by *o*, and never by *u*, as in Norman: *torner* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vii. 1); *tormente* (*ibid.*, xxviii. 7); *porrés* (*ibid.*, x. 67); *vol-dras* ('Car.,' ci. 4); *portoit* ('Aniel', 53); *porroit* (*ibid.*, 91).

g. *ǫ* before *u* becomes *ö*.

POTUTUM > *pö*; MOVUTUM > *mö*; PLOVUTUM > *plö*. According to Suchier, medial *e* before a following vowel became mute earlier in Picard than in the Ile de France.¹¹¹ Yet in the patois of Cachy the *peu*, *meu*, etc., forms are still maintained. These forms exist in the 'Reclus de Molliens': *mëu* ('Mis.,' cxxxiii. 10); *pëu* ('Car.,' x. 5); but, beside these, *plü* ('Mis.,' xviii. 8.). In 'Auc. et Nic.' none of these past participles occur, nor in the 'Aniel,' but in the latter we find the form *sëu* (5); *vëus* (118); *pourvëus* (117). Owing to the non-occurrence of these forms with *ǫ* before *u* in the O. Pic. texts, it is difficult to ascertain when the *e* fell, or in what part of the territory it did fall. It certainly never fell in the patois of Cachy; but the early form *pëu*, *mëu*, *plëu* were, by contraction, changed to *pö*, *plö*, *mö*. The French passed through a process different from this: the early form *pëu*, *mëu*, *plëu* changed to *peü*, *meü*, *pleü*—the forms found in the sixteenth century.¹¹² These were soon afterwards, changed to *pü*, *mü*, *plü*, by the fall of the mute *e*.

TREATMENT OF *ǫ*.

a. Tonic *ǫ* in an open syllable becomes *o*, as in French.

ODOREM > *odö*; HORAM > *ör*; GAUDIASUM > *züéjö*; ILLORUM > *lö*. So also in all the modern Picard works, where it is transcribed by *eu*,

¹⁰⁸ Suchier, Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 576.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 588.

¹¹⁰ Förster, *Romanische Studien*, iii, 189.

¹¹¹ 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 64.

¹¹² Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 207.

but with the sound *ø*, *amateur* (Crinon. Sat., i. 33); *malheureux* (*ibid.*, ii. 1); *heuteur* (*ibid.*, ii. 26); *tinteu* (Evan. s. st. Matt. iv. 3); *douleur* (*ibid.*, iv. 24); *odeur* (*ibid.*, vi. 17); *koureu* (*ibid.*, xvi. 4); *neveu* (*Le Bonhomme Pic.*, 1886, p. 93). It gives the same result in all parts of the Somme. So also in the 'Cél. Mar.': *honneur* (31); *ma!heureux* (*ibid.*, Suite, 53); *grandeur* (*ibid.*, Suite, 148).

This *ø*, from Latin *o*, is found in the oldest French monuments represented by *o*, *u*, and, rarely, by *ou*.¹¹³ The oldest of these forms are, of course, *o* and *u*, the latter of which points to the Norman dialect influence. *Ou* is a later form, and, in the Picard, the *ø* has passed to *ou* by the time of the 'Carité' and 'Miserere.' Ile de France, *ø* has already passed to the stage *eu* in the twelfth century.¹¹⁴ It thus appears that this *ou* from *ø* survived longer in the Picard than in the Ile de France, for in these two poems, composed, according to Van Hamel, the 'Carité' between 1180-90, and the 'Miserere' four or five years later, we find *ou* everywhere kept for *ø*: *majour* ('Car.', iv. 9); *seignour* (*ibid.*, xi. 12); *labour* (*ibid.*, lxxx. 10). In the 'Chartes du Verm.' of the first half of the thirteenth century we find both forms, and also forms with *o*: *ore* (vi. 13); *signor* (i. 16); *lor* (xiii. 6); *trouve* (xxvi. 23); *sour* (xx. 10); *maieur* (iii. 21); *seigneur* (iii. 5); *neveu* (v. 19); *sereur* (ix. 4).

The forms in *eu* are the most frequent.¹¹⁵ In 'Auc. et Nic.' the three forms are found: *amor* (iv. 2); *amorous* (xxvii. 2); *ancissor* (xxix. 12); *foréur* (xvi. 23); *meteuïrox* (viii. 13); *marvelleus* (ii. 2).

In the 'Aniel' (about 1291) the usual form is *eu*, although *o* is found; *ou* appears only in *nous* and *vous*. *Melleur* (46); *pitcus* (53); *seigneur* (204, 406); *lor* (23). Three forms have thus appeared as the development of Latin *o*, at different times: *ø*, *ou*, *eu*. As appears from the foregoing, no precise date can be given for the passage of *o* to *ou*. In Picard, the time of the passage of *ou* to *eu* was the thirteenth century. Although this *ø* has ultimately arrived at the same result as tonic *ø* libre, it has done so through a different series of changes.

The following appears to have been the development of tonic *ø*: *ø* > *ôð* > *ôu* > *oh* > *eu*. In the dialect of the Ile de France it developed to *eu* in the twelfth century,¹¹⁶—earlier, therefore, than in the Picard. It did not develop to *eu* in the Norman, nor in the Lorraine.¹¹⁷

b. Tonic *ø* in a closed syllable becomes *u*.

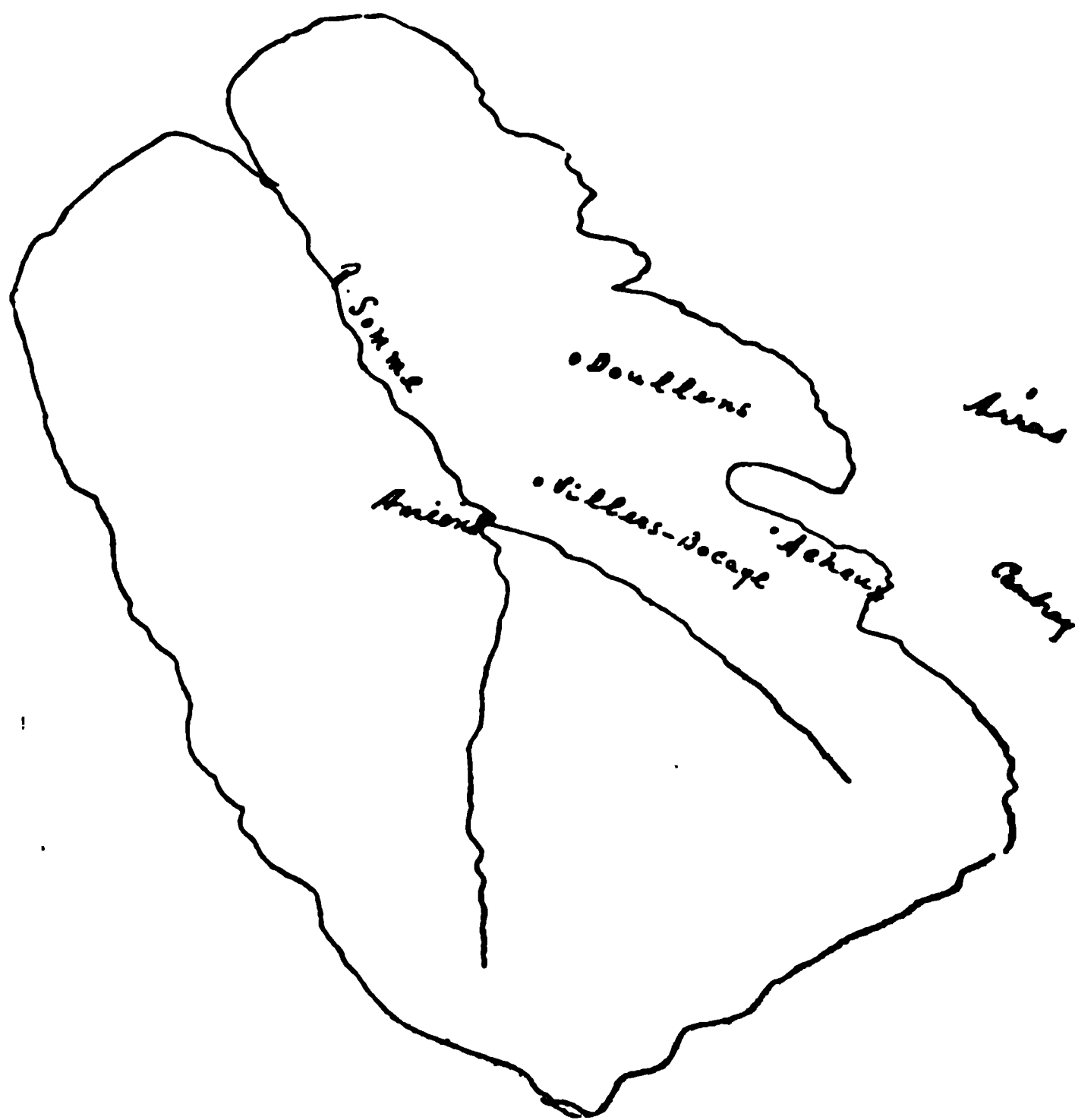
SURDUM > *sur*; DIURNUM > *zur*; GUTTAM > *gut*; BUCCULAM > *bluk*; MOTTUM > *mu*; DORSUM > *du*. There are certain parts of the Somme in which *ø* in a closed syllable remains *ø*. This is the case on the north of Amiens in the region encompassed by the three points, Villers-Bocage, Doullens, and Acheux. Here they pronounce *žor*; *kør*; *søp*; *tožor*. This is the form found in the monuments of the O. Pic. *jor* (Auc. et Nic., ii. 3. 32); *totejor* (*ibid.*, vi. 27).

¹¹³ Lücking 'Mundarten,' pp. 156 and 161.

¹¹⁴ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 586.

¹¹⁵ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 45.

¹¹⁶ Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 586. ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*



In the present monograph no forms are found with *ou*. In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' both forms are found: *sour* (xx, 10); *court* (ii, 21); *tosjors* (ix, 18); *tote* (xiii, 8); *jor* (vi, 9). In the 'Reclus de Molliens' this gives *ous* which rhymes with the *ous* from tonic *o* in an open syllable.¹¹⁸ In the 'Aniel' there is no example of *o* but always *ou*: *tous* (22); *pour* (85); *jour* (23). In the 'Cél. Mar.' the usual form is *ou*, but forms with *o* are found: *toujour* (Suite, 83.); *jour* (*ibid.*, 84); *ojorduy* (*ibid.*, 39); *tou* (*ibid.*, 12). The *o* in this class of words first passed to *ou* (pron. *u*) before *r* and *e*.¹¹⁹ The passage of *o* to *ou* seems to have been completed in Picard (except in districts already indicated) by the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁰ In the modern Pic. words this is always found as *ou*: *toujours* (Crin. Sat., i. 13); *troup* (*ibid.*, iii. 2); *jour* ('Evan. s. St. Matt.,' iv. 2); *bouk* (*ibid.*, xv. 8); *souf* (*ibid.*, xvii. 14); *sourd* (*ibid.*, xiii, 15). The forms *mu*, *pu*, *du* are not found in all parts of the Somme, but only in the following district: The part of the department south of Sains; the Santerre, beginning on the south-east of Amiens at Boves, Cachy and Corbie, and extending east to Rosières. In other parts we find *mo*, *po*, *do*.

¹¹⁸ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxxv.

¹¹⁹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 33.

¹²⁰ See remarks on forms in the 'Aniel.'



Bèze¹²¹ reproached the people of Berry and Lyons for saying *du* for *dø*. Coming from the southern regions, undoubtedly from Lyons, this pronunciation was accredited at the courts of Henry ii, Charles ix, and Henry iii.¹²² Father Chiffet said in his grammar: "j'ai veu le temps que presque toute la France estoit pleine de chouses." "Pourfit"¹²³ (profit) is found in a document of Encre in 1304. Examples of this change of *ø* to *u* are very numerous in Crinon, both in tonic and atonic syllables: *doumestiques* (Sat., i. 4); *bounets* (i., 10); *toujours troup tchote* (, 16); *doun'ro* (I. 21); *couchons* (I. ii. 7); *pardonner* I, ii, 36); *philousophe* (ii, 39); *ouraison* (ii, 58); *s'proumener* (v. 10). Since this change was introduced into the north under courtly influence, it is not strange that the district indicated is the place where it is still retained. Near the centre of this district is Corbie in which was situated, under the First Empire, one of the most wealthy and flourishing abbeys of France. The court pronunciation was carried to this abbey, and, from it, spread among the peasants living in the neighborhood.

c. Tonic *ø* + yod.

CROCEM > *krué*; GLORIAM > *gluér*; VOCEM > *vués*. This gives *ué* when followed by a pronounced consonant; when final, it became *ui*. At Chaulnes, Pertain, Lesboeufs, etc., that is. in the part of the Santere in which the patois of the Vermandois has penetrated, the sound *ui*, *ué* of the patois of Cachy is *ø*: *vø*, *kø*. This is the pronunciation given by Corblet.¹²⁴ In the O. Pic. texts this gives generally *oi*, and already rhymes with *oi* from tonic *e* in an open syllable, and *oi* from *au* + yod, at the end of the twelfth century.¹²⁵

Stengel¹²⁶ says the change of *oi* to *o* is peculiar to the East French dialects, but Neumann¹²⁷ has shown examples also in the Vermandois: *memore*, *avor*, *glore*.

In the forms found in the patois of Cachy, a parasitic *i* was developed before the yod, and this united with the *o* to form the diphthongue which developed in sound in the same way as the *oi* from other sources.¹²⁸

d. *o* + nasal + consonant.

PROFONDUM > *profø*; ROTONDUM > *rø*; ONGULAM > *øg*. This gives *ø* which has the same history as *ø* from *ø* + nasal + consonant.

In the combination *o* + *m* + *n*, the *m* was assimilated to the *n*, and, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nasal sound disappeared: COLOMNAM > *køtø*; GAROMNAM > *Gærø*

e. *o* + nasal + vowel.

DONUM > *dø*; NOMERUM > *nøb*; NOMEN > *nø*; DONAT > *døn*; PERSONAM > *pørøn*. This produces *ø* when from the combination *o* + nasal +

¹²¹ Quoted by Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 203.

¹²² *Ibid.* p. 203.

¹²³ Jouancoux, 'Glossaire,' s. v. *boin*.

¹²⁴ 'Glossaire,' s. v.

¹²⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxix.

¹²⁶ *Zeits. für R. Ph.*, i. 478.

¹²⁷ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 53.

¹²⁸ See *ø* + yod.

any vowel except *a*. In the combination *o*+nasal+*a*, the *a* does not fall, but becomes mute *e*, before which the preceding consonant is pronounced, and the *o* has the pure vowel sound from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The history of this combination is the same as that given under *o*+nasal+vowel.

f. Pretonic *o* before an oral consonant.

COPERTAM > *kuvert*; PROBARE > *pruvi*; NODARE > *nui*; DOBITARE > *duti*; DOTARE > *dui*. This becomes *u*. In the earliest French monuments it was *o*, and, at the end of the twelfth century, it was at the transaction stage between *o* and *u*. Both forms are found in the *Rec-lus de Molliens*, although the forms in *o* predominate: *douter* ('Mis.,' cvii, 5); *noer* ('Car.,' cii. 4); *provant* ('Car.,' xcvi. 11); *esprové* ('Mis.,' cxxv. 1.); *escover* ('Mis.,' xlix. 7).

g. Pretonic *o* followed by a nasal becomes *o*.

SONARE > *soni*; COMMUNEM > *komoë*; DONARE > *doni*; NOMINARE > *lomi*; MONTARE > *mōti*. When followed by a nasal+consonant, it becomes *ō*. In the early monuments this was, in all cases, *ō*, and has the same history as *o*+nasal+vowel.

h. *o*+consonant+yod.

GLORIAM > *gluér*; POTIONEM > *puézō*; MEMORIAM > *mémuér*. With regard to the development of this combination there are two theories:

(a) That the yod was attracted into the tonic syllable;

(b) That the yod developed a parasitic *i* before the preceding consonant. The objection raised to the first theory is that the yod cannot pass over the preceding consonant. Against the second theory may be urged that forms such as: *glorie*, *memorie* are found in the twelfth century,¹²⁹—at a time when the development of parasitic *i* in all other words was already complete. The occurrence of these forms in the twelfth century, and the unvarying forms *gloire*, *memoire*, etc., in the next century, seem to make the first theory more tenable.

The forms *glore*, *memore*, are regular for the Eastern dialects, but they are also found frequently in the O. Pic. texts: ¹³⁰*memore* ('Mis.,' lxxxii. 11); *glore* (*ibid.*, lxxx, ii. 3); *memore* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xv, 11). Such forms are due to the influence of the eastern dialects, and are not to be found to-day in the patois of Cachy. After the attraction of the *i* to the tonic syllable, this *oi* rhymed with *oi* from tonic *e* in an open syllable, and *oi* from *au*+parasitic *i*, from the beginning of the thirteenth century,¹³¹ and its subsequent history is the same as that given for *oi* from tonic *e* libre.

i. Pretonic *o*

DOTARE > *dui*; DOBITARE > *duti*; NOTRIRE > *norir*; POTRIRE > *porir*. This has given two results in the patois: *o* and *u*. The first is

¹²⁹ Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v.

¹³⁰ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 39.

¹³¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

the retention of the old form, and the second is the later form. *Nor-rir* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl. 32); *porrir* ('Car.,' lxi. 5); *norrist* ('Mis.,' cix. 12); *douter* ('Car.,' xxxiii. 9); *doublement* ('Mis.,' liii. 12). Before *r* the *o* seems to have been always retained in the 'Reclus de Molliens', but in the 'Ch. du Verm.,' it is found as *ou* (*u*) in this position: *demourer* (xxvi, 22); *accoustume* (xxii, 42); *bourgeois* (ii, 3). It appears to have passed first to *ou* (*u*) before a dental, as the form in *o* is not found in this position in the 'Rec. de Moll.' In the pretonic the *o* sometimes falls: COM+MANDARE > *kmãdi*; COM+INITIARE > *kmẽ̃̃i*. No longer supported by the accent, this vowel degenerated in fullness, until it took the same sound as¹³² *ε*. From the sound of *ε*, it passed to that of *ə*, and then fell.¹³³ It has thus passed through the following stages: *ō* > *ũ* > *o* > *ε* > *ə*.

Supplement to the treatment of tonic *o* in an open syllable.

In the patois there are a number of adjectives which offer difficulty in the treatment of their termination. These are:

MAS.	FEM.
<i>mälädjü</i>	<i>malädjüz</i>
<i>krẽ̃̃tjü</i>	<i>krẽ̃̃tüz</i>
<i>näjü</i>	<i>näjüz</i>
<i>pusjü</i>	<i>pusjüz.</i>

Forms corresponding to these are found in the Wallonian: masc. *maladicu*,¹³⁴ fem. *maladüse*; *poussiu*¹³⁵ and *poussiex*, *maladieu*.¹³⁶

Corresponding forms are found also in O. Pic.: *antiu* ('Mis.,' xxvii. 2); *hastiu* ('Car.,' cx. 10); *lentiu* ('Car.,' cx. 8); 'La Curne de Sainte-Palaye'¹³⁷ also gives two forms *antif* and *antiu* for the O. Fr. and *maladeux*, *maladieu*, and *maladieux*, *hastieu*, *hastif*. Joubert¹³⁸ gives *maladeux*, *hâteux*, but *crainti*, *poussi*. The form *poussieux* is cited by¹³⁹ Littré from the thirteenth century, and Burguy¹⁴⁰ gives the form *hastiu*.

In the modern French these forms end in *f* in the masc. and in *ve* in the fem.

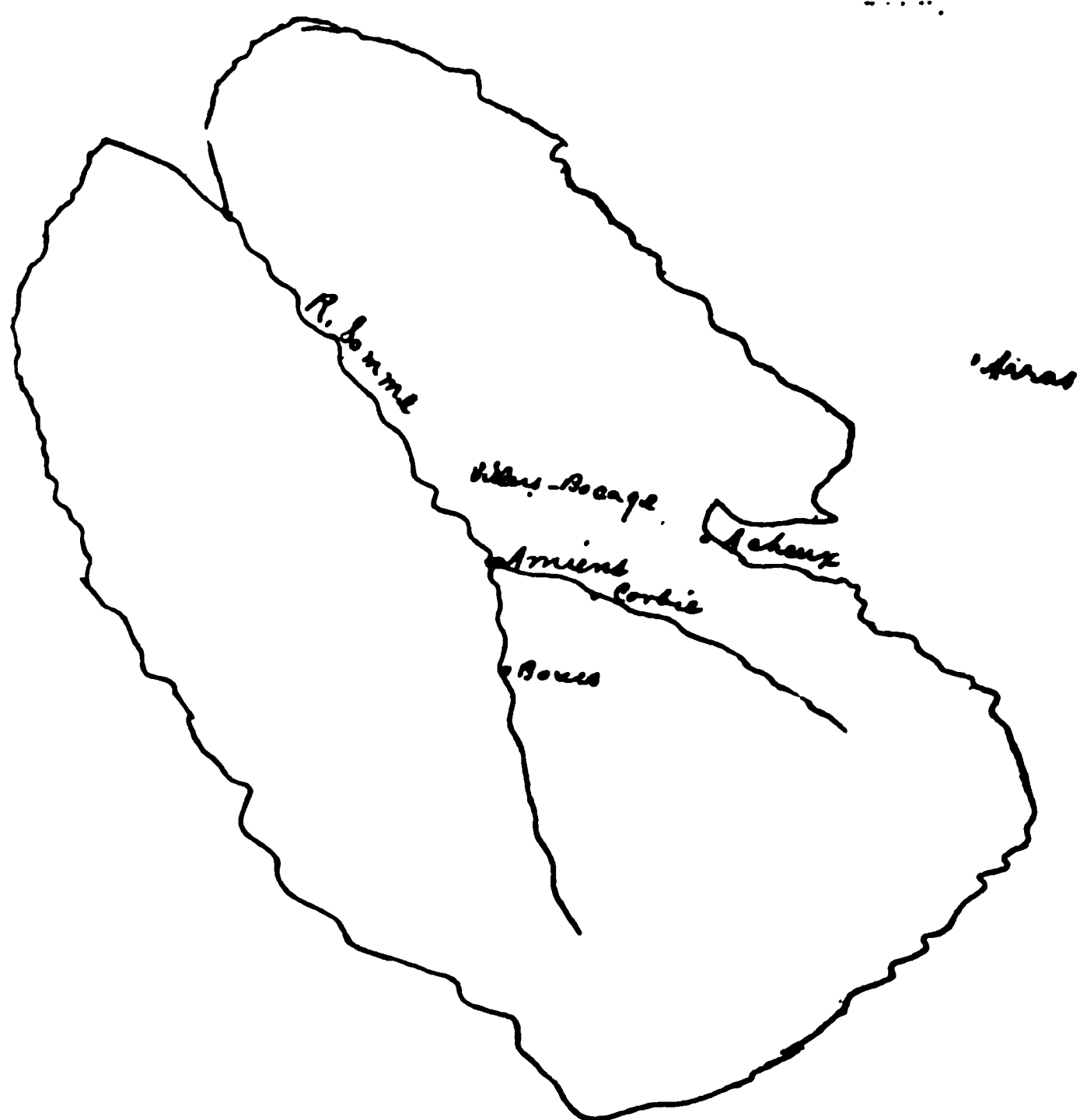
The modern Wallonian form *maladieü*, and the old form *maladieu* (whether O. Fr., O. Pic. or O. Wall., is immaterial, as they all developed tonic *o* in the same way) takes us back at once to a form from the termination—IOSUM. But if this had developed in the patois of Cachy according to the rule for tonic *o* *libre* we should have had *mälädjö*; whereas, it has given *mälädj.i*. It has already been shown that, in the patois, DEUM gives *djü*, and the change from the old form *mälädj* to *mälädj.i* has probably been brought about by a supposed connection in the popular mind between *djü* and the termination of the adjective, and, in accordance with this, changed form of the masc.,

¹³² Beyer, 'Phonetik,' p. 23. ¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 23. ¹³⁴ Forir, 'Dict. Li'g-franc.', s. v.

¹³⁵ Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.', s. v. ¹³⁶ Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall. de Mons.', s. v.

¹³⁷ 'Dict. de l'ancien français,' s. v. ¹³⁸ 'Dict. du Centre de la France,' s. v.

¹³⁹ 'Dict. franc.' s. v. ¹⁴⁰ 'Grammaire de la langue française,' s. v.



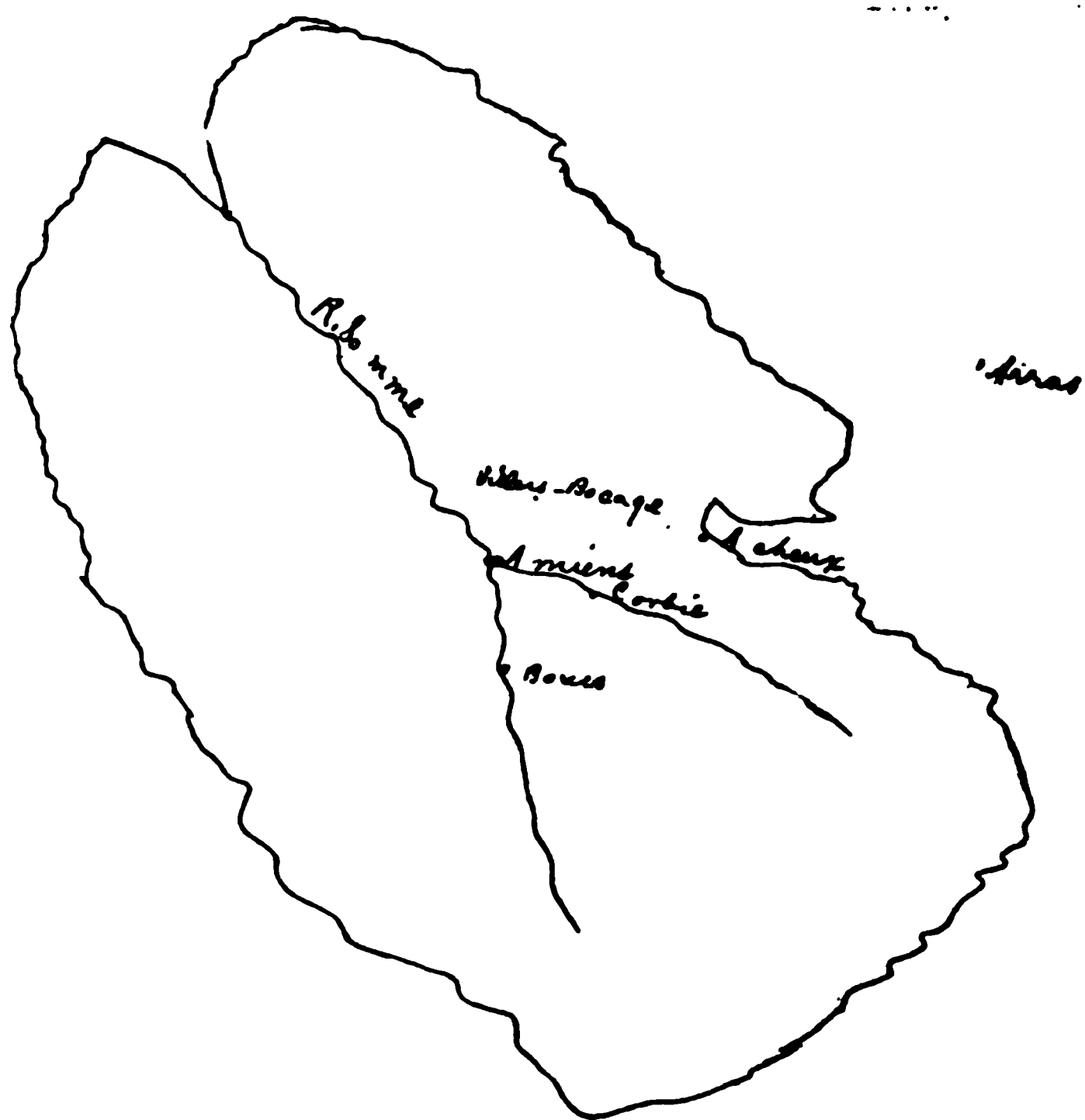
the fem. has been changed from the old form *mälädjöz*, to the form *mälädjüz*. After the analogy of these words, the other adjectives given in the above list have undergone a like change in the patois. While, therefore, in the Pic. and Wall. this termination has developed from an original termination—*IOSUM*, the modern French forms in *—if* (masc.) and *ive* (fem.) have developed from an original termination *—IVUM*, for the masc. and *—iva*, for the fem.

TREATMENT OF *ü*.

a. Tonic *ü* libre.

*RENDUTUM > *rädä*^N; *VENUTUM > *vnä*^N; *VENDUTUM > *vä*^N; *POTUTUM > *pö*; *INTENDUTUM > *ëtädä*^N; NUDUM > *nö*; LUNAM > *lön*; MATURUM > *mör*; SECURUM > *sör*; PLUMAM > *plöm*. In past participles it becomes *ä*, except in *POTUTUM, *MOVUTUM, *PLOVUTUM, *SAPUTUM where it becomes *pö*, *mö*, *plö*, *sö*. The Pic. forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were *pëu*, *mëu*, *plëu*, *sëu*. These forms developed in Pic. differently from the French development. In the latter they passed from *sëu*, etc. to *seü*. In Pic. the accent remained on the first component, and, by contraction, it became *so*. MATURUM and SECURUM have developed to *mör* and *sör* in the same way as the past participles like *sö*, by the fall of the preceding intervocalic consonant.

In some parts of the Somme; namely in the Cantons of Villers-Bocage, Acheux and the northern parts of Corbie and Boves, the tonic *ü* in an open syllable is diphthongised to *ö*. For example, they say in this district *föm* (FUMO); *këfitör*; *kültör*; *lön*; *plöm*, etc. Owing to the close proximity of this district to Cachy, we find that the latter is, in the treatment of tonic *ü* in an open syllable, a mixed patois, and this accounts for such forms as *föm*, *lön* etc., *ö* from tonic *ü* in an open syllable is not found in the O. Pic. texts. This diphthongisation of *ü* to *ö* is common to the Wall., and the locality in which these forms are found in the Somme points to



the Wall. as the source of them. The following forms are Wall.: *leum* (Forir, 'Dict. Lièg. franc.,' s. v.); *leumer* (Vermesse, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.); *leumiere* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *leumerotte* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *leunette* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleume* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleumache* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleumer* (*ibid.*, s. v.); *pleume* (Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall. de Mons.,' s. v.).

In Crinon the forms *pl^hme* (I. 24) and *fēmier* (I. ii. 35) are found, but these are probably inaccurate transcriptions, as the forms are neither justified by the Wall. nor by the patois in the neighborhood of Péronne.

b. Tonic *ü* *entravé* remains *ü*, as in French:

JUSTUM > *žüst*; NULLAM > *nül*; BULLAM > *bürl*.

c. Tonic *ü* > yod:

FRUCTUM > *früi*; CONDUCTET > *kÿdüi*; LUCET > *lüi*; DESTRUCTUM > *détrüi*. A parasitic *i* was developed before the yod. This had originally the sound¹⁴¹ *üi* (*iüi*). Two examples are found in the 'Rec. de Moll.' in which *ui* rhymes with *i*, although, in all other cases, it rhymes with¹⁴² *ui*. These two cases show that, at that time, (end of the twelfth century) *ui* was becoming a rising diphthongue in Picard. The rhyme *ui*: *i* is found in the Norman in the second quarter of the twelfth century: *ire*: *destruire* (Brut, 13558). For the French, the rhyme *ui*: *i* dates from the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁴³

d. Pretonic *ü* gives *ü*.

DURANTEM > *dürā*; JUSTITIAM > *žüstis*; HUMANUM > *ümē*; MUNIRE > *münir*. In the district already noted, and for the reason there assigned, this becomes *ö* in FUMARE > *fömi*; PLUARME > *plömi*; FUMANTEM > *fömü*.

e. *ü* + nasal + cons., or *ü* + nasa + lfinal vowel (except *a*).

DEFUNCTUM > *déf^ñ*; VERODUNUM > *Verd^ñ*; UNUM > *ē^ñ*. This becomes *ē^ñ*, as in French.

In all the poems written in assonance, *ü*, in this position, rhymes with *ü* before an oral consonant.¹⁴⁴ The statement made by Suchier¹⁴⁵ that all the vowels took the nasal sound at the same time, is incorrect so far as *ü* is concerned. Nasal *ü* was unknown to Palsgrave¹⁴⁶ (1530), and Dubois states also that in *üü* the *ü* has the pure vowel sound.¹⁴⁷ It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that *ü* had, in this position, the nasal sound¹⁴⁸ *ē^ñ*.

¹⁴¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

¹⁴² Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxx.

¹⁴³ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 77.

¹⁴⁴ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 81.

¹⁴⁵ In Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 576.

¹⁴⁶ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième siècle en France,' p. 214.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 214.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

TREATMENT OF *au*.

a. Tonic *au* in an open syllable becomes *o*.

CLAUDERE > *klor*; PAUPERUM > *pov*; AURUM > *or*; *AUSER > *oz*. For this *au*, *o* was found in a few of the Latin inscriptions before the time of Augustus. In Cato, Varro and Festus it is more common, and is nearly always found before *d*, *f*, *l*, *r*, and impure¹⁴⁹ *s*. The *au* sometimes also passed into *ū* before *d*, *f* and¹⁵⁰ *s*. The following is the development of *au* to *o* given by Lücking:¹⁵¹ *au* > *du* > *ðó* > *ðð*, > *ð* (= *o*). There was first regressive assimilation of the *a* to the *u*, by which the former was changed to *ð*; then regressive assimilation of the *u* to the *ð*, by which the former was changed to *ó*, and later, to *ð*. That this was an open *o* is shown by the evidence of the other Romance Languages: cf. the Italian.¹⁵² In the Oaths, Eulalia, and Alexis this gives *o*, but in the Leodegar we also find *au* (*Causa*, 35 a), and so also in the Passion.¹⁵³ In all the early texts distinctively Picard, this is found as *o*, and rhymes with¹⁵⁴ *o*.

b. Tonic *au* preceded by yod.

CAUSAM > *köz*; CAUDAM > *kö*. In this class of words the *au* must first have passed to *o*, and this *o* must have been treated in the same way as tonic *o* in an open syllable and diphthongised to *ö*. It has already been shown at how early a period this change of *au* to *o* took place,—a period long before the diphthongisation of original *o*. In all the early Pic. texts, however, this *o* is still maintained: *coses* ('Ch. du. Verm.', xxxix. 11); *choses* (*ibid.*, vi. 22); *cose* ('Mis.', lii. 3); *cose* ('Aniel', 121).

In Crinon this is found as *o*: *Cose* (Sat., vii. 7; v. 48); and so also in the *Franc-Pic.*, 1891. p. 207. In the 'Evan. s. St. Matt.', both forms are found: *keuz* (v. ii; v. 32): *koz* (v. 23); in the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' *coze* (42). As the form *eu* (*ö*) does not appear in any work previous to the present generation, it is impossible to show whether it has long existed in the patois alongside of the probably more frequent *cose*, or whether it is of recent origin.

c. Tonic or pretonic *au* + cons. + yod.

GAUDIA > *žué*; GAUDIOSUM > *zuéjö*; *CAUSIRE > *šuézir*; ABAUBIARE *abuéji*. This *au* became *o* at an early period,¹⁵⁵ and is found as *o* in the same early texts as mentioned for tonic *au*, and as *au* for the same texts in which tonic *au* remains. In the early texts distinctively Picard, it is found as *o*. This *o* unites with a parasitic *i* developed by the yod to produce the diphthongue *óí*, which is found in rhyme with *o* in the Alexis.¹⁵⁶ From the beginning of the thirteenth centu-

¹⁴⁹ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 139.

¹⁵⁰ Corssen, 'Aussprache des Lat.,' i. 660.

¹⁵¹ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' 140.

¹⁵² Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 140.

¹⁵⁴ See 'Mis.,' Strophe ix.

¹⁵⁵ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

¹⁵⁶ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 141.

ry this *oi* is found in rhymes with *oi* from tonic *é* libre, and *oi* from *o* + parasitic¹⁵⁷ *i*. This is found as *oi* in the O. Pic. texts: *coisir* ('Mis.,' ccv. 5); *joie* ('Mis.,' cxxxi. 7, 'Auc. et Nic.,' i. 14).

d. Pretonic *au*.

PAUSARE > *pøzi*; LAUDARE > *lui*; GAUDARE > *zuir*; AUDIRE > *auir*: AUSARE > *øzi*; ALAUDETTAM > *àluet*. This gave, in the early French monuments, *ø*, but, in the 'Jonas Frag.' the St. Leger and the 'Passion du Christ,' it remained *au*. It is found with *o* in the O. Pic. texts: ¹⁵⁸*loer* ('Car.,' xci. 11); *oser* ('Mis.,' ix. 5); *joir* ('Car.,' ccxvii. 2); *oir* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i. 1). This *o* was found in assonance and rhyme with *ø* from Latin *ø* in O. Fr.,¹⁵⁹ and in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' it generally rhymes only with *ø*, and very rarely with *ø*.¹⁶⁰ While pretonic *ø* from original *ø* has remained *ø* in the patois, pretonic *ø* from original *au* has been diphthongised to *u* except before *s*, where the *ø* is kept. In its treatment of this *au* the patois has developed exactly as the French.

In *auir* there is no initial *a* in any Picard text examined. It is probably either the agglutination of the preposition *à* to the verb, and has arisen through the use of such expressions as, *J'è à uir*,¹⁶¹ etc., and hence, *J'vø auir*, or is the agglutination of the third person singular, present indicative of the auxiliary *avuer*: *il a ui*, and hence: *il a aui*. From Picard texts the writer finds no proof in confirmation of either theory.

THE FINAL NASAL SOUND *œ̃*.

This is a sound produced by only half closing the nasal passage in the pronunciation of French nasal *œ̃*. This sound is heard in the patois in the pronunciation of the final *i* and *ü* of all past-participles which in the old texts have these terminations, and also in the pronunciation of some other words which have been noted, from time to time, in the preceding pages.

All final *i*'s and *ü*'s, have not, however, this semi-nasal sound, and general rules for its use cannot be given.

The sound has been produced by a careless articulation of final *i* and *ü*. In the production of the pure vowels, *i* and *ü*, the muscles in the front part of the mouth are brought into action, whereas, in the production of the semi-nasal sound, there is only a slight tension of a few of the muscles between the mouth and the nasal cavity. The origin of this sound is, therefore, due to the law of least action.

There appears to be a corresponding nasal sound in similar cases, but of rare occurrence in the Burgundian dialect, which is denoted by the addition of a final inorganic *n* in the 'Noëls Bourguignons' of Bernard de lo Monnoye:—*venun* (p. 4); *nainin* (p. 6); *venun*: *Comun* (p. 16). In the first fifty pages of this work these are the only words in which this final inorganic nasal is found.

¹⁵⁷ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 76.

¹⁵⁸ Lücking, 'Mundarten,' p. 140.

¹⁵⁹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 37.

¹⁶⁰ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxviii.

¹⁶¹ For similar agglutination, see Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 636.

THE CONSONANTS.

THE LABIALS.

a. As initials the labials remain unchanged :

BONMU > *bwē*; BLASPHEMARE > *blami*; POPULUM > *pöp*; PARABOLAM > *pärql*; VIDERE > *vir*; VIVERE > *viv*; FLOREM > *flör*; FIDEM > *fué*.

By the addition of the prosthetic *e*, however, these consonants may lose their initial place.

In the *patois* VENINOSUM has become *grimö*. This form is given by Corblet,¹⁶² but, in all the O. Fr. glossaries the word is given with an initial *v*. It has also preserved the initial *v* in the dialects surrounding the Picard: Norm., *vēlimö*; Wall., *vilmö*. The writer is not aware of a like change of initial *v-n* to *gr* in any other word, and the change cannot possibly be a purely phonetic one. The change is probably due to a crossing, in the mind of the peasant, of the old form *venimö*, with *grinaš*. The *grinaš* caused by the tasting of what was *venimö* caused by a crossing between the word denoting the result and the word denoting the cause. Examples of similar crossing in French are: ¹⁶³ *falloir, oreste, triers*.

In certain cases initial *f* is changed to *b* :

1. In the first and second person plural of the present indicative of FACERE: *bzö, bzi*.

2. In the whole of the imperfect indicative of the same verb: *bzué, bzui, bzui, bzuem, bzuēt, bzuēt*.

3. In the first and second plural of the present subjunctive of the same verb: *bzöš, bzēš*.

4. In the present participle: *bzā*.

5. FACTATOREM > *bzö*.

An example of this change is found in Paillard's 'Letters Picardes':¹⁶⁴ *n'ei bezoit que rire*. This transformation is not found in Crinon, nor in the 'Célèbre Mariage'; but it occurs in the 'Evangile selon St. Matt.': Bzé donk pénitins konn i feü, (iii. 8). It appears that initial *f* is changed to *b* only when it is followed by *z*.

b. *bb, pp, ff* are reduced to the single labials *b, p, f*:

ABRATEM > *ábé*; SABBATI+DIEM > *sāmdi*; CAPPONEM > *kāpö*; CAPPELLAM > *kāpēl*.

¹⁶² 'Glossaire,' s. v.

¹⁶³ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i. 629.

¹⁶⁴ Cited by Corblet, 'Glossaire,' p. 78.

c. Intervocalic *b* becomes the voiced labial *v* as in French:

DEBERE > *dnuér*; HIBERNUM > *ivér*; CABALLUM > *gvo*. So also in O. Pic. *deves* ('Auc. et Nic.,' x, 41); *ceval* (*ibid.*, ii, 5).

In GIBACARIAM the intervocalic *b* becomes *p*, while, in French, it remains. In Cachy it becomes *šipəsjer*.

In GABELINUM the *b* is changed to the voiced velar *g* in Cachy, *goglē*. A similar change is found in the name of a village seven kilometers north-east of Corbie, where *Rihemont* is pronounced by the peasants, *Rigmō*.

d. *b* before *r* becomes the voiced labial *v*:

LIBRUM > *liv*; LABRUM > *lev*; PIPEREM > *puév*; LIBERARE > *livri*. This change had already taken place in the O. Pic. *livrer* ('Mis.,' clxxxv, 7); *livre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl, 22).

e. *b* falls before a dental, as in French.

CUBITUM > *čöt*; DUBITARE > *duti*; OBSCURUM > *qskür*; ABSTENIRE > *ästnir*; OBSTINATUM > *qstiné*; GALBINUM > *gàn*, and its derivative *ganir*. Previous to the sixteenth century the *b* had fallen before *s* also in French, but was restored¹⁶⁵ both in spelling and pronunciation through the learned influences of that time. The patois has kept the older sound, and the learned influence does not appear in it.

f. *b* after *m* falls.

GAMBAM > *gàm*; and its derivative *ägami*; UMBRAM > *qm*; TOMBARE > *tömi*. The *b* was retained in this case in O. Pic.: *ombre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xii, 32); *ganbe* (*ibid.*, ii, 11).

g. *b*¹⁶⁶+yod becomes the voiceless guttural *ž*.

RUBEUM > *ruž*; RABIEUM > *raž*; CAVEAM < *kāž*; TIBIAM > *tiž*.

h. In the patois no *b* was inserted between the Latin combination *l-m*.

SIMULARE > *sāni*; IN + SIMUL > *ēsē*. "Et vo feré *sianan*, qu' o' ne m'avé touquié" ('Suite du Cél Mar.,' 40); "Tu n' *tranes* pouant peindant deux jours el fiève" Crinon, ('Sat.,' ii, 42).

The non-insertion of this *b* is the general rule in O. Pic. texts,¹⁶⁷ although examples are found, no doubt due to the dialects of the Ile-de-France, and Normandy, in which it is interpolated: *asanlent* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxi, 1); *ensanble* (*ibid.*, xiv, 23); *ensanle*, ('Mis.,' cxxii, 7); *sanler* (*ibid.*, ccix, 10); *sanlanche* ('Car.,' xli, 2); *ensanle* ('Chev. as devs espees', 678).

i. The final Latin combination *b+vowel+l*.

The result of this combination varied in the O. Pic. texts. For the

¹⁶⁵ Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, 'Le Seizième Siècle en France,' p. 222.

¹⁶⁶ For full treatment of this sound, see Labials+yod.

¹⁶⁷ "Die Hilfs-laute d und b, welche im Norm. und Fran. zwischen gewissen Consonantengruppen (l-r, n-r, m-l) zu entstehen pflegen, fehlen im Pic. Suchier, ('Auc. et Nic.,' p. 58).

'Aniel' Tobler thinks the *u* of the MS. had the value *v*, and placed this in his text: *Caritavles* ('Aniel', 63); *veritavles* (*ibid.*, 64); *dompnaules* (*ibid.*, 322). In 'Auc. et Nic.' and the 'Recl. de Moll.' it is found as *b*: *cantefable* ('Auc. et Nic.', xli. 24); *estable* (*ibid.*, xx. 28); *esperitable* (*ibid.*, xxxvii. 14); *amiable* ('Car.', cxxvii. 1); *amirable* (*ibid.*, cxxvii. 2). In the 'Chartes du Vermandois' it is found as *u*: *paiules* (xxii. 42); *tainulle* (xxxvii. 20). Tobler thinks¹⁶⁸ this *u* had the sound of *v* for all O. Pic. texts, and in this view he is supported by Neumann.¹⁶⁹ In the 'Chartes du Ponthieu', Raynaud finds *u* also, and pronounces it *v*, and is supported by G. Paris,¹⁷⁰ who says this is a case in which a careful comparison with the present patois would be of great use. In the present patois of Cachy, *b*+vowel+*t* gives two results: *b* and *v*. The pronunciation of the older people is always *tāv* (TABULAM), but the French has encroached extensively, and the younger people pronounce it *tāb*. It is evident from this that, at no very remote period, the pronunciation of this termination was always *v*. In the 'Suite du Cél. Mar.' (629) the rhyme *tave*: *rave* is found. These words are also written with a *v* in Crinon: *tave* (I, ii. 17); *rave* (I, ii. 18). This *b* does not become *u* in any part of the Somme. The evidence of the modern patois seems, therefore, so far as the Somme is concerned, to confirm the opinion of Tobler, Neumann, Raynaud and G. Paris, that the *u* of the O. Pic. MSS. had the sound of *v*.

TREATMENT OF *p*.

a. Initial *p* before a consonant remains, as in O. Pic.

PLACERE > *plēzi*; PROBARE > *pruvi*; PREHENDERE > *prē*. From the word *petit*, which existed in O. Pic., the form *pətjot* was formed in modern Pic.¹⁷¹ at a time when the *ə* between the consonants had not yet fallen. When this *ə* fell it became *ptjot*, but, as *p* before *t* always falls in the patois of Cachy, as in French,¹⁷² this has become *tjot* in the patois of to-day. The sound *ptjot* is still heard in the patois of Villers-Bretonneux.

b. Intervocalic *p* becomes the voiced labial *v*, as in French.

SAPERE > *sāvūr*; RIPAM > *riv*; APERTUM > *uvēr*. So also in O. Pic.: *savons* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxxix. 23); *rive* (*ibid.*, xxviii. 5); *coverra* ('Mis.', xxxviii. 7); *covert* (*ibid.*, xcv. 7); *savoir* ('Aniel', l.).

In the 'Mis.', however, the form *dessaboure* occurs, rhyming with *laboure* (clix. 1). The form with *b* is an archaism. In order that *p* should become *v* it was necessary for it to pass through the intermediate stage *b*, and this form shows that stage.

c. *p* before *r* becomes the voiced labial *v*, as in French.

PIPEREM > *puév*; SEPERARE > *sevri*; CO+OPERIRE > *kuvrir*. This

¹⁶⁸ 'Aniel', xxxii. ¹⁶⁹ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', p. 110. ¹⁷⁰ *Romania*, vi. 617.

¹⁷¹ Corblet, 'Glossaire', s. v. ¹⁷² Schwan, 'Grammatik', p. 45.

change had already taken place before the time of the O. Pic. texts: *sevrer* ('Mis.,' clxxxv. 6); *covert* (*ibid.*, xcv. 7).

d. *p* before a dental is assimilated to the dental, as in French, and then a reduction to a single dental takes place.

ACCAPITARE > *ākāti*; RUPTAM > *rut*; TEPIDUM > *tjgd*. The combination has developed in the following way: *pt* (or *pd*) > *bt* > *tt* > *t*.

e. Final *p* after a liquid falls, as in French.

CAMPUM > *kā*; COLPUM > *kō*; CORPUS > *kpr*. The *p* is found in O. Pic.: *canp* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxvi. 22); *comp* ('Mis.,' cv. 2), except in CORPUS where it fell before the dental *s*: *cors* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii. 11). Till the sixteenth century this final *p* was still pronounced in French, but, from that time, the tendency began to unite the terminations *-ap*, *-op*, *-ep*, *-oup*, *-amp*, in rhyme with the terminations *-at*, *-a*, *-é*, *-et*, *-ot*, *-out*, *-ant*.¹⁷³

TREATMENT OF *v*.

a. Intervocalic *v* remains, as in French.

VIVAT > *viv*; LEVAT > *jv*; LEVARE > *lvi*; DEVENIRE > *dvnir*. O. Pic.: *devinrent* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxxiv. 16); *lever* (*ibid.*, ii. 30); *vivier* ('Car.,' civ. 7); *viveche* (*ibid.*, cxii. 4). In certain cases it falls, as in French: VIVENDA > *vjan*. Here it has disappeared through dissimilation. In this word it had already fallen in O. Pic.: *viande* ('Mis.,' xx. 10). In *pvr*, which G. Paris¹⁷⁴ derives from PAVOREM, the dental labial *v* was assimilated to the labial vowel on each side of it, and became the labial vowel *ü*. This *ü* was afterwards fused with the following *o*.¹⁷⁵

In PAVONEM, which has become *pā*, a similar change has taken place: PAVONEM > *pauon* > *paon* > *pā*. CHARIVARIUM, or, according to some, CHALYBARIUM has given *kāribāri* in the patois.

Littré (s. v.) says the word is unknown in O. Fr. before the fourteenth century, and all the examples given by him after that time have a *v*: *chalivari*, or *charivari*. Scheler¹⁷⁶ gives for the O. Fr. *caribari* and *chalivali*. The forms *chalivari* and *charivari* might come from either of the Latin types given above. The form *kāribāri* would indicate that it is a word of learned origin from a type CHALYBARIUM. It may be that the original form in French was *charibari*, and that the termination *-bari* has been changed to *-vari* after the analogy of other popular expressions denoting noise, such as: *haurvari*, *boulevvari*, and that the original form has been kept in the patois of Cachy. But the insufficient material given in the glossaries renders it impossible to say what the original form was.

b. Final *v*.

OVUM > *ü*; BOVEM > *bü*; NOVUM > *nü*; NERVUM > *nerf*; SERVUM > *serf*. After a diphthongue it falls, and in other cases becomes the

¹⁷³ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franç.,' ii. 21.

¹⁷⁴ *Romania*, x, 46.

¹⁷⁵ G. Paris, *ibid.*, x. 46.

¹⁷⁶ 'Dict. Etym.,' s. v.

voiceless labial *f*. After a diphthongue it became mute about the middle of the twelfth century,¹⁷⁷ but it still continued to be written in all the texts: *buef* ('Auc. et Nic.,' x, 7; xxii, 17); *nuef* ('Car.,' cxlvi, 4); before the *s* of the nominative case, however, it was dropped in all cases.

In O. Pic., as in O. Fr., all final voiced consonants became voiceless.

c. Words of Germanic origin which had an initial *w* in German.

Gothic, WASTJAN > *wāti*; M.H.G., WASTEL > *wätjö*; O. H. G., WARTĒN > *wārdi*; O.H.G., WÂG > *wāg*. The process of bi-lingual crossing has taken place in these words. The initial part of these words is not taken from the latinised form of the Germanic original but the Germanic original is kept, and the rest of the word comes from a latinised base. The same has taken place in these words in French,¹⁷⁸ but, while the Picard has kept the Germanic *w*, the French has changed it in accordance with French phonetic laws.

This initial *w* is found in the 'Chartes du Verm.': *wage* (xxvi, 5); *warandise* (ii, 19); *werpie* (iii, 9); *werpirent* (viii, 5); *williame* (xxxix, 5). In the Wallonian these words have been treated in the same way as in Pic.: *water*, *watiau*, *warder*,¹⁷⁹ *wach*, *wafré*, *wageŕ*, *wardé*¹⁸⁰ *r'wéri*, *wazô*.¹⁸¹

In Cachy, O.H.G. *wat* has given *gê*. In this case the French word has been adopted into the patois. In the patois there are two words in which the initial *w* is not due to German influence, but comes from initial *vu* of the O. Pic. These are *wid* and *widi*, which, in O. Pic. were *vuit* ('Car.,' x, 4); and *vuidier* ('Car.,' clxxxvi, 2). These forms were derived by Storm¹⁸² directly from VIDUUS, and VIDUARE. But, besides the difficulty arising from the change of meaning, the intervocalic *d* would fall. For these reasons Schuchardt¹⁸³ does not accept Storm's originals and gives the bases as *VOCITUM and VOCITARE, from older forms *VACITUS, *VACUITUM, *VACITARE > VACUITARE. Thomsen¹⁸⁴ also considers these forms as the originals, and, later, Flechia¹⁸⁵ came to the same conclusion independent of either of his predecessors. Accepting these as the bases, the present form of Cachy is derived in the following way: VOCITUM > VOCTUM > *voictu* > *voitu* > VUIDU > *vuid* > *wid*.

In Cachy the Gothic *balvarései*¹⁸⁶ has become *māwê*. According to Diez¹⁸⁷ this has developed as follows: The corresponding adjective must have been *balwawesi* > *balvesi* > *balvais*, and by the change of *b* to *m* through crossing with MALE.—*malvais*. Then a parasitic *u* was

¹⁷⁷ Gröber in *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, ii, 461.

¹⁷⁸ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 630.

¹⁷⁹ Vermesse, 'Dict. du pat. Wall.,' s. v.

¹⁸⁰ Forir, 'Dict. Lièg-fran.,' s. v.

¹⁸¹ Horning, *Zeits. f. R. Ph.*, ix, 494.

¹⁸² *Romania*, ii, 327.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, iv, 256.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, 257 et seq.

¹⁸⁵ *Archivio Glott. Ital.*, iv, p. 370.

¹⁸⁶ I give the original suggested by Diez, as the question still remains *in statu quo*, this origin neither being accepted nor replaced by a better suggestion.

¹⁸⁷ 'Wörterbuch,' s. v.

¹⁸⁸ *Romania*, iii, 384.

developed before the *l*, after which the *l* fell, giving *mauvais*,—the form in French. Thus far the Cachy form developed in the same way. Before the *u* united with the *a* to form the sound *o* the *v* was assimilated to the *u*, giving *mauvé* > *màwé*.

TREATMENT OF *f*.

a. Intervocalic *f* remains, as in French.

DEFENDERE > *děfĕd*; ELEPHANTEM > *élěfā*. O. Pic.: *defendre* ('Mis.', vi, 1; clii, 12); *defier* ('Car.', clxxxvi, 5).

b. *f* after *n* and *r* remains, as in French.

INFANTEM > *ĕfā*; INFERNUM > *ĕfer*; INFIRMUM > *ĕferm*; PERFECTUM > *parfui*. O. Pic.: *enfant* ('Auc. et Nic.', xi, 2); *enferm* ('Car.', lxv, 6); *parfit* (*ibid.*, cciv, 11); *parfait* (*ibid.*, lvii, 12).

THE DENTALS.

a. As initials the dentals remain unchanged.

DENTEM > *dĕ*; DIGITUM > *dui*; DONNARE > *dōni*; TERRAM > *tĕr*; TELAM > *tuél*; TARDARE > *tārdi*. In TREMERE the initial compound *tr* has been changed to *kr*, as in French.

G. Paris remarks¹⁸⁸ that changes similar to this take place in other languages,—the Catalan and Provençal,—in which the forms *paire* and *maire* cannot come from PATREM, MATREM, but must come from later forms *PACREM, MACREM. He omits to note, however, that in Provençal, TREMERE does not change the *t* to *c*, but has *tremir*. How the change has taken place is still unexplained.

b. Intervocalic *d* falls as in Fr.

FIDARE > *fĭi*; NODARE > *nōi*; VEDERE > *vir*; LAUDARE > *lui*. The voiced dental first becomes *t*, and, in the first half of the twelfth century this sound was gradually lost.¹⁸⁹ It had fallen in Pic. before the time of the 'Reclus de Molliens' (1180+), for, in this work, Van Hamel finds it kept only in one case—*sudor* ('Car.', ccxxxviii, 10), beside *suour* (*ibid.*, lxxx, 8). He considers the first of these a word of learned origin.¹⁹⁰ In later Picard texts it has fallen.

c. Final *d* falls as in French.

NUDUM > *nō*; PEDEM > *pĭi*; CAUDAM > *ĕō*; CADET > *ĕé*. Before falling, the voiced dental first became the voiceless dental *t*, and this fell

¹⁸⁹ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' i, 581.

¹⁹⁰ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxxxix.

about the same time as the original¹⁹¹ *t*.¹⁹² It fell at the same time as intervocalic *d*, in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁹³

d. Intervocalic *dr*.

CREDERE > *kruér*; CLUDERE > *klor*; VIDERE > *vir*; RIDERE > *rir*; ADRETRO > *árjer*. The dental was assimilated to the *r*, giving *rr*.¹⁹⁴ In the patois, in all cases, the two *r*'s have coalesced in sound, and have become *r*.

In the 'Alexis' the writing varies between *r* and *rr*, except for the future tense where *rr* is invariable except in *rire*.¹⁹⁵ In the O. Pic. texts the same is the result, in the future the *rr* is kept: *verrés* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi, 42); *verrioe* (*ibid.*, xiv, 10); *verra* (*ibid.*, iv, 16); *kerrai* ('Car.', cxxix, 9); while, in the other cases the writing varies between *r* and *rr*: *arrier* ('Mis.', clxxii, 11); *deriere* ('Auc. et Nic.', xii, 16); *desirer* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxxix, 36); *enclorre* (*ibid.*, xii, 25); *virent* ('Aniel', 211).

e. In the patois of Cachy, *d* is not interpolated between *l* and *r* and *n* and *r*.

VENERIS + DIEM > *vèrdi*; MOLERE > *möl*; TENERUM > *tér*; TENERE + HABEO > *tàré*; VENIRE + HABEO > *vàré*; VALERE + HABEO > *vgré*. This is characteristic also of the O. Pic., and distinguishes it from the Norman and French.¹⁹⁶ *l'auroit* ('Auc. et Nic.', i, 1); *vourriés* (*ibid.*, xxxii, 5); *vauroit* (*ibid.*, xxxiii, 10); *vauront* ('Ch. du Verm.', xxii, 41); *tenront* (*ibid.*, xvi, 16); *terroit* (*ibid.*, xxxix, 14); *tenre* ('Mis.', cxxxiv, 9).

f. *d* before consonants is assimilated to the consonant as in French, and then falls.

AD + PORTARE > *aporti*; AD + CAPTARE > *àkàti*; ADVENIRE > *àvnir*. The assimilated element had already fallen in O. Pic.: *avenir* ('Car.', xlvii, 2); *acater* (*ibid.*, ccxxx, 3); *aventure* ('Auc. et Nic.', xx, 24); *aval* (*ibid.*, xii, 18).

g. Final *d* after *n* falls.

PREHENDERE > *prén*; MUNDUM > *mũ*; FUNDUM > *fũ*. This *d* is still kept in O. Pic. texts, but, when final, it became *t*: *prent* ('Auc. et Nic.', ix, 11); *prendre* (*ibid.*, ix, 10); *mont* (*ibid.*, vi, 9); *monde* (*ibid.*, xxii, 31); *fondre* ('Car.', clxxxv, 5).

h. *d* after *r* is kept, as in French.

TARDARE > *tàrdi*; PER + DONARE > *pàrdoni*; O.H.G. *wartên* > *wàrdi*. O. Pic.: *border* ('Auc. et Nic.', vii, 15); *corde* (*ibid.*, xii, 14); *tarder* ('Car.', cliii, 2); *garder* ('Mis.', lxviii, 1).

¹⁹¹ Schwan, 'Grammatik,' p. 46.

¹⁹² See treatment of original final *f*.

¹⁹³ Suchier, in Grüber's 'Grundriss,' i, 581.

¹⁹⁴ Cornu, *Romania*, vii, 367.

¹⁹⁵ Cornu, *Romania*, vii, 367.

¹⁹⁶ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', p. 58.

In the case of *PERDICEM* > *pertri*, the *d* has become the voiceless *t*. The same change has also taken place in Wallonian—*piètro*, *piètro*.¹⁹⁷ The form *pertrix* is cited by Littré¹⁹⁸ from the French of the thirteenth century. This change from *d* to *t* had, therefore, taken place at a time when final *r* in the cluster *rtr* was still sounded, and the change is due to the analogy of other words ending in *rtr*; for example, O. Pic. *meurtre*, or in *tr*, a combination much more common than *dr*.

TREATMENT OF *t*.

a. Intervocalic *t* falls, as in French.

AMATUM > *emé*; *ROTAM* > *rö*; *ROTUNDUM* > *rû*; *CANTATA* > *kâlê*. This *t* first became *d*, then *ð*—the sound it had at the time of the “Alexis”—and then fell at the same time as original intervocalic *d*,—in the first half of the twelfth century.¹⁹⁹ This had fallen in all cases before the ‘Reclus de Moll.’ (1180+): *jonrées*, *desaornées*, *raornées*, *ratornées* (‘Car.,’ v.); *roond* (‘Mis.,’ cclx. 9); *entrée* (‘Car.,’ vi. 10).

b. Final *t* falls, as in French.

NATUM > *né*; *AMAT* > *em*; *MARITUM* > *màri*; *PERDUTUM* > *perdû*. Final *t* fell in French in the first half of the twelfth century,²⁰⁰ and in Norman at the same time.²⁰¹ In Picard, as well as in Wallonian and Lorraine, it was retained later than this, especially after *u*.²⁰² In ‘Auc. et Nic.’ it is still preserved in *jut* (xiv. 6), although it has fallen in *entendu* (vi. 1), and *perdu* (xxiv. 39). In the ‘Char. du Verm.’ (1200–1250) final *t* is in a state of transition. After a consonant it is beginning to fall.²⁰³ It is still kept between original vowels in the endings *-et*, *-iet*, *-it*, *-ait*, *-ut*.²⁰⁴ In the ‘Aniel’ (about 1291) the final *t* is still kept after a tonic vowel.²⁰⁵ Final *t* was, therefore, preserved in Picard till the end of the thirteenth century—a century and a half later than in Norman and French. It fell first in Picard after a tonic vowel, and was kept longest after a tonic vowel. In *AMAT* it had fallen in the ‘Rec de Moll.’; *aime* (‘Car.,’ iii. 9); but we find *dechut* in ‘Aniel’ (234).

The French words of learned origin *gastrite* (*GASTRITUM*) and *nitrate* (*NITRATUM*) have been introduced into the patois, but the termination *te* has been changed to *k*—*gàstrik*, *nitrik*, after the analogy of the adjectives ending in *k*; for example, *kômik*, etc.

In the patois *SITIM* has followed the same course as other words

197 Forir, ‘Dict Lièg.-fran.,’ s. v.

198 ‘Dict. Fran.,’ s. v.

199 Suchier in Grober’s ‘Grundriss,’ i. 581.

200 *Ibid.*

201 Suchier, ‘Reimpredigt,’ xix.

202 Suchier, ‘Auc. et Nic.,’ 58.

203 Neumann, ‘Laut und Flexionslehre,’ p. 102.

204 Neumann, ‘Laut- und Flexionslehre,’ 103.

205 Tobler, ‘Aniel,’ xxv.

with final *t*, and has become *sui*. The *t* had already fallen at the time of the 'Rec. de Moll.': *soi* ('Car.', xcii, 10; 'Mis.', cxxxiii, 4).

c. *t* after consonants remains, as in French.

RUPTAM > *rut*; PARTIRE > *pärtir*; PORTAM > *pört*; DICTAM > *dit*; CANTARE > *käti*. O. Pic.: *paistre* ('Aniel', 20); *droiture* (*ibid.*, 31); *parte* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii. 4); *parter* (*ibid.*, x. 11); *planter* (*ibid.*, xiv. 22); *tainture* ('Mis.', lxxxvii. 10).

While in O. Fr. *t* followed by flexional *s* was always indicated by *z*, this transcription is not found in O. Pic.²⁰⁶ In 'Auc. et Nic.' the letter *z* does not occur, and *ts* is always indicated by *s*: *partés* (x. 53); *sergens* (ii. 5); *biautés* (iii. 16) etc.

The majority of rhymes in the 'Chev. as ii. Esp.' show a separation between *s* and *z*.²⁰⁷ In the 'Aniel' *z* is not found, and, although in the 'Char. du Verm.' *ts* is generally represented by *s*, *z* is occasionally found; *aveiz* (xliii. 6); *deleiz* (v. 28). But in this work *z* has the value of voiced *s*, as is shown by the transcriptions *couzines* (xlv. 19); *coze* (xlii. 8); *devisée* (v. 29); *mize* (v. 58).

THE SIBILANTS.

S.

a. Initial *s* remains, as in French.

SAPERE > *sävner*; SANUM > *sẽ*; SOLUM > *söl*; SECURUM > *sör*.

*SUCTIARE has become *šüši*. Although the writer does not find the word in any O. Pic. text, the form must have been, following the analogy of other similar words, *suchier*. The change of the initial *s* to *š* is due to the assimilating influence of the *š* of the second syllable on the first. A similar influence has taken place in the French *chercher*.

*SORICIAM has given *šgrš*. The second *š* has had an assimilating influence on the first in the same way as in *šüši*.

*SORICARE > *šgrki*. The initial *s* has been changed to *š* from analogy with *šgrš*. Initial *sp*, *st* and *sc* are treated as in French: STELAM > *étuél*; SPINAM > *épin*; SCUTUM > *ékü*. The earliest example of this *s* is *spede*, ('Eul.', 22) in which the prosthetic *e* had not yet developed. By the time of the "Alexis," however, it had developed both after a vowel and consonant. Suchier²⁰⁸ says this *e* developed from the passage of the *s* into the next syllable, and that it had originally the sound of *i*, or a sound near *i*. In the O. Pic. texts this prosthetic *e* is always found: *escole* ('Mis.', xxviii. 1); *escrire* (*ibid.*, ccxxxvi. 5); *esperer* ('Car.', xxx. 5); *estelee* ('Ch. du Verm.', iv. 10); *estoile* ('Auc. et. Nic.', xxiv. 87). In the development of this prosthetic *e* the

²⁰⁶ Förster, 'Chev. as ii Esp.', liii.

²⁰⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as ii Esp.', liii.

²⁰⁸ Gröber's 'Grundriss', i. 579.

patois of Cachy has gone further than the French, for it has developed it in (*estatice* (statua)—a word of late introduction into the language. This prosthetic vowel has fallen in some parts of the Wallonian and Lorraine bordering on German territory.²⁰⁹

b. Intervocalic *s* remains voiced, as in French.

PAUSARE > *pqzi*; MISAM > *miz*; CAUSAM > *k z*. O. Pic.: *poser* ('Car.,' xcvii. 2); *present* ('Mis.,' cx. 8); *devise* ('Auc. et Njc.,' v. 3); *mise* (*ibid.*, v. 1). In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' however, this sound is sometimes represented by *z*: *coze* (xlii. 8); *mize* (v. 58; *roze* (xxvi. 3).

c. Final *s* falls, as in French.

MISUM > *mæ̃*; RISUM > *ri*; SPONSUM > *épu*.

In the sixteenth century final *s* was always pronounced before a vowel or before a pause. For its pronunciation in other cases, Palsgrave²¹⁰ gives the following rules:

1. When a word ends in two consonants, of which the first is neither *m*, *n* nor *r*, the first consonant is mute and the second is pronounced: *coups*, *loups* are pronounced *kuz*, *luz*.

2. When a word ends in three consonants, of which the first is *m*, *n* or *r*, the second is mute, and the first and last are pronounced: *bastards*, *corps* are pronounced *bástärz*, *körz*.

3. When a word ends in three consonants, of which the first is neither *m*, *n* nor *r*, the first two are mute, and the last is pronounced: *faictz* is pronounced *fɛz*.

From the commencement of the seventeenth century final *s* was mute after *c*, *f*, *l*, *r*.²¹¹ There are some words, however, in which final *s* had fallen much earlier. Darmesteter²¹² finds that in the two Hebrew-French MSS. of the Vatican, of the end of the thirteenth century, final *s* had fallen in *les*, *ces*, *tres*, and also in *sans*, *veis*, *nos*.

d. *s* before a consonant falls, as in French.

VESTIRE > *vətir*; GUSTARE > *guti*; CASTELLUM > *kätjö*; BESTIA > *hɛt*. The fall of this *s* began in the twelfth century.²¹³ There are already cases in the 'Oxford Psalter' in which this *s* is mute,²¹⁴ and Förster thinks it first fell before *l* and *n*, but in other combinations continued to be pronounced till later than this work. In the 'Rec. de Moll.' *s* before a consonant is beginning to disappear. It has become mute before *m* in the termination *-isme*.²¹⁵ In this work *s* is generally pronounced before *t*. Beside strophes in *-oist* ('Mis.,' lxxiii) there are some in *-ait*. The terminations *-este*, *-estes*, *-ete* *-etes*, *-oust* *-ouste*, *-out*, *-oute* are found. The 'Car.,' has two strophes in *-ist*, and three in

²⁰⁹ Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss', i. 579.

²¹⁰ 'Eclaircissement de la lang. fran.' pp. 24-25.

²¹¹ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franc.,' ii. 66.

²¹² *Romania*, iii. 473.

²¹³ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 586.

²¹⁴ Förster, 'Chev. as ii. Esp.,' li.

²¹⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxliii.

-*it*. The 'Miserere' has six strophes in -*ist*, and ten in -*it*. There is thus a beginning of the suppression of *s* before *m*, before *l*, in the accented syllable after *i*, in the atonic syllable after *ç*.²¹⁶ In the 'Chev. as ii Esp.' *s* is mute before a consonant.²¹⁷ Neumann thinks it became mute somewhat later in Pic. than in the Norman texts from which Förster draws his conclusions, but thinks it was mute in the 'Ch. du Verm.' of the first half of the thirteenth century, although it was still written. A strong proof of this is that he finds it interpolated where it has no etymological justification.²¹⁸

In the Hebrew-French MSS. of the Vatican of the end of the thirteenth century, *s* has fallen everywhere before a consonant.²¹⁹ REPLICARE has become *resplicki* in the patois, and the noun is *resplick*. In both these words the *s* has been inserted from analogy with words of learned origin in which *s* before a consonant is kept, namely, *respiri*, etc. RHEUMATISMUM > *rümàtik*. The termination has been changed after the analogy of the names of other diseases ending in *ik*, namely, *gàstrik*, *kòlik*.

e. *Vowel+ss+vowel*. This combination gives voiceless *s* as in French.

MISSAM > *mēs*; PASSARE > *pàsi*; MASSAM > *màs*. In O. Pic. the *ss* is found: *masse* ('Car.', lxx, 6); *message* (*ibid.*, lix, 3); *messoner* ('Car.', cxxxi, 6); *messe* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxix, 11); *passer* (*ibid.*, xi, 22).

f. *z* is treated in the same way as in French.
ZELOSUM > *zàlu*.

THE NASALS.

N.

a. Initial *n* remains, as in French.

NASUM > *ni*; NOMEN > *nǫ*; NUDUM > *nö*. In NOMINARE > *lomi*, the initial *n* has become *l*. So also in NUMERUM > *lüméro*. The same change has taken place in Wallonian: *Loumé*,²²⁰ *Loummer*.²²¹ The change of *l* to *n* is seen in French in *niveau*. Here the change is due to dissimilation, the *l* being changed to *n* before the fall of the final *l*. The change of *n* to *l* in the interior of the word occurs in French *gonfalon*, and *orphelin*. Jovancoux²²² says the change of *n* to *l* in the words *lomi*, and *lüméro* is very old, and cites from a text of the thirteenth century: "et les ii autres gestes droi ag lommer m'orés"—'Trouvères du Nord.'

In Cachy SCHOLAM NORMALEM has become *ékòl lormàl*. The

²¹⁶ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxliii.

²¹⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as ii. Esp.', li.

²¹⁸ 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 105.

²¹⁹ Darmesteter, *Romania*, iii, 473.

²²⁰ Forir, 'Dict. Liég-Fran.', s. v.

²²¹ Sigart, Dict. du Wall., s. v.

²²² 'Glossaire', s. v.

change here is brought about by assimilation of the *n* to the preceding *l*. It is probable that the change of *n* to *l* in the two words *lomi* and *lunéro* has been brought about in a similar manner—by the frequent occurrence of a word ending in *l* before these words.

b. Intervocalic *n* remains as in French.

MINARE > *mni*; SANAM > *sen*; VENIRE > *vnir*; PLENAM > *plen*. O. Pic.: *demaine* ('Car.', cxxii, 5); *denier* (*ibid.*, lxxxvi, 6); *tenir* ('Car.', cxxxii, 1); *plenier* ('Auc. et Nic.', viii, 9). In ORPHENINUM > *grfɛlɛ̃*, the *n* is changed to *l* through the principle of dissimilation, as in French.

c. *n* before *r*.

TENERUM > *tɛr*; VENIRE + HABEO > *vàré*; TENERE + HABEO > *tàré*; MINARE + HABEO > *màré*; AD + MINARE + HABEO > *àmàré*. The *n* is assimilated to the *r* giving two *r*'s which coalesce into the sound *r*.

Neumann cites a case from the 'Ch. du Verm.' in which this assimilation had taken place: *terroit* (xxxix, 14). So also in the 'Rec. de Moll.' *terrai* ('Car.', cxlix, 12); but generally the assimilation had not taken place: *tenront* ('Ch. du Verm.', xvi, 16); *tenrount* (*ibid.*, xlii, 7); *tenroit* (xxi, 9); *tenroient* (*ibid.*, xxii, 26); *vinrent* ('Auc. et Nic.', xxvii, 17); *tenre* ('Car.', xlviii, 4). When the *r* is final it drops before assimilation takes place: CINEREM > *ɛ̃ɛn*; PONERE > *pɔn*. One of the characteristics of the Pic. is that *d* was not interpolated between *n* and *r*:²²³ *tenre* ('Mis.', cxxxiv, 9); *tenrai* ('Auc. et Nic.', x, 55); *venrai* ('Chev. as II Esp.', 7406); *venrons* (*ibid.*, 3978), and examples just given from the 'Char. du Verm.' Rarely the *d* is found under the influence of the dialect of the Ile de France: *chendre* ('Mis.', vi, 9).

d. Final *n* after *r* falls, as in French.

INFERNUM > *ɛ̃fɛr*; DIURNUM > *ɛ̃ur*; HIRERNUM > *ivɛr*. In the 'Brandan' and the 'Conflictus Corporis et Animae' this *n* is still retained,²²⁴ and in the 'Reimpredigt' there is only one case where it has fallen (*jor*: *honor*, 58). It had, however, fallen in all cases before the end of the century, and does not appear in the 'Rec. de Moll.': *jour*. ('Car.', xi, 9).

e. *n* before a labial remains.

INVOLARE > *ɛ̃bli*; INFERNUM > *ɛ̃fɛr*. O. Pic.: *Enbler* ('Auc. et Nic.', vi. 10; xx, 27); *embler* ('Car.', cx, 9); *enferm* ('Car.', lxxv, 6). At the time of the 'Rec. de Moll.' the pronunciation of *m* and *n* was the same after a nasal vowel.²²⁵ Hence *embler* is the same in sound as *enbler*.

f. The group *m'n* intervocalic.

DAMNATICUM > *domaɛ̃*; FEMINAM > *fɛm*; DOMINAM > *dàm*; SEMI-

²²³ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.', 58.

²²⁴ Suchier, 'Reimpredigt', xxiv.

²²⁵ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.', cxlii.

NARE>*smi*. The *n* has been assimilated to the *m* giving *mm*=*m* in sound. This assimilation had taken place by the end of the twelfth century; for, in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' we find *fame* ('Car.,' ccxixvii, 4); so also in 'Auc. et Nic.': *damage* (xxix, 33); *dame* (vi, 36); *damoysel* (xx, 10).

g. *n* after any consonant, except *m* or *r*, remains, as in French.

JUVENEM>*žon*; ASINUM>*an*; GALBINUM>*gân*.

h. *n* in the group *ns* falls, as in French.

SPONSAM>*épuz*; MANSIONEM>*muézǫ*; MONASTERIUM>*mǫjǫr* (the name of a commune just north of Amiens); PENSARE>*pzi*, and *pěsi*; CONSTANTIAECUM>*kǫtǫšǫ*. It falls in words of popular formation, but is retained in words of learned origin. To this latter class belong the two names of places given above, and *pěsi*. In this case the *n* had already fallen in O. Latin, but by recomposition and analogy it was, at a later time, frequently replaced.²²⁶ O. Pic.: *peser* ('Car.,' cxxv, 2); *espous* ('Mis.,' cclxii, 8); *maisne* (*ibid.*, cxxix, 8); *maison* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxx, 6); *moustier* ('Mis.,' clvi, 10). This is of popular formation, while the name of the commune is of learned formation.

i. Interpolation of *n*.

MACIONEM>*māšǫ*; PIPIONEM>*pěžǫ*. An example of this interpolated *n* is cited by Du Cange²²⁷ from the fifteenth century,—*penjons*. Examples of this are also found in French: *langouste*,²²⁸ *engrot*,²²⁹ *Ingrande*,²³⁰ *Angouleme*.²³¹

TREATMENT OF *m*.

a. Initial *m* remains as in French.

MANUM>*mǫ*; METTERE>*mǫt*; MANDUCARE>*mǫži*; MICA>*mi*; MANSIONEM>*muézǫ*.

As in French, initial *m* has become *n* in MAPPAM>*nāp*. The same change has taken place in MESPILUM, which in French gives *nèfle*. Changes of the reverse kind in the interior of the word occur in French: *venimeux*, *charme*, *latimier*. In Wallonian the original *m* is retained. In the following words initial *m* has been changed to *b*: MISINGAM>*bézǫg*; MITANUM+BOT<*biǫbu*; the O. Pic. *mitaclé* has become *bitakté*. and MORNIFLE>*bǫrnif*. For this change the writer sees no satisfactory explanation.

b. Intervocalic *m* remains, as in French.

AMARUM>*āmer*; AMANTEM>*ǫmā*; HUMANUM>*ūmiē*. O. Pic.: *aime*

²²⁶ Meyer-Lübke in Gröber's 'Grundriss', I, 365.

²²⁷ 'Du Cange', s. v. ²²⁸ Bugge in *Rom.*, iv, 253.

²²⁹ Quicherat, 'Noms de lieux', 24. ²³⁰ *Ibid.* ²³¹ *Ibid.*

('Auc. et Nic.,' xix, 11); *alumer* (*ibid.*, xvii, 13); *amor* (*ibid.*, ii, 16); *lamentant* ('Car.,' clxxxii, 9).

c. Final *m*. Its influence remains in nasalising the preceding vowel.

REM > *rjẽ* EXAMEN > *ɛsẽ*; RACE: IEM > *ruézẽ*; FAMEM > *fẽ*.

d. *m* before a dental becomes *n*, as in French. It is partially assimilated to the dental.

SEMITABIUM > *sẽtji*; COMITEM > *kõt*; TUAM + AMITAM > *tõt*. This partial assimilation had already taken place in O. Pic.: *sentier* ('Car.', ccxxiii, 8); *conter* ('Mis.,' xlii, 7); *conte* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii, 34).

e. *m* before a labial. When the labial falls, the *m* remains; when the labial remains, the influence of the *m* remains in nasalising the preceding vowel.

GAMBAM > *gãm*; TEMPLUM > *tẽp*; IMPERIUM > *ẽpir*. As the combination *vowel + nb*, had, in O. Pic. the same sound as *vowel + mb*, we find both *m* and *n* in the same text: *ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.,' ii, 11); *tans* (*ibid.*, ii, 8); *tempeste* ('Car.,' cxxx, 3); *temprer* ('Mis.,' xxiii, 5).

f. *m* after *r* remains, as in French.

DORMUNT > *dorm*; ARMA > *ãrm*; LACRIMAM > *lãrm*. O. Pic.: SERMON ('Car.,' lxxii, 2); *armeüre* ('Mis.,' xciii, 11); *larmoüer* (*ibid.*, lxxxv, 2). In DORMITORIUM, after the fall of the pretonic vowel, the medial element, *m*, in the triple combination of consonants, fell, as in French, giving *dortuér*.

THE LIQUIDS.

L.

a Initial *l* remains.

LUNAM > *lõn*; LAVARE > *lãvi*; LIBRUM > *liv*; LECTUM > *lẽ*. O. Pic.: *lairés* ('Auc. et Nic.,' viii, 35); *lit* (*ibid.*, qi, 21); *livre* (*ibid.*, xl, 22); *liu* ('Car.,' lxxxv, 3); *lentin* ('Car.,' cx, 8). In LUSCINIOLUM > *orsinũ*, the *l* has become *r* as in French. In 'Auc. et Nic.,' the *l* is still kept: *lorseilnol* (xii, 6). In the interior, and at the end of a word, this change of *l* to *r* is common in French: *épître*, *chapître*, *apôtre*, *gorpil*.²³² This change was already known in Latin:²³³ LATIALIS (Ov. Plin.) = LATIARIS (Cic.); LINEALIS (Amm.) = LINEARIS (Plin.)

From *LUTARE, a frequentative verb *lütli* was formed in the patois. After the formation of this verb, the initial *l* has been changed to *m* by the process of differentiation. Compare a change of *l* to *n* due to the same cause in French *quenouille*, and *cenelier*.²³⁴ In the follow-

²³² Cited by Littré ('Dict. fran.,' s. v.), from the thirteenth century.

²³³ Bugge, *Rom.*, iv, 352.

²³⁴ Tobler, *Rom.*, ii, 244.

ing words initial *l* is vocalised to *j*: LEVO>*jöv*; LEVAS>*jöv*; LEVAT>*jöv*; LEPOREM>*jov*; LUPUM+GERULPHUM>*jö-wäru*; LAPINUM²³⁵>*jápẽ*. The first four of these words would seem to point to the fall of *l*, the *j* arising from the diphthongisation of the tonic *ε*: but the last two words show that this cannot be the case, and clearly show vocalisation. This vocalisation had not taken place in O. Pic.

In the noun *nàmponjé* from A. S. LAPPAN, and *nøkûr* from Norse LOCKAERD, the initial *l* has become *n*. This change of *l* to *n* takes place in French *niveau* (O. Fr. *livel*), and *cenelier* through dissimilation. But the same process cannot have caused the change in the two words given from patois.

b. Intervocalic *l* remains, as in French.

ALAM>*εl*; TELAM>*tuél*; PALATIUM>*pâlε*; VOLERE>*vuluér*. The It. COLONNELLO has become *kurɲel*; *corpulentia*>*kɔrpɔrās*. The forms *coronnels*, *coronal*, *couronnel* were very frequent in the Fr. of the sixteenth century.²³⁶ Littré²³⁷ cites the form *corporance* from Morot. This is the form of the word in the patois of Geneva.²³⁸ The form *kurɲel* is due to the principal of differentiation,—the *l* being changed to *r* to differentiate it from the final sound—*l*. In *kɔrpɔrās*, the *l* has become *r* by being assimilated to the preceding *r*.

In the following words the *l* has been changed to *r* through the process of differentiation: ULULARE>*ürli*; CALCULUM>*kàrcül*; CALCULARE>*kàrküli*. The form *querculant* is cited by Littré from Eus. Deschamps. COMPLICITUM>*kɔpru*. The *l* is probably changed to *r* through crossing with the O. Pic. *prou*. The change from *l* to *r* is extremely rare in O. Pic. texts, and in those which the writer has examined only two examples are found: *Bertremiu* ('Ch. du Verm.,' xxxv, 4).

In the following words the *l* has fallen without leaving any trace: ELEMOSYNIUM>*àmɔn*; ALENAM>*àn*.

Förster²³⁹ points out similar cases of the fall of the *l* before a consonant in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,': *chevacie* (10426); *amosne* (10786); *ques* (8751); *mos* (8405). So also in the 'Ch. du Verm.,': *as* (xiv, 2); *nus* (xlii, 2); *Willame* (v, 18). As *l* falls regularly before a consonant in the Eastern dialects, this is probably due to their influence on the Picard.

c. Final *l* after a labial falls.

TABULAM>*täv* and *tàb*; POPULUM>*pöp*; TEMPLAN>*tẽp*. *Tave* ('Crinon Sat.,' I ii, 11); *étave* (*ibid.*, I, ii, 7); *risibe* (*ibid.*, ii, 15); *impossibe* (ii, 16); *tave* ('Cél. Mar. Suite', 629). In Picard texts earlier than this it is still found: *amiable*, *amirable*, *caritable*, *durable*, *plorable* ('Car.,' cxxvii); *dampnavles* ('Aniel', 321); *pardonnavles*

²³⁵ Diez, 'Wörterbuch', s. v.

²³⁶ Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, s. v.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, s. v.

²³⁹ 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlviii.

(*ibid.*, 322); *caritavles* (*ibid.*, 63); *veritavles* (*ibid.*, 64). It fell here owing to the difficulty of sounding the final liquid after a labial.

d. *l* falls after *m*.

IN+SIMUL>*ẽsã*; TREMULARE>*trãni*; SIMULARE>*sãni*. *Tranes* ('Crinon,' ii, 42); *sianan* ('Suite du Cél. Mar.,' 40). In earlier texts it is kept; *sanler* ('Mis.,' ccix, 10); *sanle* (*ibid.*, lxxxii, 4); *ensanle* (*ibid.*, cxxii, 7); *sambler* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xxxii, 16). The *l* falls in this case in the patois for the same reason as after a labial.

e. Final *l* after *k* falls for the same reason as in the two preceding cases.

MIRACULUM>*miràk*; SPECTACULUM>*spɛktàk*; ORACULUM>*gràk*.

f. In the combination *l*+consonant a parasitic *u* is developed before the *l*, which then falls.

FALSUM>*fö*; CALIDUM>*kö*; ALTUM>*ö*; CABALLUM>*gvö*; VALERE+HABEO>*vgré*.

The earliest example known of the development of this *u* is found in a text dated 1044.²⁴⁰ In the "Alexis" it has not yet developed,²⁴¹ but its development was completed in the twelfth century.²⁴²

In the 'Rec. de Moll.' the *u* is everywhere developed,²⁴³ and in all later Picard texts: *temporaus i aus* ('Mis.,' li): *haut: s'esvaut* (*ibid.*, cliii); *fius: pius* ('Car.,' lxii); *aucun* ('Car.,' xxxix, 9); *aube* (*ibid.*, lxxiv, 6).

g. Transposition of *l* takes place in BUCCULAM>*bluk*.

Here the liquid has been attracted by the labial. The *l* in this word is already transposed in the 'Chev. as ii Esp.': (*blouke* 3022; 4143). Attraction by the preceding consonant takes place in Fr. *sanglot*.

h. Agglutination of *l*.

In the patois *ɔl Luvèrn* corresponds to Fr. L'Auvergne. This is a case of the double use of the article. The first, owing to its close connection with the name, became part of it, so that the popular mind lost consciousness that it was the article, and used a second one. The same took place in Fr.; *le lendemain*, and *le lierre*.

TREATMENT OF *r*.

a. Initial *r* remains.

RABIEM>*rãž*; RATIONEM>*rézõ*, REM>*rjẽ*.

b. Intervocalic *r* remains.

AMARUM>*àmɛr*; DURAM>*dür*; *ɛr*; VOLERE>*vuluér*; O. Pic.:

²⁴⁰ Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 582.

²⁴¹ G. Paris, 'Alexis' 101.

²⁴² Suchier in Gröber's 'Grundriss' I, 582.

²⁴³ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxl.

mirabile ('Auc. et Nic.,' v. 4); *moeurent* (*ibid.*, vi, 31); *mire* ('Car.,' xxiii, 2); *merite* ('Mis.,' cxciv, 3).

In the patois CATHEDRAM has become *kàjɛl*, meaning a chair. Jouancoux²⁴⁴ cites many cases of *caïelle* from the inventories of the sixteenth century. But the older form appears to have been *caïere*. This is cited by Jouancoux from a document of Amiens of the fifteenth century, and is the only form found in the 'Rec. de Moll.,' Jouancoux quotes from a document of the North East, of the year 1340: "*une cayère et plusieurs bancs et sielles.*"

The substitution of the *l* for the *r* in *kàjɛl* is, no doubt, due to a crossing between the old form *cayère* and *sielle*, or *selle* (the latter being the pure Pic. form) from SELLAM. In CATHERINAM > *kàtɛn* the *r* has become *l*.²⁴⁵

In the following cases *r* has been changed to *l* by the process of differentiation: RARUM > *ràl*; *miluér* (formed from MINARE); ARMORIUM > *ormoɛl*; FRAGRARE > *flérji*.

c. *re* is simplified to *r*.

TERRAM > *tɛr*; GUERRAM > *džɛr*. The simplification of double consonants was the rule in O. Pic. texts: ²⁴⁶ *foureur* (Chev. as II Esp., 231); *entera* (*ibid.*, 1025); *tere* (*ibid.*, 367); *guere* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 34); the double consonant, however, is frequent: *guerre* ('Car.,' iv, 7); *terre* (*ibid.*, xxvi, 1).

d. Final *r* after a labial falls.

LABRUM > *lɛv*; ARBOREM > *àb*; LIBRUM > *liv*; LEJOREM > *jɔv*; YIVERE > *viv*; *fieve* ('Crinon', ii, 42); *ieve* (*ibid.*, ii, 43); *peuve* (*ibid.*, iii, 44). In the O. Pic. texts it is preserved: *livre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xl, 22); *levre* (*ibid.*, xxiv, 19); *vivre* ('Car.,' iv, 3); *pompres* ('Mis.,' xli, 2).

In ARBOREM > *àb*, the *r* drops before, as well as after, the labial. This is found in the dialect of the Ile de France in Rusteboeuf: ²⁴⁷ "*Li aubre despoillent lor branches*", and in the O. Pic. in 'Raoul de Cambrai': ²⁴⁸ "*voit sur ces haubres ces oisellons chanter.*" The *r* has also dropped in this case in MARMOREM > *màb*,—a form which is shown by the *b* to be an introduction from the French, and afterwards modified. The *r* falls in Wallonian before the inserted labial in MARMOREM, and also in ARBOREM. *abe*,²⁴⁹ *abre*,²⁵⁰ *mabre*,²⁵¹ *maberier*.²⁵² The same forms are found in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,': *abre* (6180); *mabre* (4578).

e. Final *r* after a dental falls.

PERDERE > *pɛrd*; ALTERUM > *õt*; MAGISTRUM > *mɛt*; METTERE > *mɛt*. *Mait* ('Crinon', i, 4); *eute* (*ibid.*, i, 28); *r'preine* (*ibid.*, I, ii, 3);

²⁴⁴ 'Glossaire,' s. v.

²⁴⁵ For interchanges between *l* and *r*, see treatment of *l*.

²⁴⁶ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlviii. ²⁴⁷ Cited by Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v., *arbre*.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ²⁴⁹ Sigart, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.

²⁵⁰ Le Grande, 'Dict. du Pat. de Lille', 9.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.,' s. v.

In INTRA > *ēter*; and CONTRA > *kūter*, the *r* has not fallen but an *e* has been inserted between the *t* and *r* by the process of *svarabakhti*, to render more easy the pronunciation of the difficult combination *tr*.

f. The final combination *sk'r*.

CRESCERE > *kruet*; COGNOSCERE > *kouuet*; NASCERE > *net*.

In this combination the *t* has been interpolated between *s* and *r*, as in French, and final *r* has fallen, as usual, after the dental. The *t* was also inserted, and the final *r* retained in O. Pic.: *naistre* (Van Hamel, 'Mis.,' 428); *conaistre* (*ibid.*, p. 389).

g. In MASCULUM > *mārl*, the *s* has been changed to *r*.

preinn (*ibid.*, I, ii, 19); *mainde* (*ibid.*, ii, 38). It was retained in O. Pic. texts: *estendre* ('Auc. et Nic.,' xviii, 9); *batre* (*ibid.*, xxx, 4); *defendre* (*ibid.*, viii, 16); *autre* (*ibid.*, ii, 25); *aistre* ('Mis.,' liv, 7); *apraindre* ('Car.,' lxiv, 9).

In the French spoken language final *r* after a consonant, and especially after a voiceless consonant, is on the point of falling.²⁵³ In the patois of Cachy it has fallen both after voiced and voiceless consonants.

The *r* for *s* in this word is also found in the Wallonian dialect.²⁵⁴ Change of *s* to *r* occurs in the 'Chev. as deus Esp.,': *harle* (2674); *porterne* (9679). This change is also found in O. Fr.: *marle*, *merler*, *varlet*; ²⁵⁵ in Catalan: *fantarma*, and in Port.: *cirne*.²⁵⁶ This change is very frequent in Prov.: *almorna*, *azermar*, *ermenda*, *gleisargue*, *varvassor*, *yrla*, *irnelament*, *dirnat*. This change must have taken place in French before *s* became mute before a consonant,

In French *r* has two sounds: ²⁵⁷ the guttural *r* made in the back of the mouth, and the lingual *r* made with the point of the tongue. It is the latter of these sounds which has been substituted for *s* in these words.²⁵⁸ This *r* is widely spread in the south of France, but is very rare in the centre and north.²⁵⁹

In BULLAM > *bürl*, the *l* has either been changed to the lingual *r*,—a process rendered easy by the close physiological relation between these two sounds,—or the *r* has been interpolated, as frequently took place in O. Pic. before a consonant: *arme* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 22); *pertruis* ('Chev. as deus Esp.,' 4191); *armors* (*ibid.*, 5964); *carborniers* (*ibid.*, 9224); *arportes* (*ibid.*, 1080).

h. In FIRMARE > *frēmi*, the *r* has been attracted by the preceding labial.

r is the most movable of all the consonants in the Romance languages, and is frequently attracted by initial *t* and *f*.²⁶⁰ Compare It.

²⁵³ Beyer, 'Phonetik', 52.

²⁵⁵ Diez, 'Grammatik', i, 239.

²⁵⁷ Beyer, 'Phonetik', 50.

²⁶⁰ Diez, 'Grammatik', i, 223.

²⁵⁴ Vermesse, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v. *marle*.

²⁵⁶ *Rom.*, iv, 185.

²⁵⁸ P. Meyer, *Rom.* iv, 182.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

drento, frugare, strupo, Trieste; Sp.: *cralo, fraguar*; Port.: *fremosa*; Fr.: *brebis, breuvage, fromage, tremper, troubler*; O. Fr.: *fremet, bregier*; O. Pic.: *aprecoit* ('Chev. as II Esp.,' 885); *herbregerie* (*ibid.*, 3541); *fremée* ('Car.,' clxv, 4).

Attraction of *r* by the following consonant takes place in GRANA-RIUM > *gɛrnjɛ*; RANUNCULUM > *gɛrnul*; Goth.: GRĒDUS > *gɛrdɛ*; Germ.: KRAÜSEL > *gɛrzöl*. This attraction also takes place in the other Romance languages: It.: *coccodrillo, farnetico*; Sp.: *corchete, quebrar*; Prov.: *Duresna*. It also occurs in the Lorraine and Wal-lonian dialects: Lorr.: *guerneye, perhé, peurnelle, beurlɛ*;²⁶¹ Wall.: *guernier*.²⁶²

TREATMENT OF *h*.

It is chiefly in the initial aspirate in onomatopœtic words, and in exclamations, that the patois of Cachy differs from the French in its use of the aspirate. In words of Latin origin the writer is not aware of any difference between the usage of the Patois and French. The same words have dropped the initial aspirate, and the same have it. Of pure Pic. words, Corblet²⁶³ gives fifty-eight which have an initial aspirate, but all of these are not in use in the Patois of Cachy. In the following interjections there is an initial aspirate: *Hɛk*—an exclamation expressing disgust; *Hu*—a cry for driving pigs; *Hü*—an exclamation to make horses go to the right, and the following onomatopœtic words: *Hɛki*=to endeavor; *huhu*—a species of owl, the cry of which has given to it its name.

THE PALATALS.

c BEFORE *e* OR *i*.

a. Initial *c*.

CENTUM > *ʃɛ*; CERAM > *ʃir*; CEMETERIUM > *ʃimɛjɛr*; CINEREM > *ʃen*.

On the development of the palatal *c* in Pic. there are two theories: Diez²⁶⁴ considers the *ʃ* a later development brought about by the desire for a greater separation between *ç* and *s*. Joret²⁶⁵ considers that the Pic. has stopped at a stage through which the French also, at one time, passed: the French *ç* is a development of this complicated *ʃ*.

The physiological development of the sound must have been along the following line: *kt* > *kj* > *ij* > *ts* > *tʃ* > *ʃ*. It does not seem to be doubted that both French and Picard were, at one time, at the stage *ts*. The initial dental sound vanished from the French at the

²⁶¹ Adam, 'Patois lorrains', p. 42.

²⁶² Vermesse, 'Dict. du Pat. Wall.,' s. v.

²⁶³ 'Glossaire', s. l. *H*.

²⁶⁴ 'Grammatik', ii, 460.

²⁶⁵ C dans les langues romanes, 280.

beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁶ The French never got to the stage $tʃ$, or it never could have developed the sound s out of it. The Pic. was already at the stage $tʃ$ in the thirteenth century.²⁶⁷ In 'Auc. et Nic.,' this sound is always written with c : *cerise* (xii, 22); *cerf* (xviii, 27); *cicel* (xxiv, 87); *cité* (xvii, 19). In the 'Rec. de Moll.,' it is written *ch*, which, according to Suchier,²⁶⁸ had the sound $tʃ$ ($tʃ$ *cherles*) ('Mis.,' lxxvi, 11); *chesne* (*ibid.*, lxxvii, 12); *chertain* ('Car.,' cxxix, 11); *chele* (*ibid.*, v, 6).

In the 'Aniel' c before e or ie from original a had the same sound as c before original e or i , and this sound is sometimes represented by *ch*, but generally by c .²⁶⁹ Tobler thinks that this c had either the sound of modern French *ch* ($ʃ$), or the sound of English *ch* in *church* ($tʃ$).²⁷⁰

The 'Chev. as II Esp.' is not consistent in the transcription of this sound, as it is represented both by c and *ch*.²⁷¹

The evidence of the patois seems to be against the theory of Joret; for, according to Suchier, c before e or i never had any other sound than ts in any of the O. Fr. dialects, except those of the N. E. and c ²⁷² of the O. Pic. and its later development $ʃ$, have developed out of ts , and are not intermediate between that sound and k .

b. *Vowel* + c + e or i , pretonic.

RACEMUM > *ruézɛ*; VECINUM > *vénɛ*; DICEBAT > *dizé*; AVICELLUM > *uézjɛ*. This gives z , as in French.

c. Post-tonic *vowel* + c + e or i .

DECEM > *dɛ*; NUCEM > *nui*; CRUCEM > *kruɪ*; PACEM > *pɛ*.

According to Siemt,²⁷³ these two categories (b and c) both gave the same result in O. Pic.; namely, is : but, whether the s was voiced in the former case and voiceless in the latter, he does not state. He also finds cases in which c + e or i gives *ch* or c , but these he considers words of learned origin.

A characteristic which distinguishes O. Fr. from O. Pic. texts is, that, while in the former the final combination c + e or i gives iz , in Pic. it gives is .²⁷⁴

Darmesteter²⁷⁵ develops the iz as follows: PLACERE > *placjere* > *plaicjere* > *plajcere* > *plaitzir* > *plaisir* (= *plezir*). But in this he needs to show how *plaitzir* could develop from *plajcere*. This was rejected by Horning, who proposes:²⁷⁶ RATJONEM > *ratʃonem* > *ratsonem* > *radzonem* > *raison*.

G BEFORE E OR I.

a. Initial g becomes $ʒ$, as in French.

GELARE > *ʒli*; GENTEM > *ʒɛ*; GENTILEM > *ʒɛti*.

²⁶⁶ Schwan, 'Grammatik', p. 88.

²⁶⁷ 'Auc. et Nic.,' 61.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ Tobler, 'Aniel', xxi.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' I, 111

²⁷² Gröber's 'Grundriss', I, 580.

²⁷³ Ueber Lat. c vor e und i im Pik., p. 14.

²⁷⁴ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' p. 61; Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxvii; Siemt, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

²⁷⁵ *Rom.* iii, 387.

²⁷⁶ Geschichte des Lat. c , p. 10.

This must have developed along the following line: $d > gj > dj > d\check{z} > \check{z}$. In French the dental sound was lost at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁷⁷ For 'Auc. et Nic.,' Suchier²⁷⁸ cannot decide whether it had the sound \check{z} or $d\check{z}$.

In GINGIVAM $> s\check{e}ziv$ both the initial and medial g have become s . Diez²⁷⁹ explains the Fr. *gencive* by the principle of dissimilation. It is probable that the same change has taken place in the patois, and that, afterward, the initial \check{z} was assimilated to the sound s . If the form *gencive* could be found in any O. Pic. text it would furnish proof of this method of change. This explanation supposes that the principle of dissimilation was stronger in the old language than the principle of assimilation, and that the reverse is the case in the modern patois—a supposition which involves too wide a field of investigation to discuss in this work.

b. *Vowel + g + e or i.*

FRIGIDUM $> frui$; DIGITUM $> dui$; PAGENSEM $> puéizā$; MAGISTRUM $> met$.

The g fell, as in French, after a parasitic i had been developed before it. So also in O. Pic.: *froit* ('Auc. et Nic.,' vi, 31); *fraile* (*ibid.*, ii, 7); *raine* ('Mis.,' cclx, 1); *roi* ('Car.,' xxx, 1). In the patois RELIGIONEM has become *rélizjū*, and *CHIRURGIANUM $> sérürzjē$. This change of the palatal to a sibilant also takes place in other Romance dialects.

For the dialect of Geneva Littré²⁸⁰ gives *cérusien*. In the Venetian dialect z is the only result of g —arzeno.²⁸¹ In the Sicilian it becomes $ċ$ —anċilu.²⁸² In Spanish it becomes s after n and r : *arsen*, *arsila*.²⁸³ In Prov. the same change takes place as in Sp. From O. Fr. Diez cites *eslonziet* and *atarzié*. In Wallonian it is changed to z in *ārzieū*.²⁸⁴

This change of \check{z} to z is due to physiological causes. In both cases the sound following it is a front vowel. \check{z} is produced by closing the teeth and pressing the back part of the tongue against the back part of the hard, and the front part of the soft palate, and expiring a current of air: it is, therefore, sounded partly with organs in the back part of the mouth, and partly with those in the front of the mouth. z is produced entirely by the action of the organs in the front of the mouth. Hence the change from \check{z} to z is produced by the principle of least action—by employing simply the organs in the front part of the mouth, instead of combining these with the action of those in the back part of the mouth.

THE POST-PALATALS.

C BEFORE A.

a. Initial pretonic c remains unchanged.

CANTARE $> k\check{a}ti$; CALEFICARE $> k\check{o}fi$; CARPENTARIUM $> kerp\check{e}t/i$; CANCELLARE $> k\check{a}sl\check{i}$; CARICARE $> k\check{e}rti$

²⁷⁷ Schwan, 'Grammatik', 88.

²⁷⁸ 'Grammatik', i, 270.

²⁷⁹ P. 58.

²⁸⁰ 'Dict. Fran.,' s. v. *chirurgien*.

²⁸¹ Diez., 'Grammatik', i, 269.

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ Forir, 'Dict. Lièg.-fran.,' s. v.

In the O. Pic. texts it remains before an *a*, which is preserved: *caitif* ('Auc. et Nic.,' i, 2); *cans* (*ibid.*, i, 8); *cavaiz* (*ibid.*, ii, 12); *acata* (*ibid.*, ii, 29). In this text it also retains the Latin sound (*k*) before an *a*, which has become *e* or *ie*, although the transcription varies from *c*, *qu*, *k*, the former being the most frequent: ²⁸⁵ *terquier* (xxvi, 17); *aforkent* (xix, 7); *ceval* (ii, 19); *cevalier* (li, 25); *baceler* (ii, 31). In the 'Aniel' it always remains with the sound *k*.²⁸⁶ In the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' *k*, *c* and *ch* are found for *c* and *a*.²⁸⁷ In the 'Rec. de Moll.,' *c* before *a*, which remains, has the same sound as *c* before *a*, which has become *e* or *ie*.²⁸⁸ It is preserved also in the 'Ch. du Verm.' before *a*, or *a* which has become *ie*: ²⁸⁹ *acat* (v, 2); *camp* (v, 8); *cambre* (vii, 3); *bakelers* (iv, 2); *eskevins* (vi, 4).

In the 'Rom. de la Viol.' Joret finds the Latin *c* represented both by *c* and *ch*—fifteen times by the former, and forty times by the latter.²⁹⁰ In many other texts he finds the same variation, and concludes that *c* was used in the original, and that the many changes to *ch* were due to the later scribe, and that those are the most authentic MSS. in which *c* is preserved.²⁹¹

In the following words initial *c* has become *g*: CABALLUM > *gvo*; *CATULIARE > *gũtuili*; *CAFODICULARE > *gãfuili*; CARDUM > *gãrd*, and the verb formed from this word, *gũrdi*. This change of *c* to *g* is found in the Wallonian: *dégatouier*,²⁹² *gãde*.²⁹³ Jouancoux cites *garde* and *garder* from inventories of the eighteenth century. This change of *c* to *g* has also taken place in the other Romance languages: ²⁹⁴ It.: *Gaeta*, *gambero*, *gastigare*, *gatto*, *gabbia*; Sp.: *gambaro*, *gamella*, *gato*, *gavia*; Prov.: *gat* and *cat*, *gabia*. In French initial *c* has become *g*, although not before *a*, in *gonfler*, *gobelet*, *glas*, *gras*. As a medial the change of *c* to *g* is quite frequent in all the Romance dialects.²⁹⁵

b. *c* in the combination *cons+ica* becomes *ž*, as in French.

VINDICARE > *vẽžĩ*; JUDICARE > *žũžĩ*; GRANICAM > *grãž*; NATICUM > *nãž*.

Förster remarks²⁹⁶ that this is one of the peculiarities which distinguish the Ile de France dialect from the Picard and others; while the former has, as the result of this combination *ž*, the O. Pic. had *ž̃*: *berchier* ('Chev. as II Esp.,' 7924); *encarchie* (*ibid.*, 3953); *decachier* (*ibid.*, 10593). He says the Picard, however, must have been vacillating between *ž* and *ž̃*, and that this is shown by the occurrence of such words as: *sagies* (5008); *mengoigne* (5344); *blegies* (8779). The sound *ž* has become universal in the modern patois, except in the following

²⁸⁵ Suchier, 'Auc. et Nic.,' 57.

²⁸⁶ Tobler, 'Aniel', xxii.

²⁸⁷ Förster, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' liii.

²⁸⁸ Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxxii.

²⁸⁹ Neumann, 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 75.

²⁹⁰ 'Joret,' / dans les langues romances, 223.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

²⁹² Vermesse, 'Dict. du Wall.,' s. v.

²⁹³ Littré, 'Dict. fran.,' s. v. *carde*.

²⁹⁴ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 244.

²⁹⁵ Diez, 'Grammatik,' i, 244.

²⁹⁶ 'Chev. as II Esp.,' liv.

words: COLLOCARE > *kuc̣i*; CANEM > *čjẽ*; CARICARE > *kɛṛci*; MERCATUM > *māṛci*. These are semi-patois forms, and the change from *c*(=k) to *č* is due to French influence. In 'Auc. et Nic.' the *k* is still unchanged: *cien* (x, 47); *čerquier* (xxvi, 17). The sound *č* in these words has developed along the following line: *k* > *kj* > *tj* > *ts* > *tʃ* (= *č*).

c. *c* in the combination *vowel*+*c*+tonic *a*, where the preceding syllable has a secondary accent.

NECARE > *muč̣ji*; PACARE > *puč̣ji*; IMPLICARE > *ɛ̃pluč̣ji*; LOCARE > *luč̣ji*. As is French, the *c* fell after a parasitic *i* had been developed before it.

d. *Cons*+*c*+final *a*.

BLANCAM > *blāk*; MUSCAM > *muč̣*; SECCAM > *sɛč̣*; BUCCAM > *buk*; VACCAM > *vūk*. O. Pic.: *blanke* ('Mis.', lxxxviii, 6); *bouke* ('Car.', lxxv, 6). In North Normandy²⁹⁷ also *c* before *a* remains unchanged, as in Picard. Joret says the population of the district of the North of Normandy in which the *c* remains is chiefly of Norse origin. This is shown by their physiognomy and by the etymology of the majority of the names of places in this territory.²⁹⁸ But before the Norse were established in this territory it was already inhabited by another Low German stock—the Salian Franks.²⁹⁹ The language spoken by these Low Germans kept the original Indo-European guttural, while the High German tribes which peopled that part of French territory in which *k* became *χ*, changed the Indo-European guttural to a spirant.³⁰⁰ In the Norman-Picard district the Latin language was spoken by Low Germans, whose mother-tongue kept the guttural, and they kept it in their adopted language; in that part of France in which *k* became *χ*, High Germans, whose mother-tongue changed the guttural to a spirant, changed it also in the adopted language.

G BEFORE A.

a. Initial *g* remains.

GAMBAM > *gām*; GARDINUM > *gārđẽ*; GALBINUM > *gān*. O. Pic.: *ganbe* ('Auc. et Nic.', ii, 11; xii, 28); *gardin* (*ibid.*, iv, 21); *garbe* ('Car.', cv, 3); *gaber* (*ibid.*, lxxii, 2). The same causes which preserved Latin *c* before *a* must have caused the preservation of *g* before *a*.

In GANGRAENAM > *kāgṛɛn*, the principle of dissimilation has caused the change of *g* to *k*. In Ger. WAUDE > L. *GAUDAM > *hōd*, and GOFNUM > *hof*. the patois has an initial aspirate. This is not a change of *g* to *k*, but, after the initial *g*, an aspirate sound was developed, giving *gh*, and then the *g* dropped. It is the same process by which

²⁹⁷ 'Du Patois Normand', 133.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

²⁹⁹ Joret, 'Du Patois Normand', p. 271.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

Latin words with initial *f* have developed *h*, as the initial sound in Sp.: *f* > *fh* > *h*; FERRUM > *hierro*; FILIUM > *hijo*.

b. Intervocalic *g*.

PLAGAM > *plé*; PAGANUM > *péjē*; LIGARE > *luéji*; FUGAM > *fūi*. As in French, the *g* falls after a parasitic *i* has been developed before it.

THE VELARS.

C.

a. Initial *c* remains, as in French.

CURSUM > *kur*; CORNA > *korn*; CODAM > *kō*; CORNUM > *kōr*. In the patois initial *c* has become *č* in COQUERE > *čüir*; CONSUERE > *čōd*; COLLIGERE > *čōlir*. These have developed after the analogy of words with initial *c* + *e* or *i*; but the latter have developed one stage further than the former: *k* > *kj* > *tj* > *ts* > *tš* (= *č*),

b. Intervocalic velar *c* falls, as in French.

SECURUM > *sör*; *PLACUTUM > *plō*; FOCUM > *fā*; JOCUM > *žā*; LOCUM > *jā*. O. Pic.: *fu* ('Auc. et Nic.', iv, 8); *seür* ('Car.', lx, 10); *seü* ('Mis.', ccviii, 9); *liu* ('Car.', lxxxv, 3); *giu* ('Car.', lxii, 4). In the patois ACUTUM > becomes *ūdžüi*, and ACUTIARE > *ādžizji*. In these words the velar *c* must have changed first to the medial velar *g*, and this *g* then developed in the same way as *g* before *e* or *i*: *g* > *gj* > *dj* > *dž*. In O. Pic. the medial velar is found *aguisier* ('Auc. et Nic.', viii, 8; xvi, 24); *agu* ('Car.', xliii, 7); *aguisier* ('Mis.', cxxxii, 12).

c. Initial *c* before *r* or *l*, remains, as in French.

CRUCEM > *krui*; CREDERE > *kruér*; CLAUDERE > *klor*; CLAVEM > *klé*. In CRIBRUM > *grib*, and CLAUDIUM > *glöd*, it is changed to the medial guttural *g*. The same change has taken place in Fr. *glas*.

VELAR *g*.

a. Initial *g* remains, as in French.

GUTTAM > *gut*; GUSTAM > *gu*; GUBERNARE > *guvērni*. O. Pic.: *golouser* ('Mis.', cciv, 2); *guerrouër* ('Car.', xxxi, 8).

THE SPIRANT J.

a. Initial *j* remains *ž*, as in French.

JAM > *žō*; JUVENEM > *žōn*; JOCUM > *žā*; in the patois JUNICEM has become *vēniš*. This change is due to a crossing between *žēniš*—the form we should expect—and *vāk*.

THE LABIALS+YOD.

a. *b+yod*.

RUBEUM > *ruž*^v; TIBIAM > *tiž*^v; CAMBIARE > *kāži*; RABIERM > *rāž*^v; *SABIUM > *sāž*^v. According to Schwan,³⁰¹ this gives a double result in French: in certain cases, he says, the labial produces a parasitic *i* before it and then falls; in other cases it becomes *ž*. Mussafia³⁰² thinks this *bj* has regularly become *ž*, and that the exceptions are to be explained by the influence of analogy. The patois has developed exactly as the French, and the exceptions to Mussafia's rule are the same; in the patois: *sê*, *dui*, *ê*, first person present indicative and first person present subjunctive of HABERE. G. Paris³⁰³ considers that the form *ê* comes from *ajo* for the indicative and *aja* for the subj. Horning considers the form *sê* to be modeled on *ê*. *B+yod* has developed along the following line: *bj* > *bž*^v > *ž*.

b. *v+yod* becomes *ž*, as in French.

CAVEAM > *kāž*^v; ABBREVIARE > *abrēž*^v*i*; SERVIENTEM > *seržž*^v. The only exception to this in the patois is PLUVIAM > *plōv*. Here the *v* is retained from analogy with *plōvuér*. The form *pluv* is cited by Littré³⁰⁴ from the O. Fr. of the thirteenth century. The *v+yod* has developed in a manner similar to *b+yod*: *vj* > *vž*^v > *ž*.

c. *p+yod* becomes *ž*, as in French.

SAPIAM > *sāš*^v; ADPROPRIARE > *āprōš*^v*i*; REPROPIARE > *rəprōš*^v*i*. The only exception to this is *pžžž*^v. The *p* before the *yod* in PIPIONEM must have fallen through dissimilation before the transformation of *p+yod* commenced. *P+yod* has developed thus: *pj* > *pž*^v > *pš*^v > *ž*. Mussafia³⁰⁵ considers the O. Fr. *recief* an analogical form on the type *receis*, and derives it from RECEPO. The corresponding form—*rsui*—of the patois must be explained in the same way.

THE DENTALS+YOD.

a. *D+yod*.

(1) GUADIA > *žue*^v; MEDIUM > *mē*^v; PODIUM > *püē*^v.

(2) DIURNUM > *žur*^v; HARDEAM > *grž*^v; PEDICAM > *pjež*^v.

This, according to Mussafia,³⁰⁶ has given *ž* in French, but he does not explain the numerous cases in which it has not given this result. Schwan³⁰⁷ thinks it has developed in two different directions: in the one case it has fallen after developing a parasitic *i* before it; in the other, it has developed thus: *dj* > *dž*^v > *ž*. The patois also shows a development in two directions, but, reasoning from analogy with the *labials+yod*, and *t+yod*, the probability is strong that Mussafia's

³⁰¹ 'Grammatik', 64.

³⁰² *Rom.* xviii, 547.

³⁰³ Quoted by Massafia, *Rom.* xviii, 544.

³⁰⁴ 'Dict. franc.', s. v.

³⁰⁵ *Rom.* xviii, 546.

³⁰⁶ *Rom.*, xviii, 544.

³⁰⁷ *Grammatik*, 65.

theory is correct, and that the exceptions are to be explained as due to some cause still unknown.

b. Pretonic *t+yod* becomes *z*, as in French.

RATIONEM > *ruézð*; ACUTIARE > *üdžüji*; POTIONEM > *puézð*. In O. Pic. this was written with *s* or *ss*,³⁰⁸ which had the voiced sound *z*: *raison*, *saison*, *poison*, *poisson*, *saison*, *livrison*.³⁰⁹ The transcriptions *s* and *ss* are found for the same word by Siemt, and in the same text, thus showing that, as medials, *s* and *ss* had the same value in Pic. This is contrary to the opinion of Joret,³¹⁰ who says *ss* was voiceless, and *s* voiced, as medials. *T+yod* developed thus: *tj* > *ts* > *tz* > *z*.

c. Post-tonic *t+yod* before *a*, or *c+yod+a*.

TRACTIAM > *trās*; PLATEAM > *plās*; PETIA > *pjēs*; FACIAM > *faś*; SERVITIAM > *serviś*; GLACIEM > *glās*. In the 'Ch. du Verm.,' Neumann³¹¹ considers both *ch* and *c* as the product of this, and thinks these two signs had the same sound in all cases, namely, *ž*, and that this is the universal product for Picard texts. One exception to this, however, is *gras*, which Siemt failed to find as *graś* in the texts examined by him,³¹² and which is not found in rhyme with *ś* in the 'Rec de Moll.,'³¹³ and which was 'wrongfully introduced as *grache* into the "Alexis" by G. Paris, into the 'Aniel' by Tobler, and into the 'Congiés' by Raynaud. Mussafia³¹⁴ considers the non-occurrence of *grache* in Pic. shows that it is not a word of popular origin. He thinks *s+yod* always gives the same product, whether pretonic or post-tonic, and that French forms with the termination *-ece* come from *-ecja*.³¹⁵ This, of course, implies that the Pic. forms ending in *-eche* for the old texts, and *ēs* for the modern patois, come also from *-ecja*. But it is bold to demand, and hazardous to admit that all such forms as *defianche* ('Mis.,' clxxxviii, 10); *destreche* ('Car.,' cxii, 12); *fianche* ('Mis.,' clxxxviii, 7); *forche* ('Mis.,' cxi, 7); *aguëche* ('Car.,' exciv,) come from the ending *-ecja*.

d. *n+yod* after the tonic syllable.

VINEAM > *ven*; LINEAM > *lin*; PINGAM > *pēn*; PLANGAM > *plen*; CAMPANIAM > *śāpān*. Here there is no mouilliation of the *n*.

śāpān is a semi-patois word in which the mouilliation of the *n* has been dropped in accordance with other words in the patois. In the French, Paul Passy³¹⁶ says *ñ* has four different sounds: (1) *ñ* formed on the border of the hard and soft palate, and without any after-sound *j*, as in *reñ*. (2) The genuine palatal *ñ* formed on the hard

308 'Ueber Lat. *c* vor *e* und *i* im Pik.,' 9.

309 *Op. Cit.*, pp. 12-13.

310 "C dans les langues romanes", 126.

311 'Laut- und Flexionslehre', 79.

312 Siemt, 'Ueber Lat. *c* vor *e* und *i*,' 21.

213 Van Hamel, 'Rec. de Moll.,' cxxxii.

314 *Rom.* xviii, 531.

315 *Ibid.*

316 *Phon. Stud.*, i, 37 ff.—Cited by Beyer, 'Phonetik', 48.

palate, like the It. *gn*, and Sp. *ñ*, as in *reñj*. (3) Nasalised *j* as in *rejn*. (4) *nj* with a weak palatalised *n*, as in *renj*. In this last case the French has thus reached the point where moulliation has almost disappeared. In the post-tonic position the patois of Cachy has reached the point where it has entirely disappeared. This had not taken place at the time of the 'Cél. Mar.,' for in it, the moulliation is indicated by *gn*: *Prigne* (3); *pigne* (21); *vigne* (22). In the 'Rec. de Moll.' *n* is always separated in rhyme from *ñ*, and both in masc. and fem. rhymes. As pretonics, however, they are found in the same rhyme in *mehaignier*: *grenier* ('Car.,' ccx). Instead of *ñ*, *n* is found in *deschaine* in the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' (1461), and *ñ* for *n* in the same text in *digner* (1887).

e. Pretonic *n+yod* becomes *ñ*, as in French.

LINEATICUM > *linãz*; UNIONEM > *onũ*.

L+YOD.

a. Post-tonic *l+yod*.

BATTALIA > *bãtɛl*; FOLIA > *föl*; DOLIUM > *döl*; CONSILIUM > *kɔ̃* > *l*; BESTIALIA > *bɛtɛl*.

b. *l* in the termination—ICULUM.

SOLICULUM > *solɛl*; PARICULUM > *pãrɛl*; ORICULUM > *wɛrɛl*.

c. Post-tonic *ll* between vowels.

BRILLAT > *bril*; ANGUILLAM > *ãgil*; MOLLIAT > *mul*.

d. Pretonic *ll* between vowels.

BRILLATIS > *brĩli*; MOLLIATIL > *mulĩ*; BULLIAMUS > *bulĩ*. The exceptions to this are the infinitives ending in *-ir*, in which there is no moulliation of the *l*; *bulir*, *falir*, etc.

It thus appears that the patois of Cachy has everywhere given up the moulliation of *l* after the tonic accent, but has preserved it before the tonic, except in the cases noted. In Crinon, the moulliation is found just as in French, if his mode of writing may be taken as an indication of the usage: *souliel* (ii, 53); *pareil* (ii, 54); *travailli* (iii, 6); *ourgueil* (iii, 77); *pareilles* (v, 53); *travail* (vi, 2); *Breuil* (vi, 5); *Couvrenil* (vi, 6); *accueil* (vi, 10).

There is no reason to believe that in O. Pic. the moulliation of *l* was different from the usage in O. Fr. In the 'Chev. as II Esp.,' *l̃* is represented by *l*: 317 *salent* (873); *faloit* (1531); *fermal* (4800); *traval* (10744).

In the patois of Lille there is no moulliation of *l*. They say: 318 *mɛrvɛl*, *kɔ̃sɛl*, *famil*, *ãdul*, *patrul*, *buli*, *föl*. This rule, says Le Grand, has no exception. In the patois of Liège, however, moulliation of *l*

317 Firsirot, 'Chev. as II Esp.,' xlix.

318 Le Grand, 'Dict. du Pat. de Lille', 6.

appears to take place as in French : *bataïe, féroïe, fiön, foïou, foïe, fouïeton*. (Here $\bar{i}=\bar{l}$.)

In the French of the sixteenth century—especially by the grammarians of that time,³¹⁹ \bar{l} was indicated by *lh*, and the pure liquid *l* by *l* and *ll*, except after *i*. For many of these words, which, in the modern French have \bar{l} the grammarians of that time give two forms, one with \bar{l} and the other without moulliation.

The following forms are cited by Thurot, on the authority of sixteenth century grammarians: *rejallissent, jalir, je, bouilis, j'ay bouily, je, bouilisse, je bouls, bouluë, tailis, trelis, maillet, millet, pilon, regalardir, valant, gentilhome, pialer, prévale, médale, mes-tivales, groiselle, aigule, aigulon, désabiler, rouler, semoule, noules*. From this it appears that the loss of moulliation of *l* was very extensive in the sixteenth century, in the French. How far back the loss of moulliation in the Somme goes, the want of Picard grammars and the inaccurate mode of transcription used in the texts, prevent us from ascertaining. But the Picard was probably influenced by the French of that time; and, whereas of the double forms, one with moulliation, and the other without it, the former triumphed in the French, the reverse has been the case in the patois of Cachy, and in this patois, this tendency was strengthened by the loss of moulliation in *n* after the tonic accent.

³¹⁹ Thurot, 'De la Pron. franç.,' ii, 301.

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AN ITALIAN METRICAL VERSION OF THE KNIGHT OF THE SWAN.

INTRODUCTION.

'La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne,' published by Henry Alfred Todd in vol. iv, Nos. 3 and 4 of the *Publications of THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA*, a publication deservedly valued and supplemented as to the introduction, with many important additions by Gaston Paris in the *Romania*, vol. xix, pp. 314-335, is the earliest version of the legend of the "Children changed into Swans," contained in the French Cycle of the Crusade. It is not without any interest that the three French versions of this legend have been published in an inverse order of their origin. The younger version, published by Reiffenberg,¹ was followed by Hippeau's publication of the middle version,² both connected with the other branches of the Cycle of the Crusade. That now the earliest French version has been published, is of great importance to the scientific understanding of this interesting legend.

In his introduction, p. x, Todd cites also an Italian version of the legend, entitled 'Historia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna,' and in the adjoined note, he refers to G. Tassano, 'Novellieri Italiani in verso,' Bologna, 1868. This poem, of which Passano, l. c., pp. 81-83, gives several editions and a short purporting sketch, but without referring to the connection with the legend of the transformed Swans, has been likewise cited in the bibliographical references given by Oesterly³ in his edition of 'Dolopathos,' Strasburg 1873, p. xxiii, but without being particularly known to this author. Alexandro D'Ancona, too, in his 'Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli xiv, xv e xvi,' Firenze 1872, vol. III, p. 241, makes mention of the Italian legend, and connects it with the Knight of the Swan. Pigeonneau, however, speaking

¹ Reiffenberg, 'Le Chevalier a Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon,' t. I. Brussels 1864.

² Hippeau, 'La Chanson du Chevalier a Cygne', t. I, Paris 1874.

³ Todd, l. c., p. 11, n. 2.

of Italy's share in this legend, in '*Le Cycle de la Croisade*,' Saint-Cloud 1877, pp. 247-248, does not mention the Italian poem, and it was likewise unknown to former authors.

The imperfect knowledge of this poem is due to the fact that it is one of the Italian chapbooks, which are still little known for want of a fit collection. Thomas Frederick Crane declares the necessity of such a work with the following words ;

"A work of this kind, similar in scope to Nisard's '*Histoire des Livres populaires*,' is greatly to be desired, and ought to be undertaken before the great changes in the social condition of Italy shall have rendered such a task difficult, if not impossible."⁴

This kind of Italian literature, existing alone and unobserved far from the literary centres, but giving notwithstanding a continual occasion for joy and pleasure to the people, and always suited to their taste, has its origin in the songs of the "*cantori di piazza*" of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, who improvised their songs in the public places, and aroused enthusiasm in the folks that listened to them. When in Italy the heroical epic poem of the sixteenth century was at its high water mark, the peninsula was unproductive, however, in the national epic poems of chivalry, since there were, in contrast with the other western countries, free citizens in Italy, and, therefore, neither chivalry nor chivalrous tales could find their way into the heart of the nation. Nevertheless, the legend of Charles the Great and his paladins, of the Knights-errants and others, were not known to the Italians through these popular songs. On the other hand, the popular poets did not fail to pay attention to the different claims of popular taste. With respect to the religious feeling of the nation, many legends of saints or tales of the Bible, were offered to people, mingled with tales of classic antiquity and local episodes, especially those of banditti. These poems have often been printed as chapbooks, since the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and in cases where they pleased the people they have been preserved to our day. As to the size of these books, a characteristic uniformity prevails in them : in general they consist of four quarter sheets, both the earlier edition and the later ones. On the title page, we often find a simple and roughly drawn woodcut, representing one or several episodes of the story. The year of publication is not always given, the imprint,

⁴ Crane, Thomas F. '*Italian Popular Tales*,' London 1885, p. 351, note 15.

however, is seldom omitted ; it is found on the title page, or at the end, or in both places, and generally with the notice : “Con licenza de’Superiori.” If the name of the editor is given, the latter is rarely the author whether, in later prints or in earlier ones, but only the publisher. There are also many anonymous editors. These popular tales have been verified in the “ottava rima.” After the splendid epoch of the fourteenth century, this metre was employed for a language void of the accomplished style of that period, but, on the contrary, often rough and common. In a short and pertinent witicism, Mussafia says of these poems.

“Ihre sprache ist oft ungleichartig, schillernd ; neben der toskanischen—nunmehr allgemein litterarischen—form zeigt sich bald der mundartliche idiotismus, bald der rohe unverarbeitete latinismus, ihr stil springt jähe vom ungeschickten streben nach künstlerischer vollendung zu alltäglicher, selbst trivialer einfachheit.”⁵

Not only the style, but the metre, especially the rhyme, are often corrupt ; assonances are found instead of rhymes, or even grave mistakes of rhyme. Therefore, one cannot wonder at the contempt of the Italian learned authors of the sixteenth century for those vulgar poems, to which the lot of the *rappresentazioni* fell—public representation, which had their origin in these popular tales, now composed in dialogue, but also versified in the same metre, and, therefore, without any dramatic life, so that a growth of drama was impossible.

The following editions of our poem has been quoted by Passano (l. c.) :

1. Hystoria (la) della Regina Stella et de Mattabruna.—Senz’ alcuna nota, in 4to. L’edizione è del principio del secolo xvi.
2. Historia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna.—Senz’ alcuna nota, in 4to. L’edizione semble fatta in Firenze verso il 1550.
3. Historia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna, già data in luce da Gio. Cavaliè. Firenze, rincontro a. S. Apollinari, 1622, in 4to.
4. Storia della Reina Stella e Mattabruna. Lucca, Franc. Marescandoli, s. a., in 12mo.
5. La stessa. Todi (senza stampatore ed anno) in 12mo.—Oueste due edizioni sono del fine del secolo xvii, o de’primi anni del secolo xviii.
6. La stessa. Lucca (senza stampatore ed anno) in 12mo.

⁵ *Berichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie zu Wien*, Phil.-hist. Classe, 1865 : t. 51, p. 590.

7. *Istoria della Regina Stella e Mattabruna*. In Napoli (senza stampatore ed anno) in 4to.—Edizione del principio di questo secolo.

In the "Scelta di Curiosità Letterarie inedite o rare dal secolo xiii al xvii," Bologna 1882, t. 187, pp. 150–153, the following further editions have been noticed :

8. *Historia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna*. Fiorenza, 1569, in 4to.

9. *Historia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna*. Firenze, appresso Gio. Baleni, 1591, in 4to.

10. Tit. simile all'antec. Firenze, per Zanobi Bisticci, A. S. Apolinari, 1600, in 4to.

11. Tit. identico. Firenze, per Stef. Fantucci Tosi. Alle Scalee di Badia. S. a., ma del princ. del sec. xvii, in 4to.

12. Tit. ident. e dopo: Già data in luce da Pietro Nesti Fiorentino. Firenze, nella stamperia de'Sermartelli, 1622, in 4to.

13. *Istoria della Regina Stella e Mattabruna*. Bologna, 1809, alla Colomba.

14. *Storia della Regina Stella e Mattabruna*. Lucca, 1855, presso Francesco Baroni.

15. Tit. identico. Prato, a spese di M. Contrucci e Cc., 1861.

16. Tit. ident. più l'aggiunta di vecchia a Mattabruna. Firenze, Salani, 1880.

To be brief, there are editions of our poem from the beginning of the sixteenth century down to our times. The number of the stanzas is—according to Passano, *l. c.*, p. 82—sixty in the earliest edition (No. 1), other editions (Nos. 7, 8, 12, 13) have seventy-nine stanzas; whereas the latest one (No. 16) has only sixty-two stanzas. The usual number of the stanzas is, without any doubt, seventy nine, and it is not impossible that Tassano may have been incorrect as to the number of the stanzas in the earliest edition, for he was often obliged to trust to the notices of others, and thus occasionally errors may have been committed by him.⁶

The story of the Italian version is as follows: Stella was the wife of King Oriano of Belfiore, in Spain. One day when they happened to be looking out of a window in their castle, a poor woman with twins passed by; whereupon the King prayed to God that the childless queen might give birth to a son. A few month later Stella became the mother of three sons and a daughter at one birth, each of the children with a silver chain

⁶ Ebert's *Jahrbuch für roman. und engl. Litt.*, Neue Folge, vol. ii, p. 107.

about its neck, and one son especially destined to be later on King of Spain. The King's mother, Mattabruna, hating Stella, took the children and sent them away with her servant, Guido, to be drowned. The servant concealed the children in a cloak, and left them humanely in the forest near a river. Mattabruna substituted four puppies for the children; she showed the puppies to her son, whose heart sank at the sight of them, and he ordered his wife to be imprisoned. Meanwhile the children were discovered by an old hermit, and were nursed by a hind. Some years later, Triadasse, a giant-like woodward, who was very attached to Mattabruna, came upon the children in the hermitage, and was struck on seeing the children with their necklaces. He went without any delay to Mattabruna at Belfiore, and related to the wicked woman what he had seen in the forest. Mattabruna was now convinced that the children had not been put to death. She sent Triadasse back, and ordered the children immediately to be killed. For the second time the woodward arrived at the hermitage, when one of the children was absent with the hermit. Not being able to kill the innocent children, Triadasse took nothing but their necklaces, which he brought to Mattabruna, who was now of opinion that Stella's children were dead. She was willing that Stella, too, should be put to death, and the King granted finally what his mother wished. The hermit, on his return, was much grieved at the loss of the necklaces, but an angel came and disclosed to him the descent of the children, who were now baptized. The sons received the names of Tasso, Oriano and Urian (or Furian), the daughter that of Belpome; and Tasso, still possessing his necklace, was to become the champion of his condemned mother. He was clothed in a bear's skin, and did not lose courage when the hermit was about to bring him to town. The hermit, not wishing to expose the sister to perils, sent her to a monastery, then went to Belfiore, accompanied by the three sons. People had already assembled to witness poor Stella's death by fire. After her trial, Mattabruna declared that Triadasse ought to fight every one who did not find Stella guilty. Tasso fought Triadasse, overcame and killed him. The hermit disclosed now the perfidy of the queen-mother, who made a full confession. The captive queen was released, and Mattabruna was condemned to die in her place.

G. Paris distinguishes four versions of the Knight of the Swan,

the enumeration of which is given in the *Romania*, vol. xix, p. 327. The version from which our poem derives is called Beatrice. As Todd (*l. c.*, p. viii,) remarks, this version, of which he has given the principal points, and a prose version added to his publication, has been most widely diffused. In the Italian poem, however, the metamorphosis of the children into swans, after the loss of their necklaces, has been entirely omitted; therefore, the relation of the Italian version to the original legend was not remembered. In our poem, the names of Mattabruna and Oriano have been retained from the French redaction; the names of the other persons, however, have been changed. The substitution of the name of Stella for that of Beatrice may come from the fact that in Italian literature the persecuted innocent woman has found, as it were, her prototype in this generic name. Stella, dramatized in a play of the fifteenth century,⁷ is the well-known girl with her hands cut off, persecuted by her wicked mother, and at last reconciled with her husband.⁸

There are also some Italian legendary tales which are connected with our poem, but not directly derived from it. The resemblances, however, which these tales bear to one another, show easily their common origin, the earliest trace of which occurs in the story of the Swan-children, told in Dolopathos.⁹

As a very simple form, gathered from popular tradition in our times, may be considered a tale entitled "I Cagnuoli," and told by Angelo de Gubernatis in his 'Florilegio Delle Noveline Popolari,' Milano 1883, pp. 308-309. During the absence of a prince, his wife gives birth to a son and a daughter. But the mother-in-law sends word to her son that his wife has borne him two puppies. Though the prince orders his wife not to be punished, his mother informs him that his wife and the two creatures are dead. The poor mother and her children, however, are exposed to the sea in a basket, which is discovered by a fisherman, who cares for the outcasts. Seven years later, the father comes upon the children, and finds also his wife, who is now released; whereas the wicked mother-in-law is burnt. A more detailed tale, in which jealous sisters deprive a King's wife of her two sons and one daughter, and substitute three puppies for

⁷ Gaspary, 'Geschichte der ital. Literatur,' vol. ii, pp. 204-203. Giudici, 'Storia del teatro in Italia,' vol. i., pp. 311-358.

⁸ R. Bosset, "La fille aux mains coupées." *Milusine*, 1885. II. 12; 13; 17; 19.

⁹ Todd, *l. c.*, p. iii-v.

them, is told by Thomas Fr. Crane, 'Italian Popular Tales,' London, 1885, pp. 17-25. Closely related to this tale is another contained in Straparola's tales, and entitled "The Three Children of a King." For other tales, cf. Crane, *l. c.*, pp. 325-326, n. 10.

The following publication of the poem of "Stella e Mattabruna" is based on the Florentine edition of 1622 (F), above-mentioned in No. 12. On the title page we find the remark: "Già data in luce da Pietro Nesti Fiorentino." The edition No. 3 was likewise printed at Florence in 1622, but the name of the editor is given as follows: "Già data in luce da Gio. Cavaliè," concerning whom Passano, *l. c.*, p. 82, remarks:

"Non so se Gio. Cavaliè sia il nome d'uno di que' rapsodi che avevano nel loro repertoris questa Storia, della quale, forse, si faceva editore, o se di qualche stampatore che ne faceva un' anteriore edizione a questa, fin qui rimasta sconosciuta."

I have collated F with a Neapolitan edition (N), printed at the beginning of our century, and probably the same as that mentioned above in No. 7, though Passano has not given the name of the editor, who is mentioned on the title page of N as follows: "Nuovamente ristampata, e corretta da Viola Raluce." The latter is known as the editor of a considerable number of chap-books, printed at Naples. F. shows both a more correct style and language, and greater exactness of metre than N. There are a great many mistakes of rhyme in N, cf. strophe 20: novella: quella: Regina (F: Stella); strophe 21: parlare: tardare: fiere (F: stare); strophe 25: parole: duole: vola (F: parola: scola: vola), and so on.

These examples may prove that the Italian chap-books have undergone many changes in the course of years.¹⁰ In the notes some remarkable readings of N have been added to F; as to the text, I have sometimes preferred the readings of N.

¹⁰ Ebert's *Jahrbuch für roman, und engl. Litt.*, vol. xi, p. 314.

HISTORIA DELLA REGINA STELLA E MATTABRUNA.

- 1 **G**LORIFICATA Vergine Maria,
Che in questo mondo portasti dolore
Del tuo figliuol, quando la gente ria
Gli sparse il sangue con tanto furore,
Concedi grazia nella mente mia,
Di dir d'Oriano che fu Re di Belfiore,
Di Mattabruna, e la Regina Stella,
E del figliuol, come il libro favella.
- 2 **Q**UESTA Regina Stella era chiamata,
Piu bella donna che mai fosse alcuna,
Dalla suocera sua fn tanta odiata,
La quale aveva nome Mattabruna,
Madre del Re malvagia, ed insensata,
Notate ben quel che volse fortuna,
Che la Regina Stella mai facesse
Un ben che a Mattabruna non spaicesse.
- 3 **Q**UESTA malvagia vecchia orgogliosa,
Tenendo il suo figliuol la Signoria,
In guardia gli lasciò sempre ogni cosa,
E come madre ogn'or la riveria,
Pur la Regina Stella graziosa
De suoi orgogli forte si temia,
Di modo tal che'l Re non s'avedeva
Del falso cuor che Mattabruna aveva.
- 4 **N**ON si mostrava questa vecchia alpestra,
Nessun de' suoi orgogli s'accorgia,
Pur stando un giorno insieme alla finestra,
Vidde una donna che due figli avia,
L'un da man manca, l'altro da man destra,

In su la piazza quella si venia,
 A provveder si per lor da mangiare,
 Il Re la vidde, e cominciò a parlare.

5 **D**ICENDO, o Dio, di così fatto dono
 Hai fatto a questa donna tanto bene,
 Ed io, che Re di tutta Spagna sono,¹
 S'io n'avessi un sarai fuor di pene,
 Per tua misericordia, Signor buono,
 Dimostra le tua degne virtù serene,
 Per tua somma possanza, e buon consiglio
 Della mia Stella mi concedi un figlio.

6 **H**OR come piacque alla Vergine pura,
 La notte la Regina ingravidossi
 Di quattro figli che piacque a natura,
 Di che il Re in gran gioja trovossi,
 E Mattabruna, ch' a questo pon cura,
 Che la Regina Stella approssimossi
 All'ora, e'l punto del suo partorire,
 A l'altre donne così prese a dire.

7 **D**ICENDO, ognun vadia a sua magione,
 Ch'io voglio con mia nuora rimanere,
 E servirolla ben d'ogni ragione,
 Che sia bisogno a tutto suo volere ;
 Ogni donzella a casa ne mandone.
 E Mattabruna all'hor vi fò a sapere
 In una zambra si serrò con lei,
 Dicendo, tu non sai quel ch'io vorrei.

8 **C**ON doloroso core partorendo
 Questa Regina Stella graziosa,
 In quel che venne gli figli facendo ;
 Ora udirete Signori ogni cosa :
 Del corpo della madre quegli uscendo,
 Cialcuno uscì con grazia diletosa,

¹ Ed io Re, che assai grande sono.

Cioè con una catenella d'argento,
Intorno al collo tra le spalle, e'l mento.

9 TRE furno i maschi, ed una fanciulletta,
E ciascun che quelle catenelle avia,
Avea una tal grazia benedetta,
Mentre che seco addosso la tenia,
Non poteva morir di morte in fretta ;
Il primo che la madre partoria,
Aveva un ver segnal senza magagna,
Da poi del padre di esser Re di Spagna.

10 E MATTABRUNA piena di nequizia
Quei quattro figli subito prendia,
Poi si partì con perfetta malizia,²
Ed un suo donzello chiamar si faccia ;
Senza pietade con poca amicizia,³
Giunse il donzel, che Guido nome avia,
Dicendo, Dama, che t' è in piacimento,
Menol da canto, e diegli sacramento.

11 ET in una camera dove portò i figli,
Lo menò, e disse, tu mi servirai,
Hor fa che questi figliuoli tu pigli,
Dove ti pare tu gli porterai,
Ad annegargli ; fa che t'assottigli,
Tal che novella non sene sappia mai,
E da me n'averai buon guiderdone,
E da te innanzi non sarà barone.

12 E SE sene sapessi mai niente,
Se tu il dicessi mai a creatura,
Io ti farei di tua vita dolente ;
E lui a Mattabruna all'hor pon cura,
La minacciava sì terribilmente,
Dicendo a lei non aver paura.
Dicendo, Dama, farò vostro comando,

² Con poca amicizia.

³ Con doglia e nequizia.

Se ben credessi aver di vita bando.

- 13 **E**D un mantel che Guido indosso aveva,
 All'ora Mattabruna ebbe a pigliare,
 A uno a uno quei figli metteva,
 Dicendo a Guido, va dove ti pare,
 Che gli annegasse, questo gli diceva ;
 All'ora Guido prese a sospirare,
 Dicendo, Re Oriano, gli tuoi figli,
 Se non gli ajuti, sono a gram perigli.

- 14 **A**LTA Regina Stella diletta,
 Che non t'accorgi del tuo gran dannaggio,
 Che sei rubata di sì cara cosa ;
 Li tuoi figliuoli riceveranno oltraggio,
 Guido si parte all'ora, e non si posa,
 Vassene via con amaro coraggio,
 E per la selva tanto camminava,
 Che a un grandissimo fiume lui arrivava.

- 15 **G**IUNTO al fiume, ch'era grande t'avviso,
 Aperse il mantel per voler annegare
 Quei quattro figli ; all'hor fece un riso,
 Guido gli guarda, e cominciò a pensare,
 E in su la riva del fiume sta fiso,
 Per gran pietade prese a lagrimare,
 Dicendo o Dio, che creasti questi,
 Alla tua immagin che gli concedesti.

- 16 **C**HE non fussin nasciuti in questo mondo,
 Son questi figli da patir tormento,
 Or s'io gli getto in questo fiume al fondo,
 Il mio cuor non sarà mai contento ;
 Non getterò per l'alto Dio giocondo,
 Hor fa di me Dio il tuo piacimento,
 O Dio mio, Guido par che dicessi,
 Tu gli creasti, e tu gli custodisci.

- 17 **E**D in su la riva del fiume gli lassa,
 E fagli addosso il segno della Croce,

Avvolti in quel mantel senz'altra fassa,
 Poi ritornava alla vecchia feroce,
 Pien di paura con la testa bassa,
 E giunto a lei con parlar veloce,
 Gli disse, Dama benigna, e gradita,
 Di quel che mi dicesti sete ubbidita.

18 **E** MATTABRUNA, ch'al mal far non cala,
 Credendo che sian morti que' figliuoli,
 In una stalla andò sotto unascala,
 Dove una bracca avea quattro cagnuoli ;
 Tosto gli tolse, e ritornossi in sala,
 Per metter la Regina a mortal duoli,
 Con essi in grembo in camera fugita,
 Per farla pel dolor perder la vita.

19 **E** QUEI cagnuoli se gli messe a lato,
 Gridando forte con parole strane,
 Dicendo, puttana c'hai tu generato,
 Che in adulterio sei stata con un cane,
 Io ti prometto per l'alto Dio beato,
 Che ti convien morire per le mie mane,
 In modo tal che cosi arrabbiata,
 Gridando fuor di camera fu andata.

20 **D**OV'ERA il Re con la sua baronia,
 Ch'aspetta della donna sua novella,
 Questa malvagia vecchia se ne gia,
 Per metter fama ria addosso a quella,
 E corruccita forte a lei dicea,
 Gran fallo inverso te ha fatto Stella ;
 Il Re rispose, vorrei ben saperlo,
 Mattabruna gli disse, va a vederlo.

21 **I**L Re sentendo si fatto parlare,
 Con quei baroni ch'aveva d'intorno,
 Alla camera andò senza tardare ;
 All'entrar dentro molti col Re furon,

E vidde Stella con quattro cani stare,⁴
 E Mattabruna allor non fe soggiorno,
 Di dir al Re sbattendosi le mane,
 Adulterata ha questa con un cane.

22 **L**A Regina Stella non s'era sentita,
 Nel parto pel dolor ch'avesse fatto ;
 Il Re credeva, che di questa vita
 Fosse passata Stella a questo tratto.
 Con gran dolor di Zambra fe partita,
 Ed a suoi baron si volse in cotal atto,
 Dicendo, mi maraviglio, e non lo credo
 Che vero sia quel che con gl'occhi vedo.

23 **M**ATTABRUNA co suoi sensi arrabbiati,
 Presto rispose, e disse, o figliuol mio,
 Di te gia non son nati ne creati,
 Da lel procede questo fallo rio.
 Il Re allor co sua baron pregiati⁵
 Alzò le mani al Ciel lodando Dio,
 Vedendo questo Mattabruna all'hora
 Die per consiglio, che la Regina mora.

24 **D**ICENDO, figliuol mio, gran vendetta
 Farai sopra di questa miscredente ;
 Il Re disse, di dargli morte in fretta,
 Non pote sopportarlo cor vivente,
 Perche m'è stata sposa si perfetta,
 Non sofferirei mai tanto inconveniente.
 La madre disse, fa ciò, che t'ho detto,
 Se non figliuol da me sia maladetto.

25 **I**L Re con gran dolor gli die parola
 Che la Regina fosse imprigionata ;
 Non domandar se'l Re si strugge, e scola,⁶
 E Mattabruna forte corruciata,
 Inver la zambra come uccel che vola,

4 Fiere.

5 Con suoi sensi turbati.

6 Duole.

Se n'andò tutta quanta indiavolata,
 E stella Sentendo all'hor ch'ella venia,
 Piagendo gridò o Vergine Maria.

26 **E** MATTABRUNA nella camera entrava
 Con seco piu donzelle in compagnia,
 La bella Stella pe capei pigliava,
 Dandogli calci e pugna tutta via,⁷
 Fuor del suo letto si la strascinava,
 Poi falsa meretrice, gli dicia,
 Che al tuo marito hai fatto fallo tanto,
 Ma la Regina faceva gran pianto.

27 **E** SUOI figliuoli volea ricordare,
 Mattabruna la bocca gli turava⁸
 Con le mani, ne la lascia parlare,
 E sempre andando quella rimbrottava,⁹
 Fortemente la fece imprigionare ;
 Poi con istizza a ciascun comandava,
 Che la prigione non dovesse aprire,
 Soto la pena di dover morire.

28 **P**ANE, ed acqua gli dava con sua mano,
 Altra persona non andava a lei ;
 Gran dolore n'aveva il Re Oriano,
 Che giorno, e notte si diceva oimei,
 Per tutto Belfiore a ciascun Cristiano
 Ne rincresceva, ne mai a colei,
 Perche temea, che Stella co sua grazia
 Non l'avesse col Re messa in disgrazia.

29 **E** POI che tanto male ebbe commessa,
 Il Re doglioso già non s'accorgeva,
 E Stella piangeva forte fra se stessa
 Per i bei figli, che perduto aveva,
 Dicendo, o Dio, dami la mort'espressa ;
 Piangendo forte tutta si struggeva

7 E delli pugni nel viso gli dia.

8 Schizza.

9 E sol in dosso avea una pelliza.

E spesso per la prigione stramortia,
Chiamando sempre Vergine Maria.

30 **T**ORNIAMO a Guido, che fu deliberato
Di fuggirsi via in altri paesi,
Per i bei figli, che haveva lasciato,
Che a Mattabruna non fossi palesi ;
Andossene via, che mai fu trovato,
Fra se dicendo, Dio, gl' abbi defesi
Che dalle fiere non sian divorati.
Torniamo a lor, che son male arrivati.

31 **E** UN Romito Santo che servia
A Cristo benigno in quella selvata, lof
Ed una cella divota gli avia,
Ed ogni di fuori usciva una volta,
In su la riva in quel fiume venia ;
Così andando l'occhio dritto volta,¹⁰
E verso i bei figliuoli s'incontrava,
Maravigliossi, e forte gli guardava.

32 **C**HE gli vedea star sì crudelmente,
Nudi in quel mantel senz'altra invoglia,
Prima che gli toccassi di niente,
Diceva, o Dio, non che soffri tal doglia,
De non voler che tanta belle gente,
Or piaciati, Signor, che gli raccoglia ;
Ed una voce per l'aria gli favella,
Togli, Romito, e vanne alla tua cella.

33 **O**NDE gli guarda con sua fede pura,¹¹
Tosto gli prese, e vanne via con quelli,
Dicendo, Madre di Dio santa, e pura,
Questi figliuoli son pur tanto belli ;
E quando in un tempo tutti gl'affigura,
Son d'una madre, disse, e son fratelli.
Vedendo le catenelle, ed ogni cosa,

¹⁰ Tanto, che prima innanti, che fosse volta.

¹¹ Quel servo di Dio niente non si cura.

Vassene via con la mente giojosa.

34 **E** VIDDE quel ch'aveva il dritto segnale,
 Che d'esser Re di Spagna pareva dicesse,
 Questi son figli di stirpe regale,
 Qualche Regina tal fallo commesse ;
 E poi pregava Iddio celestiale,
 Non avendo latte, che dar gli potesse,
 Concedimi, Signor, ch'in questi inventi
 Tanto di grazia, che costor contenti.

35 **O**R giungendo alla cella in su la porta,
 Ecco una cervia bellissima allattata,
 E quella cervia diletta, ed accorta
 Cristo benigno si l'ebbe mandata ;
 Il Romito di questo si conforta,
 Giugnendo con la man l'ebbe segnata,
 E quella cervia in terra si distese,
 La grazia di Dio il buon Romito intese.

36 **L**E poppe a bocca de figliuoli pose,
 Geme la cervia per gran tenerezza,
 Lasciar poppar le poppe graziose ;
 E quel Romito con molta allegrezza
 Giua cogliendo erbette dilette,
 Poi tornava alla cervia con dolcezza,
 Davagli da mangiare e Cristo ringrazia,
 Che quella cervia stava grassa, e sazia.

37 **Q**UELLA cervia santa, e benedetta,
 Da quei figliuoli mai non si partia,
 Sempre stava con lor nella celletta,
 Il Romito d'erba ben la custodia ;
 Così cresceva la brigata perfetta,
 Tanto che ciascun con suoi piedi ne gia,
 Le catenelle pe'l simil crescevano,
 Che i putti dilettesi addosso avevano.

38 **E** LA Regina Stella di Belfiore
 Sendo in prigione in dolorosi lutti,

Gridava giorno, e notte con dolore,
 Figliuoli miei, per me sete distrutti,
 E Mattabruna, per mio disonore
 Me gli togliesti, e destimi can brutti;
 So che son morti, lassa me tapina
 Per tua man, Mattabruna paterina.

39 **T**APINA a me gentile Oriano,
 Credo non vederai ma piu i tuoi figli,
 Morta fuss'io a tal caso si strano,¹²
 Che sarei fuora di tanti perigli;¹³
 Dapoi che voi tu creder per certano
 Alla tua madre con suoi rei consigli,
 Che la ti toglie ogni bene, e tesoro,
 Ed io per suo fallir ho tal martoro.

40 **O**R qui lacsiamo Stella in questa volta,
 Diciamo de figliuoli, e del Romito,
 Come la cervia la poppa a lor tolta,
 Poi che fur grandi si partì dal sito,
 A spasso andava per la selva folta,
 E Cristo benigno, ch'è Signor gradito,
 Spesso per un Angelo gli mandava¹⁴
 Del pan celeste, che gli nutricava.¹⁵

41 **Q**UEL servo di Dio con molta festa
 Teneva quei figliuoli nella cella,
 Menava or l'uno, or l'altro alla foresta;
 Ma pur del primo la storia favella,
 Ch'aveva una tal forza manifesta
 Piu, che mai huomo, che montasse in sella,
 Alla sua vita non trovò barone,
 Ch'abbatter lo potesse de l'arcione.

42 **Q**UAL fu poi di costui gran nominanza,¹⁶
 E piu de gl'altri era grande, e membruto:

¹² Or fuss'io morta à mano, à mano.

¹³ Che tu auresti auto li tuoi artigli.

¹⁴ Manda.

¹⁵ Pane, che sazia con altra vivanda.

¹⁶ Qual si fè poi di lui gran nominata.

Il Romito per maggior figuranza
 Se lo menava sempre per ajuto,
 Gl'altri lasciava in cella per baldanza,
 A Cristo benigno fin che ricevuto
 In un bel prato fuori della porta,
 Dove ciascun si sollazza, e conforta.

43 **U**NO aveva nome Triadasse,
 Che stava in quella selva a far la guardia,
 Che'l Re mi par che quivi lo mandasse,
 Ch'aveva forzo rigida, e gagliarda,
 Per struggere i malandrini, che trovasse,
 La selva cerca ogni di, ne mai tarda,
 Di Mattabruna era servo soggetto,
 E d'un Gigante avea forma, ed aspetto.

44 **A**CCIÒ che i malandrina a creatura
 Non faccia danno, stava con alquanti,
 Andanda per la selva alla ventura,
 Giunse alla cella, e veddesi davanti
 Quei bei figliuoli, ben ver di lui non cura ;
 Vidde i segnali, ch'avean tutti quanti,
 Triadasse disse, o Dio, che bei puttini.
 Vedo in sì gran povertà, e sì meschini.

45 **C**HE gli vedeva nudi e senza panni,
 Altro che alcune pelle avevan in dosso,
 Disse il Gigante, in quanti crudi affanni
 Stan questi figli, che patir non posso ,
 D'andarlo a dire al Re parve mill'anni,
 Ed a camminar presto si fu mosso,
 Più presto va, che destrier corridore,
 Tanto cammina, che giunse a Belfiore.

46 **L**A gente che vedevan Triadasse
 Dicevan novella arrega per certano,¹⁷
 Non già che quel Gigante si fermasse,

¹⁷ Certezza.

Ch'al palazzo n'andò con volto humano,¹⁸

Ma pareva che'l Re non vi trovasse,

Ch'arebbe avuto da lui la buona mano,¹⁹

Pur trova Mattabruna paterina,

Con riverenza la saluta, ed inchina.

47 **E**T ella disse, tu sia il ben venuto,
Hor che novella arrechi tu vassallo;

E lui rispose, Donna, io ho veduto

La maggior nobil cosa senza fallo,

Tre bei figliuoli senza alcuno ajuto,

Quali in questa selva fan suo stallo

Con una catenella d'argento, e d'oro,

Ch'al collo porta ciaschedun di loro.

48 **M**ATTABRUNA all'hora si maraviglia,
Sentendo ricordar cotal novella,

E nel suo cuor par, che dica e bisbiglia,

Questi serani figli della Stella;

E comandogli con ardite ciglia,

Che a nessun giammai non ne favella,

Vanne alla selva, e se gli troverrai,

To le catene, e si gli ucciderai.

49 **E**FA che da te nol sappi mai persona,
Che da me toccherai un gran tesoro;

Triadasse all'hor piu non sermona,

Ma prestamente senza far dimoro

Inver la selva presto s'abbandona,

Che pareva proprio un' arrabbiato toro,

Con il cuor di dar morte a quei fantini,²⁰

E non guardare che lor sian piccini.²¹

50 **T**ANTO si volse per quel bosco folto,
Che a quella cella pure e pervenuto;

La donzella era in un mantello involto,

Che fu di Guido il Gigante forzuto,

¹⁸ Con gran prestezza.

¹⁹ S'aurebbe avuto in se molt' allegrezza.

²⁰ T'anti.

²¹ E tor le catinelle à tutti quanti.

Quei due fratelli ciaschedun rinvolto,
 Il maggior col Romito fuor'era uscito
 Per quella selva alquanto per ispazzo,
 Guardando il Gigante disse, oimè lasso.

51 **U**CCIDEROGLI io, o che follia,
 O che impietà si fo tal crudeltade ;
 E poi tra se parlando ancor dicia,
 Ma s'io non faccio la sua volontade,
 Mattabruna uccider mi faria.

E detto questo senz'altra pietade
 Andonne verso la brigata bella,
 E lor per paura si fuggirno in cella.

52 **M**A quel Gigante non fu tardo, o lento,
 Si presto, che non posson l'uscio serrare,
 E drento entrava con un mal talento,
 Per voler tutti di vita privare ;
 Pur le catenelle qual'eran d'argento
 Si gli tolse, e non volse altro mal fare,
 Fu tanta la pieta, che l'ebbe al cuore,
 Che uccider non gli volse ed uscì fuore.

53 **P**OI ritorna alla vecchia Mattabruna,
 Dolente lasciò quei figliuoli in cella,
 Perche rubata gl'aveva ciascuna,
 La preziosa, e ricca catenella.
 Pin presto va che saetta nessuna,
 Tanto che giunse a Mattabruna fella ;
 Quando ella il vidde, con carezze molte,
 Andog' incontro, e le catene ha tolte.

54 **E**D in camera lo mena, e si gli disse,
 Uccidestigli tu veracemente,
 E lui rispose prima che partisse,
 Con questo brando ognun feci dolente.
 E Mattabruna le catenelle misse
 In un forzier^o ch'aveva li presente,

E poi gli disse, io ti farò piu lieto,
Un castel ti donerò, se il tien segreto.

55 **P**OI Mattabruna al figliuol se n'è gita,
Dicendo al viso, gran vergogna porti,
Di questa gran puttana si forbita,
Che piu di mille assai ne sono morti,
Che non hanno come lei morte servita,
Hor fa, figliuol, che questo non sopporti:
Il Re sentendo la madre cosi dire,
Rispose mora, se pur dec morire.

56 **C**REDENDO fusse il ver di quei cagnuoli,
Acconsentì che Stella si morisse,
Benche nel cuor ne portava gran duoli,
E Mattabruna pareva, che godisse.
Torniamo al Romito, ch'ebbe li figliuoli,
Giunse alla cella, e parve che sentisse
Pianger quell' altri con gran stridore,
Corse la presto col fratel maggiore.

57 **T**ROVOGLI in cella tutti paurosi,
In terra stavan come che sconfitti,
Disse il Romito, o figli dilettesi,
Ch'avete, che sete da dolor trafitti;
E non vedendo i segnali giojosi
Delle catenelle levatevi su ritti,
Gli dimandò, chi va cosi rubati,
E lor risposon tutti addolorati.

58 **I**L maggior huom, che si vedesse mai,
Si è colui, che nostre catene ebbe.
Piangendo il maggior con pene, e quai,
Tanto ebbe a dire, che, vendicar vorrebbe,
Ho s'io ci fossi pur stato giammai,
Nessuna via portata non arebbe;
E certamente ben diceva il vero,
Tanto era con un frusto ardito, e fiero.

- 59 **I**L Romito si messe in orazione
Dicendo, Dio, che facesti cielo, e terra,
Acqua, e fuoco, e tutte le persone,
A chi pace donasti, e a chi guerra,
A tal ventura, ed a tal perdizione,
A tal ricchezza, o povertade afferra,
Alcun facesti piu disgraziato,
Ed alcun'altro piu avventurato.
- 60 **S**I come ogni cosa, Signor, tu facesti,
Di questi figli mi facesti dono,
Cosi ti prego che mi manifesti,
Dove son nati, e di chi figli sono.
L'Angel di Dio all'or con canti onesti,
Si disse a quel Romito santo, e buono,
Questi figli son del Re Oriano,
Odi che ti comanda Dio soprano.
- 61 **C**HE tu battezzì ciaschedun di loro,
E poi ti metti in via, e vanne a corte,
Cristo benigno ti vuol far dimoro,
Che Mattabruna ha messo alla morte
La madra loro con un gran martoro,
E vuol che sopraggiunga a lei la sorte;
E dissegli come stava ogni cosa,
Il Romito all'hor non fece posa.
- 62 **L**'ANGEL di Dio gl'ajutò a battezzare,
A uno a uno si gli messe il nome,
Tasso il primo si ebbe a nominare,
Il secondo Oriano, il terzo come
Urian Fulvian si fece chiamare,
E la donzella si chiama Belpome;
Poi comandò l'Angiolo divino,
Che al Belfiore pigliassi il cammino.
- 63 **E** COMMANDÒ al Tasso che combattesse,
Per campar la lor madre dalla morte,

Arditamente con chiunque volesse,
 Che Dio lo campera d'ogni ria sorte ;
 Dipoi al Romito pare che dicesse,
 Che dica al Re tutte le cose scorte,
 Di Mattabruna, come il fatto stava,
 Il Romito con lor la via pigliava.

64 **B**ELPOME, la diletta donzella,
 Lasciolla il Romito a un monastero,
 Il Tasso, ch'avea ancor sua catenella,
 Pareva con quel frusto ardito, e fiero ;
 Unna pelle d'orso aveva per gonnella,
 Il quale uccise quel garzone altero,
 Degli altri fratelli le lor veste anch'elle
 Eran di certe bestie le lor pelle.

65 **C**OSI camminando tutt'a tre via ratti
 Con quel santo Romito in compagnia,
 Il Tasso gia mostrando alcun fier'atti,
 Così parlando vanno per la via ;²²
 Giunti a Belfiore, fuori viddon tratti
 Molti stendardi con la turba ria,²³
 I quali menavan la Regina a morte
 Ad ardere in tal fuoco a cotal sorte.

66 **E**RAVI il Re, ed ancor Mattabruna,
 Con tutta l'altra gente di Belfiore,
 E la Regina Stella piu che nessuna
 V'era piangendo con molto dolore
 Per veder la gran gente si raguna ;
 Il Re gran doglia si n'aveva al core,
 Dov'era il fuoco fu menata presente,
 Un savio venne a legger fortemente.

67 **L**A sentenza del mal che non ha fatto,
 E molt'altri falli par che mescolasse,
 Poi Mattabruna fe bandir tal patto,

²² Furián.²³ Così andando per quella campagna.²⁴ Magna.

A chi difender l'animo bastasse,
 Venga in sul campo per provarsi un tratto
 Col corpo del Gigante Triadasse ;
 Fatto l'eveva armar per far temenza,
 A chi tenea per falsa tal sentenza.

- 68 **E** LA Regina Stella di Belfiore
 Diceva, Dio, poi ch'io sono alla morte,
 Una grazia domando pel mio honore,
 Che miei figliuoli non abbin simil sorte,
 Se alcun ne venga al mio misero core,
 Acciocche alcun gaudio meco ne porte ;
 Il Romito ciò vedendo disse al Tasso,
 Guarda, figlio, tua madre da tal passo.
- 69 **N**ON creder già, che fusse sordo, o muto,
 Presto si misse con quel frusto possente ;
 Tutta la gente, che l'ebbon veduto,
 Maravigliossi di lui fortemente,
 Vedendolo sì grande, e sì membruto,
 Con furia camminar tra quella gente.
 Il Romito dietro gl'andava a vedere
 La sue forza magnanime, e'l gran potere.
- 70 **G**L'ALTRI fratelli stavan piu lontano ;
 Stella diceva, o Vergine Maria,
 Come mai fallo non feci al Re Oriano,
 Così ricevi tu l'anima mia ;
 All'ora gli rispose quel villano
 Di Triadasse dicendo, o puttana ria,
 Ch'arsa sarai in quell 'ardente fuoco.
 Al Tasso all'ora non pareva giuoco.
- 71 **M**A quel rispose, menti per la gola,
 Benche tu sia sì grande, e sì armato,
 Ch'io ti farò mangiar quella parola ;
 E di quel frusto su l'elmo gl'ha dato
 Tal colpo, che gl'occhi dalla testa cola,
 E morto cadde in terra stramazato,

Per quel colpo terribile, e possente,
Che a vederlo correva tutta la gente.

72 **O**GNUN diceva all'hor, campata è Stella
Per la man del donzel nobil persona ;
All'ora il Romito con la sua loquella
Verso del Re così parla, e sermona,
Presto fa scioglier la Regina Stella,
E fa venir tua madre, gli ragiona,
Che ti farò insegnare i tuoi figliuoli,
Che la non partorì quattro cagnuoli.

73 **I**L Re venir fe sua madre presente,
Ch'era crucciata per colui, ch'è morto ;
Udite bel miracol, buona gente,
Che fece Cristo per darci conforto.
A quella vecchia così faudolente
Disse il Romito, hai tu ragione, o torto,
Mattabruna, di far morire Stella ;
Udirete, Signor, strana novella.

74 **P**RESENTE il Re, e tutta la sua gente,
Volse ogni cosa il Romito rivelare,²⁵
Questa malvagia vecchia da niente
Voleva pure in tutto il ver negare.
Disse il Romito, o falsa discredente,
Che i figli del Re mandasti ad annegare ;
Poi gli disse de cani e delle catene,²⁶
Io ho gran voglia che ne porti le pene.

75 **A**LL'HORA il Re si fe gran maraviglia,
Sentendo ricordar de suoi figliuoli,
E con gran rabbia la sua spada piglia,
Per dare alla sua madre mortal duoli ;
Ma il Romito presto quella piglia,
E metter fe la vecchia a cotal duoli,
In una prigione con mortale asprezza,

²⁵ Con questi detti incominciò a parlare.

²⁶ E poi dicesti che can eran da Fine catene.

E Stella fu sciolta con grand'allegrezza.

76 **I**L Romito diceva al Re Oriano,
 Presente la Regina, e tutta gente,
 Hor chi ti desse i tuoi figliuoli in mano,
 Non saresti in tua vita piu gaudente,
 E lui rispose piu che mai Cristiano,
 Se piacesse a Cristo onnipotente ;
 Il Romito menò il Re, e la Dama,
 Dov'eran gl'altri suoi sotto una rama.

77 **P**OI fe venir Belpome lor sorella,
 Ch'era in un monaster poco lontano ;
 E'l Romito al Re del Tasso favella,
 Questo è'l primo genito soprano,
 E quel secondo in tal modo s'appella,
 Come che te si chiama Oriano,
 Il terzo Urian Furian ha nome,
 E la donzella si chiama Belpome.

78 **I**L Re sentendo si fatto parlare,
 E ch'erano suoi figli certamente,
 Per allegrezza gli corse abbracciare
 Con la Regina insieme similmente.
 Ma chi potrebbe le feste contare,
 Per tenerezza piangeva la gente,
 Alzando al ciel le man con voce pia,
 Laudando Iddio, e la madre Maria.

79 **I**L Romito poi tornava alla sua cella,
 E Mattabruna che in prigion restava,
 La fe trar fuori la Regina Stella,
 E col Re insieme si igli perdonava ;
 Ma il gran consiglio sentì tal novella,
 Che Mattabruna di tale error scampava,
 La fe squartar, che ben se gli conviene,
 Chi male fa, non sperì d'aver bene.

A. G. KRÜGER.

THE GERUND IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH.

The name 'Gerund' was borrowed from Latin grammar, and has for a long time been in use in English, though with varying application according as it covers more or less ground. It is found in grammars of the last century and of this, where it is often confused with the 'verbal noun.' This name is employed here because it is the most convenient that has been suggested; 'infinitive in *ing*,' used by Whitney and others, while suggestive of its relationship and real function, is too unwieldy for practical grammar. A far more objectionable name, because the objection is based upon a radical difference in functions, is 'participle,' which is given to the verb-adjective also, thereby causing confusion. Etymologically, 'gerund' is just as misleading as the majority of its fellows. Participles, for instance, would by this test include infinitives, for infinitives *partake* of two natures; and infinitives would include participles, which are just as *unlimited* as infinitives. The origin of words, however, does not confine their use with unyielding bonds, and their use defines them.

The Gerund, this 'infinitive in *ing*,' finds reason for existence in the fact that it supplements the simple infinitive by supplying a flexibility of construction that is wanting in the latter. At the same time, however, its resemblance to the so-called verbal noun and its easy interchange therewith, endow it with dangerous possibilities for the unwary. This will be more clearly seen from the following sketch of the history of the Gerund and in the subsequent discussion.

In the earliest recorded stage of the language, the dative of the infinitive, accompanied by *to*, is used as a Gerund expressing purpose, as, 'geweald *to gyrowanne*' (power of working). The infinitive with *to* was occasionally used in the same way. The next step shows *-ende* (or *-inde*) for *-anne*, as the ending, making the Gerund the same in form with the participle, as, 'coman Crist *to wurðiende*' (they came to honor Christ). About the same time, that is, in the twelfth century, *for* occurs before

the *to*, as, '*for to* clensen,' '*for to* witiende,' indicating a weakening in the purpose-giving power of *to*. The fourteenth century has *-inge* for *-inde*; as, 'to seethinge' (to be sodden), and it is in this form that the Old English Gerund dies, its fundamental use—the expression of purpose—being in the main handed over to the modern infinitive. The language, however, had long had the germ of a far more flexible and extensive construction, and the neglect of the old Gerund may have, in part, been due to the development of the new. There was in Anglo-Saxon days a 'verbal noun' in *-ing*, or *-ung*, as, *leorning*, or *leornung*, that had wholly the construction of a noun. In time the *-ing* suffix superseded the other, and thus, in fourteenth-century English, the old Gerund, the present participle, and the verbal noun have the same ending. It should be borne in mind that this old Gerund, derived from that which ended in *inde*, expresses fundamentally purpose, and occurs only with *to*. But the verbal in *-ing* now begins to take adverbial modifiers and, when derived from a transitive verb, even to drop the preposition that joins to it a noun, which then becomes the direct object. The following examples from *Piers the Plowman* and from *Maunderville* illustrate these new phases: In youre *here dwellyng* (P. P.); For *knowyng of* comeres (P. P.); Be *fyndynge of* that issue (M.); *This shewing* shrifte . . shall be meryte to the (P. P.); In *shaving* oure *bcrdes* (M.). Thus the modern Gerund begins.

The new Gerund, enjoying in its dependence upon other words all the privileges that it inherits from the noun, is not restricted to a single construction, but occurs as subject, as object, and after a preposition. The participle, having the same form, and exercising important functions of the verb, undoubtedly had much to do in developing a Gerund out of a verbal noun. But, the use once begun, there arose problems that are foreign to participles, problems in the dependence of other words upon the Gerund, and on the whole these problems were after four hundred years rather increased than diminished. In approved writers of the last century, it is no uncommon thing to find the Gerund having noun, participle, and verb constructions entangled. For example, Defoe has 'I was farther confirmed in it the next day by the *woman being taken ill*'; Fielding, 'To *the putting Horatio* in possession of all his wishes,' 'He insisted on the

match being deferred'; Sheridan says, '*The reducing others to the level of my own injured reputation.*' Blair, author of the '*Rhetoric*,' constantly uses the like, and he with other authors employs such constructions side by side with immaculate idiom.

Light is thrown upon the situation at the beginning of this century by recalling a few facts, and this is best done in the words of Prof. F. A. March, who says in a pamphlet on "*The Study of Anglo-Saxon*" (1875)—

There was a revival of etymological study of English about a hundred years ago, when Dr. Johnson published his dictionary. He knew nothing of Anglo-Saxon, and his critics showed up his ignorance very fully. Horne Tooke, among others, was attracted to that field of study, and having original linguistic genius, and plenty of leisure in prison, prepared *The Diversions of Purley*, a book that proved an epoch-making work in this kind of study. He was a fierce opponent of the ministry who were making war in America, and had been imprisoned for saying that Americans were "murdered" by the king's troops at Lexington. He was regarded in this country as a martyr in the cause of our liberties, and his book was at once reprinted here, and read everywhere with peculiar interest. It bore fruit a hundredfold in the minds of Noah Webster and Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson sent to Europe for the old folios in which the knowledge of Anglo-Saxon was then buried, and read them, as he had time. He became strongly impressed with the thought that the language ought to be studied in our schools, and when he organized the University of Virginia he made it the duty of the professor of modern languages to give instruction in Anglo-Saxon. * * *

Noah Webster's dictionary was the most notable product of his Anglo-Saxon studies.

Dictionaries and college courses were not the only result of this stir; grammars came apace. Gould Brown catalogues four hundred and sixty three, nearly all of which appeared between 1765 and 1850, a large proportion in the first quarter of this century. Many of these are of a fantastic, indeed amusing, sort, to judge from such titles as '*The Grammatical Wreath*,' '*A Concise Grammar of the English Language, Attempted in Verse*,' '*The Decoy, An English Grammar with Cuts*,' '*The Comic Grammar*.' '*The English Language as She Is Spoke*,' though it comes several decades later, would undoubtedly belong to this list. Then there is the clap-trap book that has a host of successors to-day: '*Grammar Made Easy*,' '*Grammar with*

Cuts,' 'An Inductive Grammar,' 'Grammar on the Productive System.' This digression would be inappropriate, were it not that the lessons drilled day by day into the child leave an impression that is not obliterated by the passage of years; hence the dicta of grammarians, having in some degree influenced the usage of to-day, must be taken into consideration.

The grammarian of the eighteenth century, imbued with deep reverence for the Latin language, and inheriting from former ages somewhat of their distrust of English, condemned relentlessly any idiom that even seemed to be a departure from the Latin rule. Ignorant of the history of the development of the English, wedded to the traditional theory of grammar, he could not but fall into error. But before the close of the century a change came, and the leader was Lindley Murray, by birth and education an American, who having removed to England, published in York a few years thereafter, in 1795, his 'English Grammar,' which for fifty years and more was a favorite. Though still far from present standards, his book implies a change for the better in methods; and, as it is the best and the most widely used of the grammars following in the wake of the philological revival, a brief description of its exposition of the Gerund will lay bare one influence that has been at work. His treatment of this subject may be gathered from the following—

[1] The participle is a certain form of the verb, and derives its name from its participating, not only of the properties of a verb, but also of those of an adjective: as, "I am desirous of *knowing him*"; "*Admired* and *applauded*, he became vain"; "*Having finished* his work, he submitted it."—[2] Participles have the same government as the verbs from which they are derived: as, "I am weary with *hearing him*"; "She is *instructing us*."—[3] Participles sometimes perform the office of substantives, and are used as such; as in the following instances: "The *beginning*"; "a good *understanding*"; "excellent *writing*"; "The chancellor's *being attached* to the king secured his crown"; "The general's *having failed* in this enterprise occasioned his disgrace"; "John's *having been writing* a long time had wearied him." . . .—[4] The words, *being attached*, govern the word *chancellor's* in the possessive case . . .—[5] Participles are sometimes governed by the article; for the present participle, with the definite article *the* before it, becomes a substantive, and must have the preposition *of* after it: as, "These are the rules of grammar, by the observing of which, you may avoid mistakes." It would not be proper to say, "by the observing

which"; nor, "by observing of which"; but the phrase, without either article or preposition, would be right: as, "by observing which."—[6] The article *a* or *an* has the same effect: as, "This was a betraying of the trust reposed in him." It is the participial termination of this sort of words that is apt to deceive us, and make us treat them as if they were of an amphibious species, partly nouns and partly verbs.—[7] The same observations which have been made respecting the effect of the article and participle, appear to be applicable to the pronoun und participle, when they are similarly associated: as, "Much depends upon *their observing of* the rule, and error would be the consequence of *their neglecting of* it," instead of "their observing the rule, and their neglecting it."—[8] We shall perceive this more clearly, if we substitute a noun for the pronoun: as, "Much depends upon *Tyro's observing of* the rule," &c. But, as the construction sounds rather harshly, [*sic*] it would, in general, be better to express the sentiment in the following, or some other form: "Much depends upon the *rule's being observed*"; or—"on observing the rule; and—of neglecting it."

To sum up, Murray's rule says [1] that the participle has the function of verb and adjective; [2] that it has the government belonging to the verb from which it is derived; [3] that it is used as a substantive; [4] that it is governed by a noun in the possessive case; [5] and [6], that, governed by the article, it must be followed by a preposition; [7] and [8] that governed by noun or pronoun in the possessive case, it must be followed by a preposition. It will be noticed that, while he assigns "participles" the functions of verbs and adjectives only, the examples under [1] include verb-noun functions; that the examples under [3] confound Gerund and verbal noun; and that no rule is given for the construction to follow the "participle" when it is preceded by an adjective. Surely there is some excuse for the confusion that is still to be found in usage!

Chief among the critics of Murray was Gould Brown, who declared in his 'Grammar of English Grammars' (1851) that the only legitimate use of the Gerund is found after a preposition; as, '*in reading* Plato.' He admitted "the practice of treating them ['participles'] essentially as nouns without taking from them the regimen and adjuncts of participles," but condemned such constructions as "occasional, modern, and of doubtful propriety." Between Murray and Brown, hovers a swarm of grammarians who assert all possible variations of these rules and defend them more or less absurdly. There is one

point, however, upon which all agree: the tacit admission that one word can never perform at the same instant the functions of more than one part of speech. Theory after theory has been advanced to reconcile discordant facts and fancies. Prominent among these is the elevation of participles to a place among the parts of speech, but this was no more successful than many an other device.

This will suffice to indicate some of the formative influences to which writers of the nineteenth century have been subjected. Gerund constructions as found in their pages will now be taken up, one by one, and considered.

Just here it will be helpful to recall the general character of the modern Gerund, and for such exposition of its nature a brief re-statement of its history will be sufficient. Its progenitor is a verbal derivative in *-ing* with the adjuncts and regimen of a noun. Having the form of the present participle, it easily adopts the adjuncts and the regimen of the participle. This endows it with a dual nature, without restrictions upon the conditions of the union; hence it is theoretically possible to combine the functions of these natures in various ways. Practically, restrictions are developed by usage, which seeks to express an idea in the clearest, most forcible manner. The construction thus developed will be considered under the head of (I) the Gerund's dependence upon other words, (II) the dependence of other words upon it, (III) its time-relation.

I.

The Gerund is used as subject, object, complement, of a verb, and after a preposition. It would be natural to expect it in apposition also with any one of these.

As subject:—No *grieving* can amend (Browning).—There was no *denying* it (Cable).—There was no *getting* away from them (Holland).—But your *leaving* at an hour's notice, and apparently *wishing* to shake me off, has given me no time (Henry James).—There is no *making* ourselves feel enough astonishment at it (Ruskin).

As object:—We cannot help *knowing* that skies are clear (Lowell).—But I prefer *walking* the deck and *drying* myself occasionally beside the chimney; As soon as it quit *raining*; It commenced *raining*; The bell . . . began *tolling* (Bayard Taylor).—She knew that if he had understood her *saying* that she might have loved him once to be any en-

couragement of the future, he would not have written as he did (Howells).—But the moment that even the best men stop *pushing*, and begin *talking*, they mistake their pugnacity for piety, and it's all over (Ruskin).

As complement:—This is not *saying* that we are above learning from England . . . what is best in its educational work (Dr. H. Coit, in *Forum*, Sept., '91).—But what amused Helen most was Marian's *having* already *got* his tone about his possessions and accomplishments (Howell).—It would be *throwing* away words to prove, what all admit, . . . (Scott).

After a preposition:—The cruelty of *settling* an estate away from a family of five daughters (Andrew Lang).—Here, at last, I had a chance of clearly *seeing* him (R. L. Stevenson).—Nor had he looked forward to promotion, and one day *commanding* a ship (Marryat).—By in its turn *making* this known (quoted by Earle, from *The National Review*, Oct., '64).—By not *painting* more impressively their stronger individualities (Bulwer).—The sustaining grace of *feeling* [himself] a martyr was lacking in the event of to-day (Craddock).—By their *wanting* them to do anything (Henry James).—In the way of our *doing* what we please (Lew Wallace).

In apposition:—Well, I don't call it very nice, his not *coming* (Howells).

When there are no distinguishing adjuncts, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between the verbal noun and the Gerund; in fact, the form in *-ing* may then be conceived in either sense; as in, "The grandmother nodded over her *knitting*" (Craddock); or in, "Such schools as I have in mind take charge . . . of their *sleeping, eating*, arrangement of hours for study and exercise." (Dr. Coit); "After a life spent *training* for the sight" (Browning). But this is not extraordinary, for, where there are distinguishing adjuncts, the one construction may often be exchanged for the other without injury to the meaning. For example, Marryat says, "*The refitting of the ship* was an excuse for detaining them on board," and he might say, '*Refitting the ship* was an excuse But there are cases in which the one or the other is, rhetorically, better; such as, "The Ustrinum, or place for *the burning of the dead*" (Bulwer), where 'place for *burning the dead*' would be an improvement. This interchangeability may have encouraged a hybrid idiom, now generally condemned; at any rate, this idiom is found in reputable writers, as witness the following: "*The digging the foundation and the*

constructing the cellars is weary labour" (Bulwer); "Even *the holding his breath* was involuntary" (Lew Wallace); "The writer should avoid as far as possible *the putting this snare* in his reader's way" (Prof. Earle): The companion idiom, found in "They left *beating of Paul*" ("Acts," xxi, 32), had no attraction for the authorities examined for this paper.

II.

With the Gerund are found as adjuncts, (i) a noun, or a pronoun, in the Genitive, (ii) the adjective *no*, (iii) adverbials, (iv) objects, direct and indirect.

- i. He was displeased with the idea of *England's possessing* colonies at all (Henry James).—In spite of *Sir Rufus* now *demeaning* himself so sweetly (Id.).—She could imagine *Robert's being* very angry at the patronizing tone of the rest of her letter (Howells).—From *my having* no visible calling (De Quincey).—To guard against *its being* for ever *taken* away from us (Ruskin).—The time not admitting of *my carrying* it home (Lamb).—I remembered *his quoting* Horace in the morning (Lowell).
- ii. *No grieving* can amend (Browning).—There was *no denying* it (Cable).—There was *no getting* away from them (Holland).—There is *no making* ourselves feel enough astonishment at it (Ruskin).—There's *no reasoning* them out of their dotage (Irving).
- iii. Without *publicly acknowledging* the great things (Macaulay).—I am vastly more contented with *merely being in Rome* (Lowell).—Resumed her occupation of *monotonously peeling* June apples (Craddock).—Tippins, letting down the window, playfully extols the vigilance of her cavalier in *being in waiting* there to hand her out (Dickens).—It was like *looking on the earth from another planet* (Bayard Taylor).—*Going by railroad* I do not consider as travelling at all; it is *merely 'being sent' to a place*, and very little different from becoming a parcel (Ruskin).—In *fighting against the enemies* of the faith (Besant).
- iv. By *keeping the springs* of action clear of evil habits (Dr. Coit).—During the last fifty years no author has proposed to himself the aim of *portraying the whole political system* of the country in its practice as well as its theory (Bryce).—Can always stop *doing it* on the slightest pretext (Lowell).—The high office of *guiding English youth* in its first study of Shakespeare (Swinburne).—I could not help *telling you that my fathers fought at Azincourt* (B. Disraeli). Is the being shown over a place the same as silently for ourselves *detecting the genius* of it? (Lamb).

The examples just quoted show Gerunds combining verb adjuncts (objects and adverbials) with limiting Genitives and even with the adjective *no*. It must be noted further, however, that it is in the use of adjuncts that the possibilities of confusion lie. There has already been incidentally noted (pp. 206-7) one case of confusion, Gerund and verbal noun being entangled. Another case lies on the side of the participle. Moreover, just as a full transfer of construction from Gerund to verbal noun, or vice-versa, might in some instances take place without injury to sense, and then again not, so here there is a like logical distinction, as will be seen in the following examples:

- i. Or we should be wearied by every *one* [or, *one's*] *behaving* in the same way (Prof. Nichols).—Whose first masters never dreamed of the *city* [or, *city's*] *reaching* them (Cable).—She had remotely known of a *wagon* [or *wagon's*] *stopping* at the door (Howells).—But Jack was interrupted in his third glass by *somebody* [or, *-body's*] *telling* him the Captain wanted to speak with Mr. Hawkins and him (Marryat).—But, if one think for a moment . . . of the *children* [or, *children's*] *receiving* the blessing of their holy 'Father (Lowell).—There is something ungracious in the comic *actor* [or, *actor's*] *holding* himself aloof from all participation or concern with those who are come to be diverted by him (Lamb).
- ii. It is no more to them than *anyone leaving* you a suit of mourning in an English Legacy (Marryat).—The old sexton expressed a doubt as to *Shakespeare having been born* in her house (Irving).—Miss Jenny gave up altogether on this *parting taking* place between the friends (Dickens).—The unlikelihood of such a complicated *measure succeeding* in narrative form (George Saintsbury).—I cannot accept the notion of *school-life affecting* the poet to this extent (Lewes).—There is no pretence of his *grandmother ever having been* out of this country or of any *Mandarin having been* in it (Dickens).

Many more such examples as those adduced in the second class above may be found in a wide range of authors. On the other hand, none among those examined furnishes an example of this construction with a pronoun instead of a noun before the *-ing* word. Even a glaring contrast is permitted: "Use the Subjunctive where you disbelieve in the *condition being realized* or protest against *its being accepted*" (Nichol); "This little delusion was greatly assisted by the circumstance of *its being* market-day, and the *thoroughfares about the market-place being*

filled with carts, horses, etc.” (Dickens). Dickens, who seems to avoid intentionally the Genitive of the noun, nevertheless uses as constantly the Genitive of the pronoun before the *-ing* word; as in, “A suspicion of *her having broken* his confidence.” It is true that intervening obstacles, such as inconvenient phrases, or the desire to avoid the assemblage of disagreeable sounds, may often furnish an excuse. Take these examples:

In the event of the *route by the way of the Suez Canal being closed* in time of war (Critique on “Ocean Steamships,” *Nation*).—He said something further about running down to Mt. Desert in his boat and about *one of his men knowing* how to broil a mackerel pretty well (Howells).—There was some story of a *Princess—Elizabeth, if I remember—having entrusted* to his care an extraordinary casket of jewels (Lamb).—On Sir *Rufus asking* if she were ill (Henry James).

In such instances grammarians of to-day, with rhetoric and logic in mind, advise a remodeling of the sentence.

III.

Distinctive notation of time is not a fundamental function of the verb: it is only a convenient excrescence that has grown upon the verb. In Latin, inflection of the verb, to express time, grew to considerable proportions, and there developed out of it a set of rules governing the sequence of tenses. The view of time-relations in English has perhaps in some instances been biased by the Latin. In complex sentences, untrammelled English enjoys great license in the combination of tenses (see ‘English Language,’ Lounsbury, p. 325). The infinitive, which with the Gerund expresses only kind of time, not order of time, shows equal freedom. Compare the following:

I . . . *thought to have begged*, or *bought*, what I have took (Shakespeare).—Here *was* enough *to have infected* the whole city (Jonson).—*Was I to have* never *parted* from thy side! (Milton).—I *intended* only *to have teased* him three days and a half (Sheridan).—I *trusted* nevermore *to have beheld* thee (Coleridge).—His attendance . . . *was* assiduous enough *to have pleased* even his father (Lewes).—I *was* not to make a noise. I *had* little inclination *to have done* so (Lamb).

It is manifest in all these cases that the standard of time-reference, governing the selection of the tense, is the time when the speaker utters the sentiment, not the time of the main verb, which in Latin should control subordinate tenses. This peculiar-

ity may be, according to the grammarians, bad form, but it appears and re-appears with such insistence that it must be noticed; and, if it is due to something in the constitution of the language, it is bound to win its way. The Gerund, an infinitive in *-ing*, not only shares the infinitive's freedom in this regard, but goes beyond it; for the infinitive is, on the average, more closely connected with the verb, and hence the question of time-relation to it would more naturally arise. But the question of time seems with the Gerund to be farther in the background, and must be, the more strongly its noun nature is emphasized. In 'There *is* no *denying* it,' 'There *was* no *denying* it,' the idea of time in the Gerund seems as faint as in the verbal noun in 'There *is* a *ringing* of bells,' 'There *was* a *ringing* of bells.' When the Gerund is dependent upon a noun, its kind of time may be determined by the time implied in the noun, as will be seen below—

Let me repeat, at the *risk* of *appearing* impertinently superfluous in protestation, that I have never written . . . (Swinburne).—A virtuous young man, misguided by false information, has been led into the *folly* of *committing* a peculiarly cruel and cold-blooded murder (*Ibid.*).—Yet you deserve the *praise* of *having been* constant, in your poetic practice, to your poetic principles (Andrew Lang).—This will disappoint you, who had 'a *passion* for *reforming* it' (*Ibid.*).—There was a *plan* of his *coming* to see them again later in the winter (Henry James).—He was tempted to express a *suspicion* of her *having broken* his confidence (Dickens).—He rose as he spoke; leaving that good man not quite free from a *sense* of *having been foiled* in the exercise of his familiar weapon (*Ibid.*).

Maetzner declares, in his 'Englische Grammatik' (III, 84), that the effort of modern grammarians to exclude from the form in *-ing*, accompanied by the article or a "possessive pronoun," a following object, that is, in this case to preserve pure the character of the substantive, is not shared by usage; while Prof. Nichol (University of Glasgow) says, "Before a participle in such cases as 'The cry of the Church's being in danger' the noun may be in the possessive, but it is like a double genitive and it is, therefore, better to say 'of the Church being in danger.'" In order to test the limits of gerund constructions, besides a number of examples gathered at random and those quoted by Maetzner, selections from De Quincey, Macaulay, Lamb, Marryat, Ruskin, Andrew Lang, R. L. Stevenson, Swinburne, J. G.

Holland, Lowell, Henry James, Howells, Cable, Craddock, and Lew Wallace, were carefully searched, and the Gerunds tabulated, with the results given below. Macaulay, De Quincey, Ruskin, Swinburne, Lang, Stevenson, Holland, Lowell, James. Craddock, conform with the constructions given on pages 205-207, and in these selections they do not show a jumble of Gerund and verbal noun, or of Gerund and participle. To this, however, must be added that Howells, Cable, and Wallace rarely deviate. If, accordingly, these ten be taken as an index of the usage of careful writers, it would seem that Nichol is not sustained in his position, and that Maetzner's assertion is true, so far as it concerns the article with the form in *-ing*, only of less critical authors. On this basis, it may then be concluded that the Gerund may occur as subject, object, complement, of a verb, after a preposition, or in apposition; that in any one of these places it may have as noun-adjuncts a noun, or a pronoun, in the Genitive, the adjective *no*, and the verb-adjuncts, adverbials and objects direct and indirect); moreover that it may have noun-adjuncts and verb-adjuncts at the same time; but that further than this the best present usage does not go. The word upon which the Gerund directly depends may give the cue for the time-relation.

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THE USE OF DIMINUTIVES IN *-ING* BY SOME WRITERS IN LOW GERMAN DIALECTS.

William Heyse places as a motto on the title-page of his 'Mecklenbörger Burhochtid' the following lines :

En Volk aohn Schart,
Aohn Klink un Klank,
Dat is en Busch
Aohn Vaogelsank.

Certain languages and dialects all over the world—Catalan, Italian, German, Algonkian—relieve themselves from the charge that each is "a bush where no birds sing", by presenting a peculiar development of diminutives, which gives the speech a noticeable "Klink un Klank".

To discuss the use of diminutives in the various English, Continental Low German, High German, and Scandinavian dialects would indeed be a long task, and such is not the writer's present intention. Nor does he wish here to enter deeply into the phonetics and history of suffixes and the related questions of morphology and philology.¹

Michael Richey, speaking of the dialect of Hamburg, says :²

Unsere *Diminutiva* formiren sich sehr selten nach dem Hoch-Teutschen *lein*. Man findet zwar *Kindelyn* für Kindlein, *Röselyn* für Röselein, und wenige dergleichen. Am gemeinesten aber machen wir die Verkleinerung durch *ke* und *ken*, wie die Hoch-Teutschen durch *chen*. Z. E. *Ahlke*, Adelheidchen; *Trynke*, Trienchen; *Bröerken*, Brüderchen; *Hüsken*, Häuschen; *Köppken*, Köpffchen; *Mündken*, Mundchen; *Männken*, Männchen, U. S. W.—Weil aber die Holländische Mund-Art mit des Hamburgischen sich sehr vermischt, und die Nieder-Länder an

¹ Especially interesting for the study of Diminutives are : Skeat, 'Principles of English Etymology,' First Series, 1887, pp. 220-4, for English; Traut G. und Van der Jagt J., 'Niederländische Grammatik.' Leipzig, 1888., S. 43-44, 47; and Winkler, J., "Gesch. d. niederl. Sprache", in Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philol.*, I., S. 482, for Dutch. See, also, Winkler, 'Algemeen nederduitsch un friesch Dialecticon', 1874. I., 355, 358.

² 'Idioticon Hambvrgense' oder Wörter-Buch, Zur Erklärung der eigenen, in und um Hamburg gebräulichen, Nieder-Sächsischen Mund-Art. Jetzo vielfältig vermehret, und mit Anmerckungen und Zusätzen Zweener berühmten Manner, nebst einem Vierfachen Anhang, ausgefertigt von Michael Richey, P. P. Hamburg, 1754. lii. 480 S; s. s.—398.

stat des *k* ein *j* in Verkleinerungen brauchen, so sprechen viele Hamburger für Hertzchen, *Hartjen*; biszchen, *btjen*; Kindchen *Kindjen*; Kleidchen, *Kleedjen*. Endiget sich das Wort selbst auf ein *n* oder *r*, so tritt ein *t* dazwischen. Z. E. Männchen, *Manntjen*; Hühnchen, *Höhntjen*; Töchterchen, *Dochtertjen*; Susannchen, *Sanntje*; Steinchen, *Steentjen*.

A selection of the 'Plattdeutsche Gedichte' of Franz Bockel was published in 1879, edited with an introduction by Wilhelm Röseler. In this volume,³ Bockel, who was a native of Kloster-sande bei Elmshorn, seems to prefer the diminutive suffix *-jen* (sometimes *-chen*) with an occasional *-je* or *-jen*. *Lütt* and *lüttje* (little) with substantives are quite common and *jung* is at times similarly used. Diminutives in *-ing* are rare; a few nouns in *-ling*, such as *Sösling* are found.

In 'Feldblom'⁴ by Jürgen Friedrich Ahrens, a few diminutives in *-chen*, *-jen*, *-je* occur, and one or two coin-names in *-lnk*. Ahrens seems, however, to employ almost exclusively the adjective *lütt*, *lüttje* with a substantive. Amongst the poems in 'Feldblom' are "De lüttje Feldmus" and "Wi sünd söben," translations of Burns' "To a Mouse," and Wordsworth's "We are Seven."

In order to show the characteristic difference in the use of diminutives, I give here the first, fourth, and sixth stanzas of Burns' poem and the corresponding version of Ahrens:

Wee, sleekit, cowrin', tim'rous beastie,
Oh, what a panic's in thy breastie!
Thou needna start awa' sae hasty,
Wi' hick'r ng brattle!
I wad be laith to rin and chase thee,
Wi' murd'ring pattle!

Thy wee bit housie, too, in ruin!
Its silly wa's the win's are strewin'!
And naething now to big a new ane
O' foggage green!
And bleak December's winds ensuin',
Baith snell and keen!

That wee bit heap o' leaves and stibble
Has cost thee mony a weary nibble!
Now thou's turned out for a' thy trouble,
But house or hauld,
'To thole the winter's sleety dribble,
And cranneuch cauld!

Ach du lütt klokes drollig Thier,
Di kloppt vör Angst dat Hart wol schier,
Du bisters rüm, as wlszt du hier
Nich ut un in;
Ik do di nix, du lüttjes Thier,
Dat weer jo Sünn!

Nu is Din lüttjes Hus to Schann,
Un nie to bu'n, dat giet ni an,
De Wind de weiht so kold di an
De Tid is slech,
De rusige Roverhermann
Blas Allens weg.

Wi ängstlich spaddelst Du lütt' Thier
Nu m'n de kahlen stoppeln hier,
Mi's bang'n doch, Du verklaamst noch
schier
In Küll un Frost;
Keen Korn un Kröm'n int ganz Revier
As—Hungerkost!

³ 'Franz Bockel's ausgewählte Gedichte.' Für die Freunde dieses Volksmannes herausgegeben von Wilhelm Röseler. Erster Band. Plattdeutsche Gedichte. Hamburg, 1879. 8vo, vi, 142 S.

⁴ 'Feldblom.' Plattdeutsche Gedichte von Jürgen Friedrich Ahrens. Hamburg, 1874. 8vo, 132 S.

In 1889 appeared the second edition of Franz Grabe's 'Ut ole un nee Tieden.'⁵ He has a decided preference for *lütt*, *lüttje*, with a noun. He uses also the diminutives *-ken* (*-ke*), *je* (*-jen*), besides occasionally *-sche(n)* and High German *-chen* and *-lein*.

In the Bremen Dictionary,⁶ published by the bremische deutsche Gesellschaft, we meet with the suffix *-ken* most frequently; others are *-ke*, *-je*, *-jen*, *-lin* (H. G. *-lein*) and a few in *-ing*, *-ling*. The low German version of Reynard the Fox,⁷ curiously enough, contains but few diminutives. There is a rather frequent use of the adjective *kleen* (H. G. *klein*) with substantives, corresponding to the employment of *lütt* elsewhere. Of suffixes *-ken* is most common; *-ke*, *-je*, *-ing*, *-ling* occur here and there.

A Dictionary of the Low German dialect of the principalities of Göttingen and Grubenhagen was published in 1858 by Georg Schambach,⁸ Rector of the Pro-Gymnasium at Einbeck.

The favorite suffix appears to be *-ken*; *-ke*, *-je*, *-chen*, *-schen* are also found. There are a very large number of words in *-ing* and *-ling*, in not all of which, however, these suffixes have preserved their full diminutive force. There is a marked tendency towards the formation of names of animals, birds, insects, plants, etc., in *-ing*, *-ling*. See *s. v.* *Engerling*, *Estling*, *Hemperling*, *Hesling*, *Iserling*, *Keserling*, etc. The suffix *-ling* is also used in names of articles of clothing, as *Beinling*, *Patling*, etc.

Of adverbs we have *piperlings*, (frisch hervor quellend und in einem Strahl, nicht tropfenweise, herablaufend); *sächtken*, the diminutive of *sacht*; so also *lts'ken* (leise), etc.

From Westphalia we have the work of Lyra,⁹ the second popular edition of which appeared in 1856. The prevailing suffix is *-ken*. Others are *-ke*, *-lein*, and occasionally *-ing*, (*-ink*), *-ling* as true diminutive suffixes. The use of diminutives of proper names such as: *Tri M'ri Lieschen* is noticeable.

5 'Ut ole un nee Tieden.' Plattdütsche Geschichten un Gedichten von Franz Grabe. Zweite Ausgabe. Hamburg, 1889. 8vo. 160 S.

6 'Bremisch-niedersächsisches Wörterbuch' herausgegeben von der bremischen deutschen Gesellschaft. Zweite Ausgabe. Bremen, 1886. 8vo. 424 S.

7 'Reineke Voss.' Plattdeutsch nach der Lülbecker Ausgabe von 1498 bearbeitet von Karl Tannen, mit einer Vorrede von Dr. Klaus Groth. Bremen, 1861. 280 S.

8 'Wörterbuch der niededeutschen Mundart der Fürstenthümer Göttingen und Grubenhagen oder Göttingisch-Grubenhagen'sches Idiotikon' gesammelt und bearbeitet von Georg Schambach, Rector des Progymnasiums zu Einbeck. Hannover, 1858. 8vo, xvi, 323 S.

9 'Plattdütsche Briefe, Erzählungen und Gedichte, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Sprichwörter und eigenthümliche Redensarten des Landsvolks in Westphalen'; von F. W. Lyra. Zweite wohlfeile Ausgabe. Osnabrück, 1856. xxi, 204 S.

Graf Wolf Baudissin¹⁰ published in 1878 a volume of tales and poems in the Holstein dialect. He uses characteristically the adjective *lütt, lüttje* with a substantive. Of suffixes, *-ken, -schn, -chn, -jen, -en*, with an occasional *-len*, (H. G. *-lein*) *-ing* and *-ling* are found. His employment of diminutives of proper names as: *Fiekn* (Sophiechen) is worthy of note.—In “Twee Lustspeeln,” by Franz Rehder,¹¹ we find the same general use of the adjective *lütt*. The suffixes *-je, -schen, -ing, -lein*, (H. G.) are used once or twice.—The same remarks apply to “Neendörp”,¹² by J. Krohn, who calls himself “een slichden Landmann.”

Klaus Groth,¹³ the “Low German Burns,” shows in both prose and verse a distinct tendency to prefer the adjective *lütt, lüttje* with a substantive. Of diminutives he uses most frequently *-ken* and *-jen*; also *-schen, -je, -tje* (*Antje-Annchen*), *-ling, -link, -en* (*Pöppen-Päppchen*). There is no marked use of *-ing*. Groth’s dialect is Northditmarsh. His “Hans Schander” one of the poems in ‘Quickborn’, is an imitation of Burns’ “Tam ’o Shanter.”

Boysen van Nienkarken,¹⁴ whose native place is Nienkarken (Neuenkirchen) in Northditmarsh is sparing in his use of diminutives proper, preferring to use the adjective *lütt, lüttje* with the nonn, sometimes with the diminutive (for example, *en lüttjet Imken*). His most frequent diminutive is *-je*. He uses also *-jen, -ke, -ken, sche, -schen, -liin* (-H. G. *lein*). Diminutives in *-ing* (for example, *Geling Goldammer*) are rare; a few in *-link, -ling*, chiefly coin-names, are found.

Dr. Th. Prining¹⁵ in his very interesting collection of short stories, ‘Snack un Snurren ut de Spinnstuv’ uses diminutives in about the same way as Groth. Only a few in *-ing* and *-ling* are found. An interesting word used by him is *Punje* (Gaul)—English *pony* (?) Although Piening gives (S. 273-297) a brief

¹⁰ ‘Enige plattdütsche Vertelln un Rymels’ von Graf Wolf Baudissin. Braunschweig. 1878. vi. 210 S.

¹¹ “Twee Lustspeeln” von Franz Rehder Kiel [1878]. 46 S.

¹² “Neendörp.” Plattdütsche Rymels von J. Krohn. Hamborg, 1856. ii, 46 S.

¹³ a. ‘Quickborn’, Erster Theil. Sechszehnte, vermehrte Auflage. Berlin, 1891. xii, 320 S.

b. ‘Ut min Jungsparadies, dree Vertelln.’ Berlin, 1876. S. 104.

c. ‘Vertelln. Plattdeutsche Erzählungen.’ [Erster Band] Kiel 1855. 154 S. Zweiter Band, Kiel, 1858. 243 S.

¹⁴ ‘Leeder und Stückschen in Ditmarscher Platt.’ Leipzig, 1865. xii, 332 S.

¹⁵ ‘Snack un Snurren ut de Spinnstuv.’ Plattdeutsche Dorfgeschichten in Ditmarscher Mundart. Hamburg, 1858. 8vo. 325 S.

grammatical sketch of his dialect he does not discuss diminutives.

Johann Meyer, a native of Wilster, in Schleswig-Holstein, has published many works in the Ditmarsh dialect.¹⁶ He agrees with Groth and Boysen in their preference for *lütt, lüttje* with the noun, even when the latter is already diminutive in form. His most frequently used suffix is *-ken*. He employs also *-schen, -jen, -je, -en* (*Pöppen, Mäden*), with an occasional High German *-chen* and *-lein*. Diminutives in *-ing* are very rare: a few coin-names in *-ing* and *-link, -ling* are employed.

The beautiful poems of Ferdinand Weber,¹⁷ a physician of Kiel, whose death occurred in 1860, were edited by his friend Klaus Groth, in the following year. With regard to diminutives, his use is the same as that of Groth. But one diminutive in *-ing* (*Schillink*) and a few in *-schen* are to be found in his book.

The seventh edition of Wilhelm Bornemann's "Plattdeutsche Gedichte",¹⁸ edited by Carl Bornemann, was published in 1868, the first having appeared rather more than half a century before. The dialect is Altmärkisch. With Bornemann the suffix *-ken* is overwhelmingly preponderant, even in proper names. A few examples in *-kin, -chen, -en, -schen, -len* (H. G. *-lein*) occur. Very few diminutives in *-ing* and *-ling* are found. Worthy of note is the diminutive adverb in *-ken*, as in the following:

Denn got ick är ut unse Lamp
Aer sächtken bitchen Throan herrun.

Friedrich Ernst,¹⁹ the author of a little volume of poems, describes himself thus: "Ick bin en Ollmärker, ut Stendel, unn kann ook Pladdütsch reden, as Ji allhoop hier sehn." Here again, *-ken* is the favorite suffix. Isolated cases of *-schen, -lein* (H. G. *-lein*) *-ing* are found, the latter, as is the case with other authors, being most frequently words in which the diminutive sense is no longer felt.

16 a. 'Ditmarscher Gedichte.' Plattdeutsche Poesien in ditmarscher Mundart von Johann Meyer, Erster Band. Hamburg, 1858. iv, 234 S. Zweiter Band. Hamburg. 1859. vi, 215 S.

b. 'Gröndunnersdag bi Eckernför.' Eine episch-lyrische Dichtung in ditmarscher Mundart von Johann Meyer. Leipzig, 1873. v, 127 S.

c. 'Plattdeutscher Hebel.' Eine freie Uebersetzung der Hebel'schen alemannischen Gedichte von Johann Meyer. Zweite Auflage. Hamburg, 1878. xii, 290 S.

17 'Plattdeutsche Gedichte' von Ferdinand Weber herausgegeben von Klaus Groth. Kiel, 1861. xxiii, 100 S.

18 'Wilhelm Bornemann's Plattdeutsche Gedichte' herausgegeben von Carl Bornemann. Siebente Auflage. Berlin, 1868. 8vo, xii, 296 S.

19 'Pladdütsche Gedichte' von Friedrich Ernst. Berlin, 1847. viii, 152 S.

In the poems of Gustav Jung,²⁰ of Priegnitz, which are dedicated to Bornemann, very few diminutives are found: *-ken* (most frequently) *-chen*, *-schen*, and one or two in *-ing*, *-ling*.

An examination of Danneil's "Altmärkisch Dictionary,"²¹ shows practically the same use of diminutives as indicated in the works of Bornemann and Ernst.—In the Grammars of Nerger²² and Marahrens²³ there is no special notice of diminutives, but Dr. Julius Wiggers²⁴ devotes section 47 of his Grammar to a consideration of the subject. He says:

"Die Hauptendung für die Diminutivbildung ist *-ing*, nur für gewisse Substantive kommt die Endung *-ken* zur Anwendung."²⁵

Examples:

A.—a. *Säning* from *sän*, son.

b. With Umlaut: *Hünding* (pron. *hünning*) from *Hund*, dog; *Schäping* from *schap*, sheep; *Köpping* from *koop*, head.

c. Proper names with Umlaut: *Körling* from *Korl*, Charles.

B.—Substantives in *-en* and *-er* lose this suffix before taking on the diminutive ending *-ing*. Examples: *'n beting* from *'n beten*, a bit; *'n köking* from *'n koken*, a cake; *'n drüpping* from *'n druppen*, a drop; *döchting* from *dochter*, daughter; *vädning* from *vader*, father; *Jöching* from *Jochen*, Joachim.

In this dialect not alone substantives, but also adjectives and adverbs, take the diminutive suffix. Thus: *flinking*, quickly; *swinding*, swiftly; *sachting*, gently; *söting*, sweet; *olding*, old.

Adjectives in the diminutive form are used as substantives. For example: *mien leewing*, my love; *mien söting*, my sweet one.

²⁰ 'Gedichte in Plattdeutscher Mundart' von Gustav Jung, aus der Priegnitz. Berlin, 1855. vi, 184 S.

²¹ 'Wörterbuch der altmärkisch-plattdeutschen Mundart' von Johann Friedrich Danneil. Salzwedel, 1859. v, 299 S.

²² 'Grammatik des Mecklenburgischen Dialektes älterer und neuerer Zeit. Laut- und Flexionslehre.' Gekrönte Preisschrift von Karl Nerger. Leipzig, 1869. xii, 195 S.

²³ 'Grammatik der plattdeutschen Sprache. Zur Würdigung, zur Kunde des Characters und zum richtigen Verständniss derselben.' Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Aug. Marahrens. Altona, 1858. iv, 5-128 S.

²⁴ Grammatik der plattdeutschen Sprache. In Grundlage der Mecklenburgisch-Vorpommerschen Mundart.' Von Dr. Julius Wiggers. Zweite Auflage. Hamburg, 1858. xi, 111 S.

²⁵ S. 95.

In familiar speech the use of these diminutives in *-ing* is widespread. Dr. Wiggers observes :

“Schon im gewöhnlichen Leben finden diese Diminutivbildungen eine ausgbreitete Anwendung, in der fessellosen Sprache der Wärterinnen und ihrer Nachahmer in der Conversation mit Kindern ist der Gebrauch derselben ein unbegrenzter und auf alle Redetheile sich erstreckender” (S. 95).

Frehse's Vocabulary to Fritz Reuter's works²⁶ gives the following among other examples :

<i>Döchting</i> ,	diminutive of <i>Dochter</i> ,	daughter.
<i>Dirning</i> ,	“	“ <i>Dirn</i> , girl.
<i>Kinning</i> ,	“	“ <i>Kind</i> , child.
<i>Möding</i> ,	“	“ <i>Moder</i> , mother.
<i>Ohming</i> ,	“	“ <i>Ohm</i> , uncle.
<i>Päding</i> ,	“	“ <i>Päd</i> , god-parent.
<i>Nawersching</i> ,	“	“ <i>Nawersch</i> , neighbor (fem.).
<i>Hanning</i> ,	“	“ <i>Hanne</i> , John.
<i>Jöching</i> ,	“	“ <i>Jochen</i> , Joachim.
(<i>Kri</i>) <i>schaning</i> ,	“	“ <i>Krischan</i> , Christian.
(<i>Frede</i>) <i>riking</i> ,	“	“ <i>Frederike</i> , Frederica.

Worthy of note is the diminutive *Schäuking*, from *Schau*, a shoe. The tendency to use diminutives in *-ken* seems to be rather more marked in Fritz Reuter than in Heyse. Reuter uses adverbs and and adjectives (diminutive) in *-ing*, and also diminutive pronouns of the second person, *Duking*, etc.

Wilhelm Heyse, in his ‘De Meklenbörger Burhochtid,’²⁷ gives us the best examples of the persistent use of *-ing*. Some of his pages fairly bristle with them. The most frequently occurring are: *Väöding*, *Döchting*, *Möding*, *Stirning*, *Dirning*, *Köpping*, and of proper names the following: *Hanning*, (*Kri*)*schäoning*, *Frittsing*, *Körling*, *Jöching*. Heyse also uses the adjective *lütt* with the noun, and phrases like *lütt Dirning* are not uncommon in his pages. Of adjective-nouns employs *Leewing* and its compounds: *Hartleewing*, *Hartallerleewing*. The form *Frücking* is note-worthy. Of adjectives and adverbs Heyse uses, amongst others, the following :

Balling (S. 81) ; fixing (S. 8, 55, 79, 80) ; göding (S. 14, 135) ;

²⁶ ‘Wörterbuch zu Fritz Reuter's Werken Plattdeutscher Mundart.’ N. Y. [1882]. 65 S.

²⁷ ‘De Meklenbörger Burhochtid un Rosmarin un Ringelblomen. Berlin, 1862. viii, 213 S.

hilding, (S. 32, 63, 74, 76, 79); lising, (S. 186, 202); runding (S. 3, 76, 162. 162); sachting (S. 74, 151); söting (S. 135); swinning (S. 132); witting (S. 153). In a foot-note to page 55, Heyse remarks: "Die plattd. Sprache bildet nicht nur von Adject. und Substant. Diminut.; sondern auch von Adv. und Imperativen."

An examination of a dictionary of the Mecklenburg-Pomeranian dialect²⁸ shows a similar use of *-ing* especially in proper names, such as: *Fritzing* (Friedrich), *Hanning* (Hans), *Jöching* (Joachim), *Lining* (Karoline), *Lehning* (Helene), *Luting* (Ludwig), *Wising* (Louise). The dropping of the first syllable, as seen in *Wising* and other proper names, occurs sometimes with common nouns, for example: *Sichting*, from *Gesicht* (face).

Babst,²⁹ one of the older writers belonging to Schwerin, uses by preference the suffixes *-ken* and *-schen*, rarely *-chen* and *-ln*. He uses in a few cases *-ling* and *ing*.

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The result of our examination of the use of *-ing* as a diminutive suffix is to show that it is used most frequently and commonly in the dialect of Mecklenburg by Reuter, Heyse, and other writers, and that its employment in the other dialects considered seems much less extensive. In another paper the writer hopes to study the semasiological relations of this prefix.

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²⁸ 'Wörterbuch der Mecklenburgisch-Vorpommerschen Mundart' von Mi. Leipzig 1876. 8vo. ii, 111 S.

²⁹ 'Allerhand schnaksche Saken tum Tiedverdriew.' Awers Währheiten, ümm sick, meeto to speegeln in unse Modersprak', van Diederich Georg Babst. Im Auszug auf's Neue herausgegeben. Rostock u. Schwerin, 1843. vi, 312 S.

IGNORED RESOURCES OF FRENCH LITURATURE.

It is with much hesitation that I venture to speak to you on a subject which many of you understand better than I do; the only excuse I offer is, the profound regret with which I notice the indifference concerning French literature.

Circumstances have led me to consider deeply the resources of French literature as a substitute for Greek. I was at Smith College while the establishment of the Literary course was under consideration, and I was one of the committee for collecting information. Later, as head of the French department in the college, correspondence relating to candidates in that language passed through my hands. Since leaving Smith College, questions concerning translations of books, and preparations for higher degrees, have kept the matter before my mind.

There are three natural divisions to the subject: 1st, preparation for college; 2d, collegiate work and preparation for higher degrees; 3d, literary value outside of college.

First. French as equivalent for Greek. An equivalent must present parallel or compensating results in order to justify its title. As matters now stand, are the requirements in French an equivalent for the Greek? I unhesitatingly answer "No, they offer no valid compensation." The Greek requires a grammar, which, in its logical and organic development, is an unconscious mental training; the history of a nation whose life is a mighty drama; practice in composition and prosody which acts as mental gymnastics putting it at its lowest level; and the *Anabasis* and *Iliad*, that open to the youthful mind vistas of many-sided humanity, of heroic alertness, heroic patriotism, noble daring, dauntless sacrifice,—priceless lessons to the youth about to be swept into the selfish struggle for success. True, teacher or pupil may miss the lessons; but they are there, plain enough, so that a way-faring man, though a fool, need not err therein. How is it with the equivalent? You know, as well as I, that, although colleges differ in their requirements, I state the general condition in saying that grammar, history, composition and prosody are reduced to

a minimum. As for the *Anabasis* and the *Iliad*, what substitutes do we require? Gratefully I acknowledge the presence, here and there, of a sterling bit of literature, but the greater part of the reading is made up of novels and society plays.

What is the modern *raison d'être* of college study? Not the mere accident of entrance and sequence of graduation, but the training, the development of intelligence. It is mental calibre we need, and I do honestly believe that, as things now are, the boy or girl who enters college on a French equivalent, generally enters college with less mental development than the one who enters on classical requirements. But, you may ask, is that necessarily the case? Just as unhesitatingly as before I answer, "No, it is not necessary"; the scholar might get a mental training that would compensate the classical requirement.

The ignored resources in grammar of the French language amaze me,—not the mechanical recitation of rules; but the intelligent perception of the forms of thought. Take such subjects as the force of adverbs, the use of pronouns, the harmony and differentiation of tenses, the reasoning necessary for the discrimination of negatives, the agreement of participles, and the use of subjunctives. Let a pupil seek in the grammar the genius of the people, and contrast it with his own race. Grammar will then cease to be dry as dust; it will become live as life. The nation that makes its participles agree with the regimen preceding, is a nation that aims at clearness of relations. A nation that insists upon the subjunctive, is a nation that recognizes its own limitations and the possible rights of others. It has for years been my custom to make classes translate French subjunctive forms into equivalent English.

It was interesting to notice their growing perception that the indicative is the natural expression of a mind, dogmatic and dictatorial; the subjunctive the natural expression of a mind, conciliatory, just, cognizant of human fallibility. In English you may say, "It is the most beautiful picture I have ever seen"; in French you say, "C'est le plus beau tableau que j'aie jamais vu",—subjunctive, because you cannot have seen all pictures, or remembered all the pictures you have seen, or be sure your taste is correct; and, because, also, you have no right to impose your opinion on others. A French critic, speaking of a certain author, characterized him as "*trop à l'indicatif*." Persons may, not

unjustly, be classed under the subjunctive or the indicative type,—those who can, and those who cannot put themselves in other people's places.

Dr. Shefloe spoke of the love the inhabitants of the Channel Islands bear to the French language ; he will find the same thing true wherever that language has taken root ; it is so impregnated with the recognition of humanity, that no people, having once spoken it, adapt themselves cheerfully to another. Still further, that quality in French character which requires subjunctive expressions may perhaps explain the fact, that the Frenchman met the Indian in the New World with so ready a recognition of individuality that the Indian became henceforth partisan of the French. It may also afford a clue to the fact that the bitterest French animosities are aroused by those who may be called indicative types, those who do not perceive the limitations of others.

“ Still harping ” on the subjunctive, I am reminded that a pupil who had studied Greek, said to me, as we were considering some French subjunctive expressions, “ Why, it *thinks* like the Greek.” She had caught a significant feature of the language ; though the structure differs from the Greek, the informing thought is similar. But to bring out this parallelism, this compensation, the teacher should himself be aware of it ; should, as Dr. Babbitt suggests, know both languages. Nor must he confound grammar with philology ; he must recognize grammar as organic. Grammar is to the language what the bones are to the body,—healthy bone in a living body, though ; not decaying bone in a dead body.

Secondly, how is it, once in college ? At present, with some exceptions, the changes are rung on novels, society plays, occasionally a play of Victor Hugo, or of some author of the time of Louis XIV., or a bit of old French. A nation possessing one of the richest, most spontaneous, original, thoughtful and artistic literatures, is represented either by its weakest elements, or by isolated fragments ! Seldom does the student obtain a harmonious insight of the history, the range of thought, or the lyric power of France.

What can be done to remedy this contradiction ? No rules can be laid down. You can doubtless improve much on my simple experiments. While in Smith College I used Demogeot's

literature for its style and certain mistakes ; the style would filter through the minds of the pupils ; the mistakes gave subjects of discussion. Corneille, Racine, Molière were contrasted with Victor Hugo, Lamartine and De Musset.

For a novel I once gave 'Un Cheval de Phidias', by Cherbuliez. An elective on Greek art given in French proved a great success ; the class studying Berkeley in English took up Pascal's 'Pensées' at the same time. The higher I put my standard, keeping sympathy alive, the better results followed. As time was limited, less attention was paid to pronunciation ; more to fluency and accuracy of speech and diction ; most to perception of ideas. Lyric poetry proved invaluable. It is more Greek than any other kind of poetry. A realization of this induced me to make the imperfect little collection, 'La Triade Française', for my pupils.

As to requirements for advanced degrees, let me give a recent experience. A person consulted me upon works to read for second degree, French being one of the studies to be offered. The subject suggested by the college was "Recent French Criticism of Fiction"; the authors given were Sainte-Beuve, Guy de Maupassant, Zola, Daudet, Balzac. "Is that all?" I asked. "All." "Was nothing said of Brunetière, Montégut, Shérer, Caro?" "No." "Nothing of George Sand, Cherbuliez, Nodier, Theuriet?" "No." "Well, you must read in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—" "Oh, but the *Revue* is too hard for me ; I cannot read that. Give me something easier." "Something *easier* for your purpose" said I—"I do not know of anything ; it seems as if the college, yourself and the degree were at cross purposes." Please notice that I leave Philology aside, speaking only of literature ; and that I hold a nation's literature should be studied in its own language.

Thirdly, what is the attitude *outside* of college ? You will probably think I belong to the indicative type when I say,—the attitude is generally one of ignorance, indifference or misconception. Translations are read rather than originals. These translations are often of second-rate, even of third and fourth-rate authors. As if English literature were to be judged in France by translations of Dime Novels or Mrs. Southworth's productions! Even when really good authors are selected, the Italian expression "translator, traitor" might be used, Grammar is placidly

ignored; subjunctives are impertinences, for English has so little subjunctive; therefore, Taine is made to lay down dogmatic decisions, where he simply expressed personal opinions; verbs agree with accusatives or nominatives; and as to participles, toss up for the agreement, seems to be the practice. Once in a while we meet a translation that surprises us by its truthfulness, as Lescadio Hearn's rendering of 'Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard', or Andrew Lang's versions of lyrics. In the main, the fate of 'Mon Oncle et mon Curé' and 'La Morte' is the fate of novelist, poet, historian and philosopher.

The mere *meaning* of words is disregarded. A popular collection of tales renders "soupe au *lard*," by "soup of lard" not *bacon*—a mistake inexcusable for thoughtlessness, yet fairly representing the standard. The requirements for college, the work in college, influence public opinion; little is looked for, little is found. Mr. James writes on George Sand, mixes up the plots of several novels, and draws curious conclusions, that are accepted. Zola is extolled as a great artist here, while in France he is contemned. Persons, who know I read as much French as English, often ask: "Do you not find it difficult to find good French books?" My assurance that there are quite as many good ones as in English, and that the style is apt to be better, is usually received with astonishment, and a reference to "French novels." We hear much about the realistic, naturalistic schools in France; how about those in England, Germany and America? Frankly, I do not believe in those so-called schools; I believe we rise or fall according to our likes or dislikes—we *find* in the main what we *seek*. But, granted such a literature, I prefer the development which represents the natural outcome of vice, not vice condoned by sentiment. The logical French mind perceives that Tom Jones will certainly receive the penalty of his way of life, and that Sophia Weston's affection will change to contempt, unless blinded by sentimentality or coarseness. We must honestly say that French writers have not made vice *attractive*, however exactly they paint it; whereas, in English, too often, vice is either made comfortable or is condoned. No French author would have used Hardy's expression "A pure woman faithfully portrayed" for 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles.' There is a grim savageness in Guy de Maupassant that may remind you of a wild animal, but not of a wolf in sheep's clothing. Please

understand that, throughout, I compare English and French novelists of *equal mental calibre*. Pardon that long digression.

What shall I say of our marvellous lyrics,—symphonies which touch all chords of humanity? What of the revelations of art, the discoveries in history, the researches in science, wise criticisms, broad sympathy with nature and man, that makes the French literature to-day the nearest approach to Greek literature of the age of Pericles? Do you think I claim too much? Test yourselves with one artery of French literature,—the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. If you find that difficult or dry, may it not be possible that your knowledge of French is not sufficient for you to judge impartially between it and English literature? It seems egotistic to present this matter to you who know so much more than I do. Let me plead the fable of the mouse and the lion. It happens that I, the mouse, have been brought up in equal knowledge of the two literatures from childhood; while you, the lions, have been roaming over wider tracts, and, perhaps, distance may have lent illusion, instead of enchantment, to the view. Whether you deem me right or wrong, if these weak remarks call forth, anywhere, a more energetic, more penetrating, more responsive study of French literature, I shall indeed be content.

LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSEN.

BROOKLYN.





THE
MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA.

Proceedings at Washington,
Dec. 28, 29, 30, 31, 1891.

EDITED BY
A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT

Secretary of the Association.

BALTIMORE:
PUBLISHED BY THE MOD. LANG. ASSOCIATION
1892.



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Modern Language Association of America.

The Ninth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held at Columbian University, Washington, D. C., on December 28, 29, 30 and 31, 1891.

FIRST SESSION.

On Monday evening, Dec. 28, the **First Session** was called to order by the Secretary, in the absence of the *Vice-President* Prof. CHAS. W. KENT (Univ. of Tennessee), and on motion of Prof. JAMES M. GARNETT (Univ. of Virginia), Prof. THEO. W. HUNT (Princeton) was called to the Chair for the evening.

Professor HUNT said :—

In accordance with the program, I have the pleasure of introducing for the Address of Welcome,* President JAMES C. WELLING, of Columbian University.

The next speaker introduced was Hon. A. R. SPOFFORD, who gave an address on "The Characteristics of Style."

At the close of the address the Chairman said :—

We are all greatly indebted, I am sure, to Mr. SPOFFORD, for his able, helpful and fascinating paper, which to my mind so happily illustrates the literary principles which it enunciates.

The program for to-morrow and the following days is printed for us. The time is now come for adjournment; after which there will be opportunity for social intercourse.

The Association then adjourned to meet at ten o'clock on the following day. The members and many of those in attendance

*This address together with that of the Hon. A. R. SPOFFORD, which immediately followed, are published in Vol. vii, No. 2, of the *Publications* of the Association. Other papers presented before this Convention will be found in this and subsequent issues of the *Publications*.

then withdrew to a hall in the university building, where opportunity was offered for becoming acquainted and renewing the greetings of other like occasions.

SECOND SESSION.

The **Second Session** met at ten o'clock A.M., Dec. 29, according to adjournment, Prof. C. W. KENT, *Vice-President*, in the Chair. Prof. KENT said:—

Fellow members of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION: It is now time that we should begin our regular sessions of the Association. I wish to call the Convention to order, and to ask for myself, and for these new duties which have devolved upon me as *Vice-President*, your sympathy and co-operation, and I shall do everything in my power to make the meetings pass off pleasantly and expeditiously.

I now declare the meeting open, and ask for the reading of the Secretary's report.

The following report was read by the Secretary, Prof. A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins):

The Eighth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA was held in University Hall, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., on December 29, 30 and 31, 1890.

On the evening of December 29, Dr. LANDON C. GARLAND, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, delivered an address, which was followed by short extempore speeches from Professor W. R. GARNETT, President of the National Educational Association, by Professors A. N. VAN DAELL, Mass. Institute of Technology, F. C. WOODWARD, South Carolina College and by the Secretary of the Association.

At the opening of the **Second Session** on December 30, a brief report of the proceedings of the Harvard Convention was presented by the Secretary, and this was followed by a succinct statement of the accounts of the Association by the Treasurer, Dr. HENRY A. TODD (Johns Hopkins Univ.). Committees were then appointed as follows:

1. To suggest names of officers for the ensuing year. Prof. WM. M. BASKERVILL, Chairman;
2. To audit Treasurer's Report. Prof. JOHN P. FRUIT, Chairman;
3. To propose place for holding Convention of 1891. Prof. CHARLES H. GRANDGENT, Chairman;
4. To offer resolution commemorative of the deaths of Professors JOHN G. R. McELROY and C. K. NELSON. Prof. EDWARD S. JOYNES, Chairman.

The Convention then proceeded to the reading of papers which were presented at the various session as follows:

1. Some Phases of TENNYSON's 'In Memoriam.'
President HENRY E. SHEPHERD, *College of Charleston, S. C.*;
2. The Spanish Pastoral Romances.
Prof. HUGO ALBERT RENNERT, *Univ. of Penna., Philada.*;
3. Some Dialectic Survivals of Older English in Tennessee.
Prof. CALVIN S. BROWN, *Vanderbilt University, Tenn.*;

4. A Plea for the Study of Literature from the Æsthetic Standpoint.
Prof. JOHN PHELPS FRUIT, *Bethel College, Ky.*;
5. Southern Literature.
Prof. W. M. BASKERVILL, *Vanderbilt University, Tenn.*;
6. The Acadians of Louisiana and their Dialect.
Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER, *Tulane University, La.*;
7. The Translation of the Anglo-Saxon Poetry.
Prof. JAMES M. GARNETT, *University of Virginia*;
8. How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline.
Mr. E. H. BABBITT, *New York City*;
9. The Name Cædmon.
Prof. ALBERT S. COOK, *Yale University, Conn.*;
10. A Methodology of Literary Study for Collegiate Classes.
Prof. R. F. BUTLER, *Woman's College, Baltimore*.

Papers presented for publication:

1. The Riming System of Alexander Pope.
Miss L. M. MCLEAN, *University of California, Berkeley*;
2. The Phonology of the Stressed Vowels in Beowulf.
Mr. CHARLES DAVIDSON, *Belmont, Cal.*

At the opening of the **Fifth Session**, Professor VAN DAELL, Secretary of the Pedagogical Section, submitted a report, in which he moved the appointment of a Committee to propose a Uniform Grammatical Nomenclature for French and German. The motion was carried and Profs. VAN DAELL, COHN, LEARNED, SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG and HOHLFELD were appointed by the President to constitute said Committee. At the close of the Fifth Session reports of Committees were read according to previous appointments, and to these was added the annual statement (for 1890) of the Secretary of the Phonetic Section, Professor C. H. GRANDGENT. The Convention then adjourned, leaving time and place of next meeting to be determined by the Executive Council.

The report was accepted.

The Chairman. We will now hear the reading of the Treasurer's report.

The Secretary. Perhaps all the members of the Association are aware, that our Treasurer, Dr. H. A. TODD, has been called to California, and will not be with us, unfortunately, at this meeting. But on going away he left with me these accounts, together with what has been added to them since. I have here a brief statement.

The Secretary then read the following report of the Treasurer:

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

Cash on hand January 1, 1891.....	\$ 70.89
Receipts for 1891	926.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	996.89
Expenditures during 1891.....	976.57
	<hr/>
Balance on hand January 1, 1892.....	\$ 20.32

The Chairman. The report of the Treasurer will be referred to an auditing committee to be appointed a little later.

The Secretary. I desire next to make an announcement that I have not been able to send out to the members of the Association. I hold in my hand a letter from the Secretary of the Forestry Association, now holding its annual convention in this city, which reads as follows :

AMERICAN FORESTRY ASSOCIATION,

SECRETARY'S OFFICE,

1429 N. Y. Ave., Washington, D. C., DEC. 15, 1891.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT,
Baltimore, Md.

DEAR SIR :

I desire to extend through you the very cordial invitation of our Association to be present at our annual meeting, to be held in accordance with the enclosed programme, to the members of the Modern Language Association.

Very truly yours,

EDW. A. BOWERS,
Sec. Am. Forestry Ass'n.

I have already been fortunate enough to announce to you the cordial invitation of the Cosmos Club of Washington, which extends its privileges during the sessions of the Convention to all members of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION ; and also that of the University Club which is extended for two weeks, beginning with Dec. 21.

It has been my custom at the opening of the Convention to announce to you the progress of the *Publications* of our Association : how much matter has been published during the last year, and the state of our membership. I have thought it wise this year to send out a little list of members of the Association so that you all might have an idea just how we stand so far as this matter is concerned. Last year there was an appeal made in Nashville that our list should be increased on account of the demand for increased publication ; we have added to the list the names of some sixty members ; from about three hundred at our last meeting, we number now about three hundred and sixty members.

The *Publications* of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION (four issues) number about four hundred pages. The *Proceedings* of the last Convention of the Association number about ninety pages, so that we have published this year about five hundred pages.

I may add, that it is still of great importance that our membership should be increased if we wish to meet the demands of publication. These demands have gone beyond our power in the past so far as money is concerned, and we shall have during the next year a still greater drain on our finances.

I may remark in conclusion, that the greater part of what was brought out by our Association was well received by European scholars. I have had various notices sent me of the work, and have

also had the pleasure of speaking to a number of scholars with reference to it. It is gratifying to know that they appreciate our efforts.

The *Vice-President* then appointed the following committees :

1. To suggest names for officers of the Association during the coming year. Prof. J. M. HART, *Chairman* ;
2. On place of meeting for the next Convention. Prof. JAMES M. GARNETT, *Chairman* ;
3. To audit the Treasurer's Report. Prof. J. H. GORE, *Chairman* ;
4. To draw up a memorial on the death of Dr. THOMAS McCABE. Prof. F. M. WARREN, *Chairman*.

The Chairman. Before passing to the next thing in order it is proper for the Association to suggest what time shall be occupied in the reading of papers and by those who discuss them.

Mr. BLACKWELL. I move that the reading of papers be limited to thirty minutes, opening discussions to ten minutes, and all further discussions to five minutes. The motion was agreed to.

It was also moved that Prof. E. A. FAY (Washington) be appointed as Assistant Secretary of this meeting, which motion was agreed to.

The Chairman. The next thing is the reading of papers. I would suggest, for the benefit of the press, that all those gentlemen who take part in the discussion will simply announce themselves as they rise, so that we may know who it is who is taking part in the debate.

The first paper for this morning is that of Prof. T. W. HUNT, of Princeton College, on "James Russell Lowell as a Prose Writer."

Prof. HUNT then read a paper of which the following is an abstract :

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL AS A PROSE WRITER.

Mr. LOWELL's specifically prose works, as given in the recently published Riverside Edition, are as follows :

Literary Essays, four vols.; Political Essays, one vol.; Literary and Political Addresses, one vol.; a posthumous volume has been published—'Latest Literary Essays and Addresses.'

Each of these volumes is, in the best sense, literary, so that, in the examination of Mr. LOWELL's style, this cardinal characteristic is to be ever kept in view.

1. We note, at the outset, the Clearness and Directness of his Prose. His style is signally free from those ordinary violations of structure which we find in too many of the best writers. As he tells us—"Plain words are the best." He is fond of CHAUCER because he is "plain and blunt and speaks to the point." A fertile theme, in this connection, would be LOWELL's use of English. He

speaks of the best writing as that "in which the component parts of English are most exquisitely proportioned one to the other." In view of this fact, Mr. LOWELL's devotion to the study of language assumes a special interest. Seldom, if ever, has there been in our American Colleges so notable an example of a literary linguist. He has a good word for the language-teaching in the earliest history of our colleges in that words were studied for the sake of the ideas which they embodied, making language a "ladder to literature." This diligent study of Old English authors had much to do with the terseness and naturalness of his prose style. He prefers the Age of Elizabeth to that of Anne because it was nearer "the ruddy English heart" of the olden time. His main argument for condemning BYRON was that he was disingenuous. It is this governing desire to be clear that justifies Mr. STEDMAN's eulogium "that a selection of apothegms could be made from it which would be much more to the literary neophyte than a digest of the English prose of any other writer since Landor in his prime."

2. We note, the Grace and Ease of the style before us, that "urbanity" of which Mr. ARNOLD so often speaks. It is fluency in its best form; a consummate freedom of manner and movement; an instinctive union of nature and art, that defies successful imitation. A question of interest arises here, as to the effect of Mr. LOWELL's poetry on his style and habit as a writer of prose.

Mr. WHIPPLE, among others, emphasizes this. While he cannot be said to have made prose subordinate to verse, as MILTON did; or to have made verse subordinate to prose, as MACAULAY did, he may be said so evenly to have divided his ability between them, as BRYANT did, that the effect of each upon the other is normal.

It is thus on the distinctively literary side that his verse affected his prose, in the line of beauty and imagery and genial taste. Much of the resonant movement of his most didactic papers is due to the same source.

In fine, as thus far studied, the prose of Mr. LOWELL is classical, in keeping with nature and art; with time and place; with his own personality and that of his readers. An estimate of our author's character as a literary critic is here in place. Most of his prose is of this critical order.

Certainly, his conception of criticism was just. "The criticism of any work of art" he says "demands not only greater natural abilities but more study than that of an essay in physical science," while he has no word too severe for the writer who "demonstrates how long a man will live after his brains are out." As to knowledge, training, insight and purpose, he had all the possessions of the true critic and also, the ability to utilize and apply them.

We are well aware of difference of opinion at this point, of the charge of lack of breadth, of "lack of balance" and of attempting more than he realizes. It must be urged, however, that Mr. LOWELL

was a literary rather than a psychologic or technical critic; that his prose is not Baconian; that he did not aim at a philosophy of literature, and must be judged from his own point of view.

Reference is also made to his dogmatism as seen in "The Fable for Critics," and in such a production as his review of MASSON's "Life of Milton," while it is justly said by way of rejoinder that, in the main, rebuke was given where it was deserved, that it is one of the critic's functions to expose weakness and that, after all, Mr. LOWELL's chief delight was in the praise of men and books.

3. A final feature of his Prose may be called Vitality. To our mind, this is the strongest element in the style before us.

Everything is bright and quick and crisp, signally free from the inert and indifferent. Often vivacious and brilliant, it is always marked by alertness and mental activity. In his serio-comic papers, this vivacity is at its best and yet frequently seen in his most dispassionate lines. Thus he writes in 'Books and Libraries'—"The first lesson in reading well is that which teaches us to distinguish between literature and merely printed matter." He describes our vernacular as "that wonderful composite called English, the best results of the confusion of tongues." Thus the writing runs, full of wit and raciness; full of life and quickening.

This is not, necessarily, intellectual greatness, but it is mental and literary virility and produces results of power all its own.

What, it is asked, is the final effect, the moral impressiveness of Mr. LOWELL's Prose. To this question, sometimes cynically asked, it may be answered, that there is in his prose the substantial presence of that which is best. No writer could be ethically purer in thought and love. No pages in English are freer from violations of moral standard.

No one can detect in Mr. LOWELL that pronounced despondency which is seen in ARTHUR CLOUGH whom he so admired, nor had he any sympathy with that "mundane" school of letters whose exponents never lift their eyes above the earth.

It is, perchance, as yet, too early to determine our author's exact status in Modern English Prose. That he is, as WHIPPLE says, "one of the most exquisite prose-writers of the century and that, in the domain of polite learning and the elegant arts, he has had no American superior, all just criticism concedes."

His faults and defects he had. Some of his limitations of thought and catholicity are too conspicuous to be concealed, while even in the sphere of style, as an æsthetic art, he, at times, transgressed accepted laws of diction and structure. Still, his work, as a whole, is, in the best sense, finished and commends itself to the judgment and taste of the impartial critic.

Not a creative author, as were GOETHE and EMERSON, his rank and work as an interpretative and suggestive writer is of the highest order.

His highest claims are along distinctly literary lines and, in this respect, he may be compared with MATTHEW ARNOLD and with LANDOR. He was, above all else, a man of books, perfectly at home at his study window. His scholarship was literary. His ambitions were literary.

The best thing that he desired for America was that the character of its authorship might be ever higher, and that the definite trend toward commercialism in art and letters might be reversed. All adverse criticism conceded, it is quite enough to enforce the statement that he stands before the American public and the English-speaking world as one of the supreme literary personalities of the closing century.

The Chairman. I will ask Prof. GARNETT to take the Chair for a few minutes.

Prof. GARNETT (University of Virginia), here took the Chair.

Prof. C. W. KENT. Mr. President and Fellow-members of the Association: So heartily am I interested in the writer whom our learned friend has just discussed, that I rise before you with modesty and abashment, because in some few particulars I shall disagree, not with the judiciously prepared paper to which we have just listened, but with those who have heaped fulsome flattery upon the memory of our deceased president. Believing as thoroughly as does any member of this Association that we have lost in the death of Mr. LOWELL one of the most distinguished, if not the foremost of American writers, I do not see what honor he gains from praise beyond all limits.

This summer when the news of his death came I was in England, and in reading the notices there published, I came across several of the tenor of this one: "There is not lacking in Mr. Lowell's writings, as a whole, a single quality of good style or high literary art." It seems to me that such praise lacks all discrimination. While I believe very heartily that we must consider Mr. LOWELL as one of the most distinguished American men of letters; while we have a right to claim for him an important place on the roll of writers in our English tongue, I do recognize that for the ordinary reader some qualities of Mr. LOWELL's style do detract more or less from its merit. If we can say that in a careful perusal of his writings we have not found a single sentence which seems essentially unclear, I would add for myself that I have found a number of words used in peculiar senses, or at least in senses not well-known to the general reader. I recognize further in the latter years of Mr. LOWELL's life a growing tendency to subject those of his readers who are unacquainted with foreign tongues, to the loss of some point in his sentence or to the

trouble of thumbing their dictionaries to find out his foreign words. If he is to take his place among the masters of English style, as I believe, and to be enjoyed by the reading public, we must look upon his fondness for foreign words as a serious blemish.

It seems to me, too, that though we appreciate his breadth of culture and see in most of his writings true literary finish, we do not discern in him, as in some other writers of our own country, that intensity, vigor and earnestness which drive us to his own convictions. However much I enjoy his writings, I do not feel constrained by force of mind or terseness of expression to accept his conclusions. I feel myself rather floating to these conclusions on periods of grace and beauty that flow on with untrammelled ease and that bear us onward, if we yield ourselves to their rhythmic swing, but in no wise compel resisting minds.

I may add that while this lack of force is apparent in his writings in general, I have not overlooked the inherent force of that culture which he so aptly praised, nor have I failed to note his appreciation of the dynamic stress of individual words. His was a marked capacity for selecting that word which, in his opinion and in ours, best expressed his thought. He had no foolish fear of repeating a good word when it was deliberately chosen.

His brilliancy, which so charms and fascinates us, which, taking his writings through and through, has, perhaps, not been excelled by that of any American author, partakes now and then of the nature of straining for effect. I do not make this charge direct, but a brilliancy that occurs in almost every sentence and dazzles us with its illumination may become tiresome to him, whose mind cannot respond with equal activity to these unremitting plays of mental alertness.

And yet, shall we, nay, can we forget the man, whose standard of art and morality, whose standard of government was so high and lofty, so pure and noble, that, say what we may of his person and say what we may of his style, we can point to his work among us, whether of pen or tongue, as a means of self-culture, as an element in our highest life, and as a mark of our national and literary achievements? Fellow-teachers, as he himself said,

“let it be our hope to make a gentleman of every youth who is put under our charge,—not a conventional gentleman, but a man of culture, a man of intellectual resources, a man of public spirit, a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul.”

Gentlemen, I am not unaware that in this city charges were made against our distinguished citizen with reference to his Americanism. It was said that he had become English. It would be out of place here to refer to this save to say that he who scrutinizes the writings of Mr. LOWELL will find no evidence that his patriotism was not pure, nor detect any sign that his Americanism was aught but elevated and inspiring. The English papers asserted strongly that in those points in which he excelled, he ceased to be an American and became an

Englishman. It seems to me rather that in those points in which he excelled he ceased to belong to any country save that democracy of letters, in which our English tongue is honored. He was a true prince in the realm of literature and a citizen of no narrow and limited confines.

Nowhere do you find a more intense American love for the principles of democracy than appears in some of his addresses delivered in England. He believed that the privileges and opportunities of democracy should produce men better than average men, and in some of his addresses in England he expounded the principles by which our country is to be lifted from the low level of commonplace and saved from the degradation to which, in the eyes of some English and French critics, it is inevitably sinking.

There is no example of his cringing to a foreign nationality. There is no line in all his writings that makes him as other than a distinguished citizen who constantly bore in mind the welfare of his country, and who earnestly uttered a prayer that the land of his birth should attain the high place it seemed so richly to deserve.

With but one other thought I close. I would mention his love of his mother-tongue. If, as DE QUINCY says, we should rank the love of our language beneath the love of our nation's flag, and preserve as inviolable our country's honor and her tongue, surely LOWELL's patriotism in the realm of letters will not be assailed, for where in all the writings of our age shall we find pages on which loyal love for the mother literature and language was more plainly written?

I feel how inadequately I have opened the discussion on the excellent paper read before us, but, fellow-members, I see before me men far more fit to speak than I, and to them I commend you. (Applause).

The *Vice-President* then resumed the Chair and remarked:

The Chair waits to recognize any gentleman who wishes further to discuss the paper.

Prof. H. EVELETH GREENE (Wells College):—I suppose we have all read LOWELL's prose, and have received from it much help and stimulus; but we have not the recent knowledge of the writer of this paper, and we, therefore, feel some hesitation about giving positive expression to our own opinions, especially when they do not coincide with his. In several points I find that my own opinions do not agree with those that have been expressed.

There seems to be a general agreement as to the extent of LOWELL's vocabulary, and as to the fitness of his choice and use of words. Through his acquaintance with Old English, and through his familiarity with languages, ancient and modern, he had acquired a wealth and range of vocabulary that, perhaps, make it impossible for some of his readers always to follow him. LOWELL speaks somewhat

of "the gift of the unexpected and inevitable word." This seems to me an admirable description of his own style. "The unexpected word"—we never should have thought of it ourselves; "the inevitable word,"—when we have once heard it, no other word is so satisfactory.

Attention has been called to LOWELL's clearness and directness, and to his grace and ease. Clearness, I find, and directness and ease: but do we find that his style is invariably graceful? If we accept as our definition of a good style that which we have heard quoted this morning, "the best words in the best order," we may perhaps agree that LOWELL always chooses the best words; but I think we may feel some doubt as to whether he always has them in the best order. We may not be able to suggest any improvement in his choice of words, but can we not sometimes suggest an improvement in the order of words, in their distribution and emphasis? I cannot agree with those who say that LOWELL's prose is so graceful that it is lacking in force; to me his prose seems so forcible that it is sometimes lacking in grace. He does not, like CARLYLE, hammer his opinions into our minds; but he states his opinions so clearly, so convincingly, that almost without our knowledge our judgment follows his.

No mention has been made, except in the way of a hint, of one quality of style which we may rightfully expect to be considered in a study of prose as well as in a study of verse,—I mean the use of figures. It is his wealth of apt and striking figures, I think, that gives to LOWELL's style so much of force and brilliancy. Those of us who are teachers of Rhetoric know when we wish illustrations of certain qualities of style, and have little time in which to look them up, we turn to the pages of MACAULAY, knowing that there we shall find them at once without any search. I venture to say that one who is in search of apt and striking figures, will find them in abundance in the pages of LOWELL. Open wherever we may,—take for example, the essay on DRYDEN, take almost any other essay,—and we shall find an abundance of fitting and vigorous figures. His pages fairly swarm with them; I think they are more numerous than even in the pages of SHAKSPERE.

Those who knew Mr. LOWELL personally will, I am certain, corroborate the impression that he makes upon those who know him only through his writings. It may be true that, as Prof. HUNT has said, LOWELL was emphatically "the Writer,"—in my own opinion he was our first poet, though not our first writer of prose,—but I think he was something more than that. He never made the mistake, so difficult to avoid, of sinking the man in the scholar, in the teacher, in the writer. He was first and always LOWELL the man, and after that the scholar and the writer.

We have been told that LOWELL's style is academic and classical. Is it not that, and something more? Commenting in one of his

essays upon the saying, "*La lingua Toscana in bocca Romana.*" LOWELL has said that for him who would write pure English the motto should be, "The tongue of the people in the mouth of the scholar"; and this, I think, he has exemplified in his own writings. When he writes about LESSING, about DANTE, about SHAKSPERE, his style is academic and classical. How could it be otherwise? He writes in a style that is fitting. But in addition to this we must credit him also, I think, with the ability to use the language of the people in the mouth of the scholar.

As regards LOWELL's rank as a critic, I wish to raise one question. Has there, on the whole, been anything better written about CHAUCER than LOWELL's essay,—any more penetrating criticism or more sympathetic interpretation of the spirit of CHAUCER's poetry? Anything better about SPENSER, or DANTE, or WORDSWORTH,—and I might, perhaps, extend the list,—than what LOWELL has written? I remember the pride and pleasure with which I read the volume of "Wordsworthiana" recently edited by Prof. KNIGHT. This volume contains the addresses of the various presidents of the Wordsworth Society; and, though my judgment may have been partial, I remember that I felt with pride that no one of these addresses was so admirable as that of Mr. LOWELL.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT said:—Mr. LOWELL's writings have been so forcibly referred to, and also a few points of his personal character to which I want to add, one little experience to show how touching Mr. LOWELL very often became in his work. I had the good fortune to be one of his pupils in 1868, and we were then studying DANTE, and I have often said that all the inspiration I have had for DANTE I owe to Mr. LOWELL.

In his work with us at that time, he must have proceeded in a different manner from that in which he worked in later years. Mr. LOWELL used to meet three or four of us round a table when he would read to us the most exquisitely finished address, referring to history, literature, tradition, criticism and everything of that kind which could be put into a lecture on DANTE. We were at liberty to ask any questions; we would sit there and converse *en famille*, so to speak, and this was the most charming exercise; the most inspiring of anything I have ever found in academic teaching.

When the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION held its meeting in Cambridge a few years ago, Mr. LOWELL kindly invited me to come to his house. I went, and as I entered the door he said to me, "I welcome you to my old study."

As a student I used frequently walk down with him from the college to Elmwood, and the touching circumstance I wanted to mention here this morning is this: On one occasion he had finished his first lecture at the beginning of a term, when he had expected an increase of students; Mr. LOWELL took hold of my arm as we walked on toward Elmwood and said, "Do you think I shall ever have any more

students"? and he went on to remark that it was the most discouraging thing in all his struggle that he had so few students.

While I was staying with him on the occasion just noted, he threw himself back one evening in his chair and said to me: "Do you remember that day when I took you by the arm and said to you, 'Do you think I shall ever have any more students'? It seems to me impossible, that such a change should have come over America since the time I said that to you."

In his conversation with me for three or four days during the time of the Harvard convention, Mr. LOWELL could never get done talking about the great change in the interest for literary matters that had come over this country since he lectured to us on DANTE.

I merely wanted to mention this simple little incident to you. To me it was one of the most touching that I know of his life struggle to create a higher appreciation of true literature. I have never met a more devoted or more charming man in social life or in devotion to his students.

The Chairman. I will state to the Association at this point that Prof. J. M. HART* (Cornell University) wishes to present a paper on LOWELL to the Association, and this seems to be an opportune time for doing so.

Prof. HART. After hearing the paper read by Prof. HUNT and the remarks which have been dropped since, I felt at one time that I was sorry I had come here with anything. On one or two points I surely have been anticipated; but, perhaps, after all, the harm is not so great. Perhaps it is well to give a fresh illustration of the old maxim, that very frequently minds work independently of one another, though very frequently they often arrive at the same conclusion.

The Chairman. Further remarks on Mr. LOWELL as a prose writer are now in order. We would be glad to recognize any speaker on that subject.

If there be no further remarks, the next paper in order will be read, which is, "Diminutives in *-ing* in low German," by A. F. CHAMBERLAIN (Clark University).

The Chairman. The Association will now listen to a discussion of Mr. CHAMBERLAIN's paper.

Prof. H. C. G. VON JAGEMANN. Inasmuch as Mr. CHAMBERLAIN has eliminated from his paper just those things which would interest me most, I must confine my remarks to one or two points which suggest themselves to me in this connection. In the first place, I should say that it was somewhat dangerous to base dialect investi-

*Cf. vol. vii, No. 2, of *Publications*, for the full text of this paper.

gations on the material offered in print. I think most dialect writers incline to employ an artificial dialect rather than the natural one which they were taught to speak. If you place yourself in the position of the first writer in a local dialect you can easily see why that must be the case. I think it is generally recognized that FRITZ REUTER'S language in his earlier works is not by any means always the same, but there are considerable variations in the use of words, forms and constructions, until he finally settles down into his own conventional written form of expression.

I think it necessary, in order to arrive at any safe conclusion, to study the dialect where it is spoken, and not to depend entirely upon the very limited material that can be had in print.

Among the matters which I wish the writer would consider before his paper is printed is the question, to what extent these diminutive suffixes are employed with other than diminutive functions? There are in the older language cases in which properly diminutive suffixes are occasionally employed in other senses, for instance, in the M.H. G. *fingerlîn* which, in the well-known passage from Walther von der Vogelweide:

" ich bin dir holt
und nim din gleslîn vingerlîn für einer küniginne golt "

does not mean 'little finger' but 'ring.'

That is one of the things which I think the writer ought to consider in the historical part of his paper; furthermore, the relation of the diminutive suffix *-ing* to the patronymic suffix, should be considered; and, in general, it seems to me, it would be well to draw more largely upon the older stages of the language for the material. It might be well to begin with the very oldest Low-German monuments. If I am not very much mistaken, there are to be found in them a few cases in which words with the suffix *-ing* are already used as diminutives or terms of endearment. I think with these additions and modifications the paper will be interesting and instructive.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I would like to say in regard to the remarks just made that it was the extreme difficulty which has prevented me from presenting the paper to the Association as it should be presented in its totality. I have been working on it for some time, and the old Low German I left out intentionally, because I intended to present this paper to this Association only in modern German, and the point that Dr. VON JAGEMANN referred to is left to other writers. I have given only a very brief reference to it.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT. I wish only to ask one question in regard to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN'S paper; it has interested me greatly, and I was in hopes that Prof. VON JAGEMANN would touch upon the point I want to ask. The writer spoke of these diminutives being used in a sense different from that of the real diminutive *per se*. I would ask with reference to another very familiar use, especially in the Italian

dialects, that is, the doubling of diminutives and using them as mere strengthened forms in language. In the Tuscan dialect, for example, we hang on a *-ino* to indicate a diminution of the idea, and we may still hang on another diminutive suffix, and then use the word merely as a strengthened form, it having lost all power as a diminutive. Do you find anything of this kind coming up in your diminutives in the Low-German?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I think that occurs with considerable frequency. I am not certain about the exact force, but one of the suffixes has probably lost its meaning. I should say that future use would in all probability confirm your supposition, although not to such an extent as I think it exists in Italian.

The Chairman. If there be no further discussion, I will take this opportunity to make the following announcement: The President of the United States will receive the members and ladies of the five literary and scientific societies now holding their meetings in Washington, on Wednesday, December 30, at one o'clock, p. m. Rendezvous in the ante-chamber of the White House, 12.45 p. m. The societies should be segregated for presentation.

We will now adjourn until three o'clock promptly this afternoon.

THIRD SESSION.

The **Third Session** of the Association convened at 3 o'clock, P. M. (December 29), Dr. C. W. KENT, of the University of Tennessee, presiding.

The President. The Association will please come to order; the next paper announced is by Dr. DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, of Columbia College, New York: "Augustini Sendebrev til Cyrillus, and Jeronymi Levnet." Dr. DODGE is not able to be here, and in his absence the paper will be read in outline by Mr. E. H. BABBITT, of Columbia College. I now take pleasure in introducing to you Mr. BABBITT.

Mr. E. H. BABBITT. Mr. President, gentlemen of the Association: In accordance with Dr. DODGE's desire I shall read only a brief synopsis of his paper.

The paper is in manuscript, is edited by Dr. DODGE, and there is really very little to be brought forward in a meeting of this kind without reference to the manuscript. The matter will, of course, be printed, and can be discussed at leisure after that. Dr. DODGE has written the manuscript from which the following extracts are taken.

An abstract of the paper was then read, after which Mr. BABBITT said :

There is very little to be done in the way of discussion on a paper like this. Editing a manuscript is a sort of work that cannot be criticised without the manuscript, even if any one were competent to criticise it, which I certainly am not.

The manuscript is really the principal source which we have for the study of the Danish language of this period ; and the fact that it has been edited in this country shows at least a tendency in philological study which is worthy of our observation, it being, I believe, the first manuscript of old Danish ever edited outside of Denmark.

The tendency I speak of is the tendency toward broadening in philological study, to make the Germanistic department include not only German and English, as it always traditionally has done, but also Scandinavian, which stands between the two languages familiar to us, and stands between them in such a way that it makes a very convenient connection with one or the other ; and it is not only from the philological point of view, but also from a literary point of view an extremely pleasant field of work.

I suppose anything further in the way of discussion on this paper may be left to the reviewers, after the paper comes out.

The President. Is there any further discussion on the paper which has been presented in outline ? If not, we will pass to the next paper, No. 2 on the program : "Nathan der Weise (with special reference to the Criticisms of Kuno Fischer)," by Mr. GUSTAV GRUENER. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Mr. GRUENER, of Yale University.

Discussion on this paper was opened by Prof. J. M. HART (Cornell University), who said :

Mr. President and members, I may as well state at the outset that it was our expectation that the discussion would be opened by Prof. BRANDT of Hamilton, but unfortunately Prof. BRANDT is a victim to the grip, and is not here. I am very sorry that he should have failed to make an appearance, because I am quite certain that he could do the subject and Prof. GRUENER's treatment of it much greater justice than I.

Of course I have read Nathan several times ; I am more or less familiar with the poem, but I have not worked up LESSING very lately, and I know that Prof. BRANDT has been very hard at work upon him. Consequently, what I have to offer to you on the present occasion is somewhat in the nature of an impromptu.

I have been able to get my ideas together only by listening to the paper itself and remembering, as well as I could, what my own individual impressions of the play have been. I shall not indulge in pro-

longed remarks, but shall promptly leave the floor after starting the discussion.

With regard to the doctrines, so to speak, of the play or of the poem, whichever you choose to call it, it seems to me, and it always has seemed to me, that it was, on the part of LESSING, intended to be an attack upon Christianity. A good deal, of course, will turn upon the interpretation we attach, for LESSING, to the word "Christianity."

I do not believe that LESSING ever intended at any time to attack Christianity as the refined, and, from LESSING's point of view, the most refined expression of humanity. On the contrary, I think that LESSING wished rather to elevate that aspect of Christianity. But I do think that LESSING in the preparation of Nathan was deliberately planning an attack upon dogmatic Christianity, that is, upon Christianity as a collection of fixed, irrevocable and unalterable principles embodied in a creed.—I think that was undoubtedly in his mind as the object of his attack, a something to be overthrown if possible.

With regard to the dramatic aspects of the piece, I must admit I have not read KUNO FISCHER's book. Relying then upon Dr. GRUENER's summary of it, I am rather surprised to find KUNO FISCHER taking the views that are therein set forth. I could have hoped that KUNO FISCHER would have had rather more sympathy with non-GOETHE writers than he has evinced. In fact, I am afraid that KUNO FISCHER may be like a good many of our German friends nowadays, who go a little too far in their worship of GOETHE, and do not see enough good outside of him.

In reading Nathan several times I have always formed for myself this rather offhand impression, which I have never put into writing, and consequently may give it here somewhat blunderingly. I think that LESSING had a very clear conception of what a drama ought to be and also of what dramatic characters ought to be, but I never could quite satisfy myself that LESSING knew how to make those characters move with organic spontaneity.

I think that on the one hand LESSING was hampered too much by his great devotion to ARISTOTLE; he carried to the extreme ARISTOTLE's conception of tragedy as essentially and primarily action. Only the other day, in reading Cardinal NEWMAN's remarks upon ARISTOTLE, it seemed to me that he hit the truth when he said that ARISTOTLE did lay down a theory, the great dramatists before ARISTOTLE never observed it. There is not, I believe, in the range of the Greek drama, a faultlessly constructed play. In no one of them is the action equivalent to what ARISTOTLE would have demanded for it. Consequently, if the Greeks themselves through their best representatives, did not observe the unity of action and the unity of dramatic movement so rigorously as ARISTOTLE desired, why should any modern do it? I think that LESSING sacrificed the ease of movement and the spontaneousness of movement to what he conceived to be the logic of movement.

If I might put my ideas rather aphoristically, I should say this, that LESSING's characters, whether we regard Nathan, or Minna von Barnhelm, or Emilia Galotti,—I am not speaking of his early pieces, but only his mature pieces—I should say that his characters are puppet-like, and I take the liberty of saying to you, that they move more than once with something like the stiffness of puppets.

Nathan is a man, and not a puppet, not a mere mouthpiece; Saladin is a man and not a mere mouthpiece. And so on through the *dramatis personæ*. Nevertheless, I think that every now and then they move with something like puppet rigidity.

The problem to my mind has been how to account for this. I think it is partly due to ARISTOTLE and partly to another factor which has never yet been worked up satisfactorily, neither in Germany nor elsewhere. That is, LESSING's relation to the English drama. LESSING borrowed a great deal from the English. I do not mean in a slavish way. I mean he studied the English drama of the middle period very carefully and always took an intense interest in it. I think it is to that that we may attribute his peculiar metrical movement, which is in marked contrast with the movement of GOETHE and SCHILLER and other German dramatists. The more of LESSING I read aloud the more I am persuaded that the movement of his verse is essentially that of the English drama of the seventeenth century.

Now I surmise that possibly some scholar who has the time and the patience and the gift for that kind of work will find, by very careful and detailed study of the English drama of the seventeenth century, that LESSING acquired from it, in addition to his Aristotelian theory, the rather puppet-like and tendency-movement of his characters. I do not think that when LESSING wrote his Nathan he was sufficiently imbued with the Shakespearean spirit. I may be mistaken, but I do not think that he quite understood the spontaneous movement of Shakespearean characters on the stage.

If he had mastered that, I am quite certain that the characters in Nathan would have moved with more ease and with more naturalness than they do at present.

I say this with some misgiving. I have never seen Nathan on the stage, and it may be that my reading is not a sufficient basis for judgment. But until I see the play and can judge for myself, I will abide by this opinion, which I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration, that the movement of the play is a little bit stiff.

The President. Is there further discussion? It may not be out of place to mention, as based upon the remarks of Prof. HART that my own reading of 'Nathan der Weise,' and I may say my re-readings, gave me the impression that the piece was entirely unfitted for the stage, but when I recall the most excellent representation of it that I saw given at the theatre in Berlin, and particularly the masterful representation of the title rôle, I confess I changed my opinion. I recognize that the play did not appeal to popular audiences, but it

did appeal, I think, to all the German and foreign audiences who had given attention to LESSING's plays, and in that sense it was not only suited for the stage, but was most admirable in dramatic unity and action.

Is there further discussion on the paper? If not, we will take the next paper, "The Jersey Dialect," by Prof. JOSEPH S. SHEFLOE, of the Woman's College of Baltimore.

Discussion on this paper was opened by Mr. E. S. LEWIS of Johns Hopkins University, who said:

Mr. President, the subject of the paper that has just been read is of especial interest to me, as I was in Guernsey during the two summers that Dr. SHEFLOE was in Jersey; Dr. SHEFLOE was studying the patois of Jersey, while I was working on that of the sister island, Guernsey. The paper we have just listened to is so complete in itself that I cannot add anything to it by way of criticism, and must, therefore, be pardoned if I wander somewhat into the general field of dialect study.

The importance of this study is now recognized all over Europe, and also in America, as is shown by the formation of the American Dialect Society. But the question of how to study a dialect is one that has not yet been satisfactorily answered. Thanks to such specialists as our Mr. BELL, SWEET and ELLIS of England, PASSY of France, BEYER, VIETOR, TRAUTMANN of Germany, STORM, JESPERSEN and others, we are now enabled to make use of what may be called "physiological phonetics." It is no longer sufficient to state facts only; it is not sufficient, for example, to say that the Latin *A* becomes *e* in certain positions in old French, that CLARUM gives the old French *c/er*. That is merely stating a fact. We should also say that the Latin back vowel *A* (granting, for the sake of argument, that *A* was a back vowel) develops into the front vowel *e*; and, in addition, we must explain how and why this back vowel came to be a front vowel.

Going back to the study of the dialects of the Channel Islands, I want to call attention to a fact touched upon by Dr. SHEFLOE, and mentioned by several authors (most recently by PAUL PASSY in his work on the 'Changement Phonétiques'), and that is, that the patois of a small island like Jersey is more apt to be divided into sub-patois or sub-dialects, than would be the patois of an equal area in an open country; as, on the continent. We see this fact exemplified in Guernsey. This island slopes toward the north, and consequently its parishes are divided into upper and lower parishes; it is in the lower parishes that the wealthy people have their country homes and to which most of the strangers go for a visit of one or two days. There is, therefore, in these parishes much more intercourse with the outside world than in the upper parishes, and the patois is natu-

rally fast changing and becoming more like French proper. The upper parishes present another stage of development, and even these parishes are divided, as the patois spoken in the forest parish, not far from Saint-Peter-Port, differs from that heard in the Torteval parish, at the extreme end of the island.

Just one more point, and that is, that the dialects of Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney differ decidedly from one another; as to Sark, although nearer Guernsey than to any other of the Channel Islands and belonging to the same bailiwick, yet, having been first settled by a Jersey family, it makes use of a patois that is really a development of the Jersey dialect.

Prof. J. M. HART. I should like to submit one question with regard to the names of these islands. In connection with the word "Jersey," it occurred to me in the course of the paper that Jersey has always been explained as a corruption of Cæsarean.

The President. Dr. SHEFLOE could probably answer the question.

Dr. SHEFLOE. It is very difficult to develop phonetically and regularly "Jersey" out of "Cæsar."

Prof. HART. I know. But the point that occurred to me is this: Here we have three names each ending in the same syllable. May not that termination be the well-known Scandinavian *ey*, 'island'? Consequently, may not the three names be regarded as of Norse origin, before the Normans adopted the language of the French? What is the difference between Aldern-ey, so far as the termination is concerned, and Jers-ey? What is the difference between Guernsey and Linds-ey? Would not these names signify the islands of Guern (Warren) of Aldern, of Jer? I cannot think of any Scandinavian origin for Jer; only Guernsey for Warren, and Alderney for Aldern.

Mr. LEWIS. In Ohio there is a whole county called Guernsey, and, in answer to Prof. HART's questions, I believe it is JARET who calls attention to these endings in *-ey* of some of the Channel Islands, and suggests that they may have a particular meaning, although he cannot be positive about them.

Prof. CHAMBERLAIN. I may say that the town of Sarnia in Ontario is named from the island of Sarnia in the Channel Islands.

The President. Is there any further discussion on the outline of the paper as read?

Dr. SHEFLOE. I might mention the fact that the name of the State of New Jersey came from the island of Jersey.

The President. Is there any further discussion on this topic? If not, the Chair would like to give two or three important notices.

The notices were announces and at 5 o'clock, P. M., the Association adjourned until the following morning, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

FIFTH SESSION.*

The **Fifth Session** was devoted to a meeting of the PHONETIC SECTION. The meeting was called to order at 3.30 P. M., Dec. 30, by Prof. A. M. BELL, President of the Section.

The Secretary, Mr. C. H. GRANDGENT, submitted the following report, which was adopted:—

PHONETIC SECTION.

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1891.

The results of my first circular, sent out in August, 1890, are still unpublished: I have on hand Prof. J. P. FRUIT's phonetic notation of an 'Uncle Remus' story, and seven American versions of paragraph thirty-eight of SWEET'S 'Elementarbuch.' The latter transcriptions represent the States of Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, and are accompanied by explanatory notes and introductions. I hope that all of this matter will be printed in 1892, by the American Dialect Society. I have, moreover, through the kindness of Mr. C. P. LEBON and Dr. R. HOCHDÖRFER, been able to make an interesting study of French vowels, and careful measurements and drawings of all the principal German vowels and the German consonants that are hardest for Americans to imitate. The fruits of this research I expect soon to publish in a form that will show modern language teachers the practical utility of this kind of phonetic investigation.

My second and third circulars, which were distributed in the autumn of 1890 and the spring of 1891, were intended to draw out some information with regard to the prevalence and the geographical distribution of certain varieties of American pronunciation. The facts elicited by the two sets of questions have appeared in *Modern Language Notes* for January and December 1891. I think I have succeeded in making a tolerably satisfactory study of some features of the speech of educated persons in New England, the Middle States (except Delaware), Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. All of these states except the last two I have visited myself. From the rest of the country my returns have been very meagre. A few interesting matters that I have not yet thoroughly investigated are the values of *wh*, the different types of *r*, the "coronal" pronunciation of certain vowels, the *a-æ* and the *o-ɔ* series, and the Southern varieties of *v*, *h*, and *u*. When I have collected material concerning

*The Secretary of the Association regrets that he is unable to give the discussions on the papers of the **Fourth Session**, since the Stenographer failed to send in a report both of this and of the Fifth Session. The notes here presented for the PHONETIC SECTION, have been kindly furnished by the Secretary of the Section.

these points, I hope to put together, in one article, the results of all my researches in this direction. I shall be glad to receive suggestions or bits of information from any source.

The scale on which the financial operations of the Phonetic Section have been conducted may be seen from this report:—

RECEIVED.

Membership fees and contributions from the following persons :

A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, Miss KATE CRANZ, A. M. ELLIOTT,
C. H. GRANDGENT, G. HEMPL, E. S. JOYNES, G. L. KITT-
REDGE, C. W. SUPER, H. A. TODD.....\$ 10.00

EXPENDED.

Printing	\$ 5.00
Envelopes.....	1.00
Stamps.....	4.00
Total... ..	\$ 10.00

C. H. GRANDGENT,
Secretary.

Prof. BELL then read a paper on

1. *The Sounds of R.*

The discussion of this paper was opened by Prof. SAMUEL PORTER, of the National Deaf-Mute College of Washington:—

The vowelized *r* may be very common in the South of England, but it cannot be regarded as the standard type in America. I pronounce in all cases, before a consonant as well as elsewhere, a distinct consonant *r*, which I form just above the upper teeth. It may be urged that the adoption of the South English pronunciation would increase our stock of available rimes; we should, for instance, be able to rime 'saw' and 'bore,' as was done in a book for children that I saw recently. But, seriously speaking, is it not our duty to oppose the spread of this slovenly style of pronouncing? The vowelized *r* is the result of indolence and effeminacy; its use gives the impression of lazy and careless habits on the part of the speaker. A strong, energetic, and manly race should preserve the consonant *r* that gives character to its speech.

Prof. BELL said, in reply, that he could not agree with Prof. PORTER in treating matters of pronunciation as moral questions. He could not see, moreover, that Prof. PORTER's pronunciation of *r* differed essentially from his own. Many persons, he said, thought they sounded a consonant *r*, when in reality they used only a glide.

Prof. E. S. SHELDON (Harvard University), made the following remarks:—

In mentioning some features of my own pronunciation I wish to be understood, not as giving examples of standard English, but merely

as calling attention to certain peculiarities of my native Maine dialect. Throughout a large part of our country *r* has its full sound before another consonant; with me this is not the case: *r* in this portion is sometimes silent, but usually pronounced as a vowel glide. Such words as 'glory,' 'story,' I *glōri*, *stōri*, without a glide; but in words like 'door,' 'more,' and their derivatives I have *ɔɔ*, as *dɔɔ*, *mɔɔ*, *flɔɔ-riz*. Similarly 'Mary,' 'vary' are with me *mɛ-ri*, *vɛ-ri*, not *mæəri*, *væəri*; I use the glide in words where the *r*-sound is final and in derivatives of such words not before every intervocalic *r*. An exception to this rule is 'fairy,' which I pronounce *fæəri*.

The laryngal trilled *r*, which our President mentions, I believe, only as a possibility, I have heard in actual use. It occurred in singing. The *r* had no separate place in the word, but the laryngal trill pervaded the contiguous vowels. Another combination of vowel and *r* is heard in the common pronunciation *prti* for 'pretty,' the *r* being really, in this case a coronal *i*.

Prof. BELL expressed the opinion that the cases in which Prof. SHELDON's pronunciation differed from his were survivals of old English dialect distinctions.

Prof. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN (Toronto) said:

In my native dialect I have the consonant *r* before another consonant. During my residence in Worcester, Mass., I unconsciously formed a habit of dropping this *r* in many words, so that, since my return to Canada my pronunciation has excited much comment on the part of my friends. 'Fairy,' 'parent' are with me *fɛ-ri*, *pə-rənt*; but 'Mary,' 'vary' are *meəri*, *veəri*. An Indian dialect that I have been studying recently has no consonant *r*, and English words with final *r* are pronounced by these Indians just as New Englanders pronounce them; 'fire,' for instance, they pronounce *fais*.

Mr. J. D. BRUNER (Johns Hopkins) mentioned some features of his pronunciation; among others, his close *o* in 'glory' and 'gory.'

Dr. J. W. BRIGHT (Johns Hopkins) asked whether he was right in understanding that Prof. BELL regarded the trilled *r* as the only one that could have a syllabic value. He proceeded to mention the conception of a spoken word as a given space, which conception, he said, was helpful in explaining certain phonetic assimilations and compensations.

Prof. BELL replied that the vocalized *r* often had a syllabic effect.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins) said that in his native Philadelphia dialect *r* was always pronounced as a consonant, and was strengthened rather than weakened before another consonant. 'Word' and 'glory' were, with him, *wərd* and *glōri*, without any glide.

Mr. C. H. GRANDGENT (Boston) called attention to a type of *ēr* (as in 'bird,' 'word') in which the *ē* and the *r* are formed simultaneously, the tip of the tongue being raised to the *r* position as soon as the *ē* is begun. He had reason to believe that this was the usual pronunciation of *ēr* in Pennsylvania and the West, and he thought that *ar* and *or* were sometimes formed in a similar way.

Prof. KARSTEN being unavoidably absent, his paper was omitted; and Prof. THOMAS LOGIE, of Williams College, read a paper on

2. *The Phonology of the Patois of Cachy.*

The debate was opened by Dr. J. E. MATZKE, of Johns Hopkins:—

It is impossible to speak too highly of the importance of dialect study as throwing light on the successive steps of the development of a language. The history of Parisian French, for instance, presents many difficult problems, some of which can, doubtless, be solved by an attentive examination of the dialect of Cachy and neighboring places. Hence, such papers as the present one are useful in the highest degree. I shall now speak of a few points in which I disagree with Dr. LOGIE. I cannot believe, as he seems to, that the great variety of modern French dialects proves the existence of a corresponding variety in Old French and Vulgar Latin. This supposition is contrary to the views of GASTON PARIS and PAUL MEYER, and seems to me to be entirely without foundation. Moreover, I do not approve of the old-fashioned division of a language into so many fixed dialects: the only really scientific method is, I think, the construction of maps for each linguistic phenomenon, as is done by SUCHIER in GRÖBER'S 'Grundriss.' The confusion between *an* and *en* probably never existed in Picard; the first traces of it in French are found in the 'Chanson de Roland.' The change of *u*, of *eu* is not a "diphthongization," as Dr. LOGIE called it, but a simple lowering of a rounded front vowel. When Dr. LOGIE speaks, further on, of "drawing back the upper teeth," he must have forgotten, for the moment, the construction of the human head: what we have is merely a change from a labio-dental to a purely labial sound. As for the *l mouillée*, perhaps it lost its palatal quality in Picard in the thirteenth century; it is impossible to tell from the spellings.

Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT said:—

Consonantal assimilation, such as Dr. LOGIE mentions, is a very common thing in French. As an example of the pronunciation of *en* as *in*, we may cite the form *Dint-du-Midi*, which is often heard near Lake Geneva. The forms from *-ellu* suggest an interesting question: has the modern development of *-ellu* passed over into Normandy,

just as the older development did? The reduction of *étoile* to *étéle*. The wide *i*, which is generally regarded as quite foreign to French, is found in some French dialects. It is commoner now about Paris than it was a few years ago. I think it is not improbable that the French language will, in time, develop a complete system of wide vowels.

Prof. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN said that wide *i* was common in Canadian French, its prevalence being probably due to English influence.

Dr. J. E. MATZKE wished to add a few words to his former remarks:—

It seems to me that the form *mangi* may be due to the regular operation of BARTSCH's law. As for *arou*, *sarou*, they are doubtless derived from *avoir*, *savoir*+*ou*, *son* (= *habutum*, *saputum*).

Prof. LOGIE expressed the opinion that if the form *mangi* were due to the operation of BARTSCH's law, we should find some traces of the development in the manuscripts.

The meeting was then adjourned.

In the evening following the fifth session, the members of the Association were most hospitably entertained at the house of Prof. A. MELVILLE BELL (1525 Thirty-fifth St.), where a charming social reception was held in accordance with the announcement in the program. A delightful opportunity was offered here for becoming personally acquainted with many of the leading literary and scientific people of Washington.

SIXTH SESSION.

The Association met for its **Sixth Session** at ten o'clock, A. M. (December 31), with Prof. KENT in the Chair.

The Chairman. The Association will come to order. I announce, as the first contribution for this morning, the paper that was postponed from the Fourth Session entitled: "The Law Language in England from Edward I. (A.D. 1274) to Henry VIII. (A.D. 1509)," by Prof. B. F. O'CONNOR (Columbia College).

Discussion was opened on this paper by Prof. A. M. ELLIOTT (Johns Hopkins University), who said:—

Mr. President, I desire to make a few remarks on this paper, though it belongs almost as much in the province of the English as that of

the French or the Romance languages. Dr. O'CONNOR has touched particularly on the importance of the Law Books from the legal point of view, their importance as a collection of documents for the lawyer. I wish to call your attention to their importance for both Romance scholars on the one hand and English scholars on the other, from their literary and linguistic side.

The first and most important contribution that could be made with reference to them, and it would seem an absolutely necessary one so far as language is concerned, is that a dictionary should be made of this language. Prof. SKEAT in the Second Series of his 'Principles of English Etymology' has noted this point, and he himself as the President of the Philological Association of London, has published several word-lists amounting to two or three thousand. That is an important step, but what we need more than anything else is a publication of a complete dictionary or vocabulary of all the words contained in these various reports.

I think a dictionary might be made from the documents published by the English government. Of course, such a thing as this could be controlled afterward by manuscript work. That, to my mind, is the most important, and first thing to do with reference to these Year Books. As Prof. SKEAT, in the book referred to, remarks, it is an astonishing thing that hundreds of years should have passed in England with all this law literature in the background, and that there should never have been any attempt to get out a vocabulary of it.

In the sixteenth century there was a dictionary gotten out, but it amounts to really nothing.

From the linguistic side, then, the first point that I want to make is the necessity of a dictionary, and were I going to work in the field it would be the first thing I should wish to have before me: the words, the forms, the material, the linguistic material as given in the vocabulary.

In taking up the technical side of the question for Anglo-Norman French, there have been two or three critical articles published which are of importance for this work, not that the authors touch on the Law Books definitely, but they draw from the literature in order to show what the form of this French must have been on the English soil, and how certain changes in language took place a short time after the French arrived there, and which continued until the withdrawal of French from the law courts or the withdrawal of Anglo-Norman literature from the English soil.

Again: for the worker on this linguistic side there have been a number of works published by German scholars bearing on the Norman French, and the Norman French being connected so intimately with the Anglo-Norman French throws light on the subject. SUCHIER'S *Bibliotheca Normannica* draws extensively on original sources and enables one to compare their language with the language of the law books, not for style, because the former are literary pro-

ductions, but for words and forms, for phonetics, the changes of the words as having gone into Anglo-Norman French from the Norman proper.

Here, then, are a few points that I want to bring out. The whole study is something that cannot be too highly recommended to young scholars who want to go into this kind of work. It is a field little known. The Anglo-Norman literature we are beginning to get a hold of, so that we can manage it. We can manage Anglo-Norman verse. We can tell something of the influence the language had on English, but these other great sources opening up vistas for speech mixture, for the treatment of all kinds of questions and problems in language proper, have hardly been touched upon at all and to the astonishment of everybody, certainly the English have done next to nothing.

I should be glad to hear from our English scholars present, in regard to these Year Books.

Dr. O'CONNOR. I would like to add to what Prof. ELLIOTT has said that the question of getting up a dictionary was one of the first to suggest itself to Prof. T. W. DWIGHT and myself when the subject of making law students familiar with the texts of the Year-Books, was discussed. The great difficulty about it was to get men who could do it, and the money to pay them for their work. If these two elements could be somehow or other obtained we could compile such a dictionary in a couple of years. With reference to this work I may say that one of the most prominent professors of Law in Cambridge Univ., England, Mr. F. W. MAITLAND, writing sometime ago in the *Political Science Quarterly*, said he was very glad to hear that Americans were taking up the subject that Englishmen had neglected, and he hoped they would go on and do for English legal history what England's own sons could not or did not do.

Mr. SHELDON. There are some points that suggest themselves to me which I should like to bring out more fully.

One of these is the difficulty in the way of constructing a dictionary on the plan proposed. I do not like to be considered as casting a damper on the project of forming a dictionary, but I want to say that I know of no man in the world competent to do that work except professional students of language. I do not know a man in England who is competent to do it, and is not otherwise engaged. I may be wrong. Possibly there are some students of law in England who have what is absolutely indispensable, if the work is to have its proper linguist in value, that is to say, a philological knowledge of the old Anglo-Norman. It will be impossible to do it well without a knowledge of the Old French of France. That knowledge should not be merely an ability to read Old French, but it must be a philological knowledge.

It is particularly necessary in a work of this sort that the question

of spelling should not be allowed to interfere with a man's perception of what the probable pronunciation was. He must always have the idea that the spelling of Anglo-French represents in part the regular changes of the French, complicated by the influence of the French spelling usual in France, and by the influence of the English language of England on the French as spoken in England. The Anglo-French was a rapidly changing language, and all the productions in Anglo-French were somewhat under artificial influence. They were often written in more or less conscious and direct imitation of continental French works, and under artificial influences shown in the spelling of the words. It would be interesting to show that in modern English spelling many peculiarities of Continental Old French spelling have been preserved which, properly speaking, should have disappeared altogether in Anglo-French, and they did for a time largely disappear, but have been more or less preserved down to our own day. I might mention a single example where it absolutely asserted that the Old French spelling has been preserved by tradition. The modern French word spelled "chef" was in Old French spelling "chief," that is, the regular form of the Old French word was what it is now in modern English. Of course, the Old French *chief* was not pronounced as in modern English.

It was said that the law French was in some respects different from the literary French as furnishing a different kind of material for the linguistic study of the French of England. I suppose it was not intended to represent that the law French of England was not to some extent, perhaps, often to a greater extent than the ordinary literary French, subject to such artificial influences as I have spoken of.

Mr. GARNETT. I should like to say one word. I wish very much that some one, a member of the Association or other person, would undertake the preparation of a work showing that influence. Whatever may be the defects of Prof. SKEAT's book, it is the only thing that I know of which goes into that matter and which gives us, at least, material to use. I sent for BEHREND's book, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England, I.*, that Prof. ELLIOTT referred to, and received it a few days ago, but I have not had an opportunity to examine it yet. It seems to me that it is of great importance in the history of English to investigate the influence of this Anglo-Norman dialect, which was used in England during the period that Dr. O'CONNOR referred to in his paper read this morning, and to trace out that influence in detail upon the English of that time.

Prof. SHELDON. I should like to say with reference to that, that the publication of Prof. SKEAT's work made me hesitate. I still hope to carry out that plan at some time in the future. The subject is one upon which I have been more or less at work for several years, with particular reference to the influence of French on English, though the influence of both sides, of course, would have to be considered.

Prof. GARNETT. I should like to have the next paper postponed for a few minutes in order that the Committee on the place of next meeting may report.

The Chairman. If there be no objection it will be so ordered.—
There was no objection.

Prof. GARNETT. The Committee reports in favor of holding the next meeting in Washington City. It reports further that it is advisable to hold a meeting of the Association in Chicago in the summer of 1893, as it is requested in a letter from Chicago. The report is signed by all the members of the Committee.

I will simply say in explanation of the recommendation that the suggestion was made to the Committee that it would be advisable to adopt Washington as the place of permanent meeting of the Association, just as the Historical Society has done, but the Committee does not like to go so far as that. It would like to test the feeling of the Association again, and would recommend that we meet next year in Washington during the Christmas holidays. The report reads as follows:

The Committee on place of next meeting of the Association respectfully reports in favor of holding that meeting in Washington City. It reports further, that it is advisable to hold a meeting of the Association in Chicago in the summer of 1893, as requested in the letter from Chicago which was referred to the Committee.

JAMES M. GARNETT,
EDW. L. WALTER,
HERMANN COLLITZ.

Adopted.

I hold in my hand a letter which was referred to the Committee by the Secretary of the Association from Mr. PAYNE, who is the Chairman of the Committee on Philology in connection with the World's Congress, and he requests that this Association, as well as the Philological and other Associations, shall hold a meeting in Chicago in the summer of 1893, and the Committee, therefore, recommends it, without determining whether that shall be a regular meeting or a special meeting.

Profr. SHELDON moved that the report of the Committee be adopted.

The Chairman. The first suggestion is that the meeting of the Association be held in Washington.

Prof. MATZKE. I think it is of the greatest importance that if there be in the minds of the members of the Association any objection to holding the meetings permanently in Washington, that these should be stated now. I, myself, am highly in favor of making Washington the regular place of meeting.

I was in the West last year while the meeting was held in Nashville, and I confess that I hesitated a moment to go there, whereas, I

should not have hesitated at all to come to Washington. I can imagine that other members would have different feelings with regard to the matter. If there are any objections at all, it would be best to settle them now, because we want to have a place of meeting to which everybody will come.

Personally, I do not care whether this is the smallest place in the United States, if the members who compose the Association will only come.

Prof. GARNETT. The Committee did not feel authorized to go so far at one time. It simply reported in favor of meeting here next year, and then Washington may be determined upon as the permanent place of meeting, if the Association so desires.

Accordingly, the first part of the motion to meet next year in the City of Washington was agreed to.

The Chairman. The second part of the motion is whether it is advisable to hold a meeting of the Association in Chicago in the summer of 1893.

Prof. SHELDON. As I understand it, I believe this plan was suggested by a letter from Chicago. Would it be possible for that letter to be read in order that we could better understand what it is?

Prof. GARNETT. It is a letter, as I stated just now, from Mr. PAYNE, the Chairman of the Committee on Philology, in connection with the World's Congress, to be held in Chicago in 1893. It is addressed to Prof. ELLIOTT, and is as follows:

WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY,
CHICAGO.

December 25th, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:

I suppose that you received some time ago the preliminary announcement of the Auxiliary Committee on Literary Congresses, with its general statement of the plan outlined by the Philological Section, of which I have the honor to be the Chairman. The first and most important thing which we wish to do is to secure the meeting in this City, during the summer of the exhibition, of the Philological Associations of this Country, and I hope that it will be possible for the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION to avail itself of our invitation. I have already received some assurance of the presence of the Philological Association and the Oriental Society. Will it be premature to bring up this matter at your meeting next week? And what likelihood is there, in your opinion, of your Association holding either a regular or special meeting here at that time? Of course, the plans of the Auxiliary are still somewhat indefinite, but this much is certain: that we shall have a large and commodious building for the special use of the various societies that will meet here, and that the dates allotted to our Committee will fall sometime within the vacation months. A statement of your views upon this subject will greatly oblige,

Yours faithfully,

J. W. PAYNE.

The Committee did not recommend whether it should be a regular meeting of 1893 or a special meeting, leaving that question to be determined by the Committee next year.

Prof. SHELDON. I do not know that this matter is really very pressing. It was not in any spirit of opposition to the proposed meeting in Chicago that I said that if no harm would be done we should postpone the subject till our meeting in 1892, which will still give us some six months time before the proposed meeting. Is it not an improper thing to act so long a time in advance? Perhaps we should do better to think it over for some months longer before reaching a decision. I do not say this in opposition at all, but I am not able at the present moment to make up my own mind.

Prof. GARNETT. It is important that this matter be decided now. Prof. ELLIOTT has asked me in his absence that this matter be acted on now, because Mr. PAYNE desired to know as soon as possible the result we have reached. It will not do to postpone this matter until next Christmas. That does not give time enough for the Committee in Chicago to make its proper arrangements, so that he has requested us to have the matter acted on at once. Therefore, it is important that it should be acted on immediately. It is not important for us to determine now whether the meeting in 1893 shall be a regular or special meeting. That we can determine next year.

Prof. MATZKE. I would like to know what good will come of holding a meeting in Chicago during the Exposition? From certain symptoms that have appeared in the Association during this meeting, I am afraid it might be rather a difficult thing to get a session together during the Exposition. There will be so many things to see and our members will go to see them, rather than listen to the reading of papers.

In the second place, Chicago is a very hot place during the summer and a meeting might be depressing on account of the temperature.

Prof. WARREN. The point at issue is whether the educational interests of the country are to be brought together at Chicago. The point is, shall we come together as a body or simply as individuals? It will be, I think, a little more dignified for the country to have its educational bodies brought together.

I do not understand that a meeting there would be a meeting for the reading of papers any more than a display of what the Association is doing, and what it will be doing in the future. The American Philological Association meets next summer, and must decide next summer. That will be the last meeting before the summer of 1893. Consequently, if we do not take any action now, it may embarrass the Philological Association. I think it would be highly appropriate as it would be regarded as an exhibit of the educational interests of the country. The educational institutions would have, of course, their work exhibited.

Dr. BRIGHT. As a matter of fact the question is in a manner settled in spite of what we may do. The World's Congress Auxiliary has so far enlisted the interest of representative bodies in art, in literature, and in science, that we may feel assured there will be something like a national representation of all the organized means for promoting these ends.

Prof. HERBERT WEIR SMYTH (Bryn Mawr). Perhaps I might be allowed to say a word as a representative of the American Philological Association.

Some time ago the invitation was addressed to us, and I had the honor to say that probably the Association would go to Chicago. I was speaking only upon the responsibility of the Secretary. If our Association should go to Chicago, our meeting will fall some time in the summer, that is to say, the second Tuesday in July. Of course, it is somewhat premature to discuss the exact time, but if we should go, it will be about the time mentioned. If this Association should decide to go to Chicago, I hope very much to meet the members there at that time.

Prof. SHELDON. As it has just been told us that the American Philological Association has not reached any decision, why should we decide now if one of the most important of the scientific societies has not yet done so? If it is necessary to decide before a year from now, could not the Secretary be authorized to make the decision after sufficient consultation and deliberation?

I must repeat the argument I used before. It seems to me we are not at all ready to vote on the question now.

Prof. MATZKE. If we decide to hold the meeting in the month of July, I think we must at the same time face the possibility of no meeting during the Christmas holidays. I think that is a point that must not be forgotten; and in the second place, some of our members have the habit of going abroad in the summer. Of the two meetings, I prefer the one in December.

I personally cannot say that I am in favor of a meeting in Chicago during the month of July.

Prof. R. E. BLACKWELL. I feel that there might be some danger of both meetings; the meeting that will come in July and then the following December, if we have a meeting during Exhibition summer. I agree, therefore, somewhat with Prof. SHELDON.

I move as a substitute that the question be referred to the Executive Committee.

Prof. GARNETT. I should like to say that as may be seen from the letter which I have just read, we have been requested by those who extended the courtesy to us to settle the matter at this meeting. I hope the Association will settle it either one way or the other now. It seems to me that the Association ought to meet in Chicago in 1893

in order to be in harmony with other Associations which meet there during that time, and these meetings will have an influence upon the education of the country.

The question whether we shall have a meeting in December 1893 is not before us. The question whether it is to be a regular or a special meeting can be determined a year hence. The question now is whether we shall or shall not meet in Chicago.

Prof. H. EVELETH GREENE. I would like to know the nature of the exhibit that this society intends to make? Is it necessary that there should be any papers read there which will interfere in any way with the exhibit?

Prof. F. M. WARREN. I will say that they expect representative papers from representative bodies. The Educational Congress is going to meet in July. They wish this Organization to represent papers. I do not see how it will interfere with our regular meeting.

Mr. C. H. GRANDGENT. I will say that there has been one feature of this discussion which has not been presented; that is, the opportunity that will be afforded us to meet Modern Language people from the other country. I think there will be many of them who will come over here and we can meet them.

I understand there is a movement on foot in England to form a society similar to ours, and one of the gentlemen, who is active in forming that plan, has written to me several times that the English Language Society would be glad of an opportunity to meet us here. That opportunity cannot be better offered than to meet them at Chicago at the time proposed.

Prof. R. E. BLACKWELL. I cannot see that a delay of a week or two will make any difference, and if left to the Executive Committee the matter will be decided very properly.

Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER. If I understand Prof. GARNETT, it is very important to decide the matter now, and I am in favor of holding our meeting in Chicago. I think the reasons given for it are good. I hope the convention will decide in that way.

Dr. MATZKE. I think the argument of Prof. GRANDGENT is the only one that appeals to me in any way. We are prominently enough before the country, and I dislike to go on display at the World's Fair at Chicago without scientific papers. I am sure that we should all like to meet scientific men.

Thereupon, a vote on the substitute referring the motion to the Executive Committee with power to act, was lost.

The Chairman. The vote recurs on the original report of the committee that it is advisable that a meeting of the Association be held in Chicago in the summer of 1893. The motion was agreed to.

Prof. J. M. GARNETT. I ask that the Secretary of the Association be requested to act as the *pro tem.* President and Secretary respectively of the Pedagogical Section.

The Chairman. For the present we will dispense with the reading of the first paper on the program which is "Philology and Literature in American Colleges and Universities" by President HENRY E. SHEPHERD, College of Charleston, S. C., and will now take up the paper by Miss LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSON of Brooklyn, New York, on "Ignored Resources of French Literature for College Study."

The discussion on this paper was opened by Prof. F. M. WARREN who said:

Mr. President. There has been considerable discussion on this paper, and, therefore, I will not take up your time, only as it is my duty to open this discussion, having six weeks ago made a discussion of this subject which I think will be published very shortly.

My views are in accord with the views of Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN in some points, but I have brought in points that she has not considered. I would like to call the attention of the Association to these points which she makes.

The first point, I understand, she makes is that in teaching grammar, we should emphasize the constitution of the French language and point out the benefits derived from the forms and, as far as possible, make up the lack of studying the Greek or Latin languages.

Personally, I do not believe that there is an absolute equivalent in the study of modern grammar, so far as the ancient grammar is concerned. In the study of modern language we have recompenses of other classes for the study of ancient grammar. Therefore, I do not agree in that respect with Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN. I think we should consider the point whether it is not advisable for the instructor to insist to the best of his ability that a certain amount of training be derived from grammar so that the student may have at least some preparation from modern grammar.

In regard to the next point which I think the Association will consider, the books to be read in class, I agree fully there with the views of Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN. I do not believe in reading the seventeenth century literature until students in French are able to appreciate what literature is and what literary history is. I do not give the seventeenth century literature to my classes until they have been reading two years.

A course of literature should, of course, be composed of such authors as HUGO, BALSAC, GEORGE SAND, DE MUSSET and especially certain of the dramas should be included, I mean the modern comedies.

In regard to lyric poetry which I understand Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN compares somewhat to the Greek, I fear that at first the lyric

poetry of the French is hardly a good study. Our conception of poetry is very radically different from the French conception of poetry. My own conception of poetry is that of rhythm and rhyme. That of the French is of harmony, and until you have had considerable practice in reading French and also a considerable idea of French literature, I think it is hardly advisable to take up the study of lyric poetry.

Then another point which probably the Association will not care to discuss, the attitude outside in regard to French literature. Far from agreeing with Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN, I disagree with her, if you will allow me, most emphatically on that point. I think every year the attitude toward French literature from the outside is becoming more and more sympathetic. The translations that we see now made even for holiday gifts are admirably translated. Some of the novels of DAUDET have been admirably rendered into English. Some of these translations have been made by eminent English authors, and the people of the country are becoming aware of putting before an English audience the real sayings of the French and no longer giving it over to hack-writers.

In the City of Cleveland, I gave a course of lectures on the Romantic movement in France, and the ladies do a great deal of reading; I think it will be found that this is true in other cities where the same thing is done. They attend to it faithfully and regularly, and they read in French certain things which are selected and given them to prepare upon.

In regard to criticism I decline to take that up. I think there will be so much discussion here to-day that it is hardly worth while to take up so long a time. Therefore, I will pass it over.

In regard to the point that the novels are supposed to constitute the greater part of the French literature, I think that is because of the point which was made a while ago.

When we come to the nineteenth century, having studied the seventeenth century Drama, we naturally go to something which is a little refreshing and take the nineteenth century novel. It is possible to make up a course of nineteenth century literature, and I think by comparing the curriculum of the various colleges of the country, that the men who are most interesting in the modern languages of the country select their courses with due care and with due prominence to the study of the best modern authors.

Publishers who do not do it unless they are sufficiently recompensed have published this year a book by Dr. MATZKE, on the study of 'Hugo's drama'; also, by Dr. BOWEN, a member of this Association, on 'Modern French Lyrics.'

Prof. FORTIER. There is one point on which I do not agree with my friend, Dr. WARREN. It seems to me he has spoken almost in a disparaging manner of the seventeenth century authors. (Applause).

I do not know if they need any such defender as I am, but, never-

theless, when Dr. WARREN said that we would have to go to nineteenth century literature to find refreshing reading, I was really astonished. It does not seem to me doubtful whether anybody who has read MOLIÈRE has had refreshing reading.

Now as to waiting until the third year for the seventeenth century authors I do not agree with Dr. WARREN. This would be all right if we had a great deal of time for our teaching. If our teaching in colleges extended over four or five years it could be done; but if we all consider that French is an easy language to read, and that after two months' study any student is able to begin reading French, I think easy and interesting books in nineteenth century language can be introduced the first year. The second year the student should read seventeenth and eighteenth century authors, and in the third year take up the literature of the nineteenth century.

We must study classical literature in our colleges. I believe it is necessary. I do not mean to say that the nineteenth century is not classical, for my own opinion is that those works are classical which are consecrated by the unanimous approval of contemporaries. I think VICTOR HUGO can be called classical now. But at all events the great writers of the seventeenth century should always stand as our principal study in college life.

In the second year I believe it is very necessary to give the seventeenth century authors, because so many of our students do not stay any longer than two years, and just imagine a student leaving college when he has never read anything of CORNEILLE, RACINE, or MOLIÈRE, that wonderful genius. If he is to continue longer, give him in the third year the great living poets of the nineteenth century. At the end of the third year there should be introduced some reading of Old French, for instance, GASTON PARIS'S 'Extraits de la Chanson de Roland.'

This is all I care to say about the study of literature, but with regard to grammar as a disciplinary study I think the subject is exceedingly important. I believe that grammar can be made very interesting and profitable to students in the class-room. I often say to my students that there is no more interesting study than that of grammar. Very often they laugh at me when I say so, or they seem to, but I think I can prove it to them before the second year's course is ended.

Translations are very important for mental discipline, but we must consider also that when we are teaching French or German I do not believe we are teaching them for the English part of the study. I think when we come to teach French and German we have to teach them for the French and the German part, and I do not agree with those who say that the French and German teachers are merely auxiliary to the English teachers. The student should be taught to think and speak in French, and forget, as much as possible, after the first year, that the English language is in existence. I was very much interested in the paper of Miss BOTH-HENDRIKSEN and with

the remarks of Dr. WARREN, and, although, I appreciate Dr. WARREN very much as a French scholar and lover of French literature, I hope he will almost take back what he said about the seventeenth century authors.

Prof. R. E. BLACKWELL. Dr. WARREN has told us he had a curious experience about trying to teach poetry, both English poetry and French poetry.

I find this peculiarity about students, children and young men, that when a child first begins to look round and you begin to read to it, you can read poetry. I have little brothers and sisters who, I find, take great interest in poetry as soon as I begin to read. Then after awhile they do not want any poetry. The boys think it is something that the girls should have, and the girls think it is something that the boys should have.

The boys say they do not like poetry. I would not think of introducing poetry in my first year. I watch until I find the student about to fall in love, then I give him poetry. Young ladies are always supposed to be in love and I give them lyric poetry whenever I see fit, but I do not give lyric poetry in the spring. (Laughter).

Mr. RENÉ DE POYEN. Will you tell me what kind of poetry you give in the spring and summer? For me I would be willing to give you the type which I give all the year around. I think it is not right to ridicule poetry when we are in love, but I put it on this ground,—I have tried to teach poetry, and I make it my object to teach my pupils that French lyric poetry is well worth teaching.

Prof. BLACKWELL. We have to shape our course according to the time at our disposal. In our Colleges the students have had previous language training; they need the outlines of the grammar first, and then that kind of reading which but exemplifies the grammatical peculiarities of the language. Lyrical poetry is not the best for this purpose.

Again, in order to appreciate poetry a pupil must have some mastery of French, a certain feeling for the language. What beauty would a Frenchman, just beginning the study of English, find in the lyrics of TENNYSON or SHELLEY? How often the teacher of English literature feels chilled, and in despair before an unsympathetic class! How much worse is it when the words and grammar are foreign and unfamiliar!

There is, moreover, a fact that many of us have, no doubt, observed. Though children are fond of poetry, there comes a stage in the mental development of students when this taste disappears. They then crave facts and theories, and delight in history and philosophy. A fuller development brings back their love of poetry. I have watched at what period in his College course a student usually falls in love, and I find it corresponds with the spring term of the second year's work in modern languages. It is then that I read French lyrics with my class.

As to mental discipline: the College course takes for granted that the student has had severe language training in Latin and Greek, and hence we are not called upon to do that work over again. We assume that the class know general grammar, the grammatical categories, the difference, for example, between relative adjective clauses and indirect questions, between conditional *if* and indirect interrogative *if*. Unfortunately, our French grammar, by not following in their treatment of Syntax the method familiar to the learner from his study of Latin, loses much of the advantage of this previous training. We have now at length two good grammars, it is true; but none that is based on as sound a logical method as the best Latin and Greek grammars.

Dr. J. E. MATZKE. I find myself between Dr. WARREN and Prof. FORTIER. I agree with both, and I believe that they both will find that they are thoroughly harmonious on the points.

The point I wish to make is concerning the time, when the classical tragedy ought to be taken up in the college course.

In my opinion the only way to read classical tragedy at this end of the nineteenth century is to take it up at a time when the student has sufficiently progressed in his knowledge of French so that he can understand and grasp the tragedy as a whole. That necessarily must come in at the different stages of the student's progress. If he is a college student, and has had a sufficient training in Latin and Greek, he will be ready to take up classical tragedy at an earlier time than will a student who has no such training.

I am giving a course in classical tragedy at the present time, and it is my endeavor to read at least four tragedies of CORNEILLE, four of RACINE, and the two principal tragedies of VOLTAIRE, ending up with the romantic drama and PONSARD, and it is my endeavor to read the tragedy in as short a time as possible, because I consider that the tragedy was not written to be a syntactic exercise, but as literature which must be viewed like a picture as a whole, and not by individual speeches. I know that a class in this manner can be interested in a kind of literature, which, although it belongs to the first ranks of the word's literature, does, nevertheless, appear to an inadequately prepared American student as stilted and unnatural.

Dr. J. W. BRIGHT. I wish to offer a motion.

It will be remembered that the President of the Pedagogical Association made an announcement, and the nature of Mr. BABBITT's paper offered at this meeting is somewhat of the same nature, and it would be well to combine it with that discussion. It should not be limited as to time, so that to accomplish the end of securing sufficient time for the discussion announced on Prof. BABBITT's paper, and to accomplish the second end of getting through the morning program comfortably, I wish to move that the paper preceding the one on the

program, that of Prof. SHEPHERD, be offered at this meeting and be disposed of, and that will leave the afternoon free for discussion. I move that we now refer to the paper of President H. E. SHEPHERD.

Prof. E. H. BABBITT. I wish to say that if I can have half an hour I can read my paper. How much time have we left of the morning session?

The Chairman. It is now twenty minutes past twelve.

Prof. BABBITT. At what time do we close?

The Chairman. We have closed at twelve o'clock.

Prof. BABBITT. It will then be impossible to read the paper this morning. If I can read it at this evening's session, I would prefer it.

The Chairman. I now declare the Association adjourned till 3 P. M.

SEVENTH SESSION.

The Association convened at 3 P. M. (Dec. 31), Prof. KENT in the Chair.

The President. The Association will please come to order. We have a busy evening before us, and the reports and remarks will have to be as brief as possible. The first business is the report of the committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's accounts, of which Prof. GORE is chairman.

Prof. J. H. GORE (Columbian University). The fact that we live here under the shadow of the halls of the National Congress will cause you to understand why it is that I take the floor for one purpose and use it for another. That other purpose is, that as one of the least worthy of those connected with this University and one who has done what little was in his power toward making your stay pleasant and agreeable, I desire to say, on behalf of the President of the University and the members of the faculty, that you have shown in the very best way possible your appreciation of what we may have done by your action in agreeing to meet with us here next year. (Applause). I will now proceed with the report.

We, the undersigned, the Committee appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, beg leave to submit the following report:

1. We find the account of receipts and expenditures correct as far as evidenced by the papers and books submitted.

2. We recommend that in the future the Treasurer keep an individual account with each member which will show by debits and credits the exact status of each, and that in submitting his annual report he exhibit a list of members whose dues remain unpaid, which, with the list of those with dues paid, should include all the names given in the Secretary's list.

J. H. GORE,
A. N. BROWN.

The President. You have heard the report of the committee. What disposition shall be made of it?

The report was adopted.

The President. The next business is the report of the committee appointed to formulate proper resolutions respecting the death of Dr. McCABE. Dr. WARREN is chairman of that committee.

Dr. F. M. WARREN. Mr. President, on behalf of Dr. J. E. MATZKE and myself, members of the committee, I have to make the following somewhat personal report, as Dr. MATZKE and I were both associated with Dr. McCABE. The report reads as follows:

In the death of Dr. THOMAS McCABE of Bryn Mawr College, this Association has to regret the loss of one of its youngest members. Coming to the Johns Hopkins University after several years of residence in France and Italy, he was admired by those of us, who were privileged to know him at that time, for his bright and keen mind, his devotion to work, and his faculty of imparting to others the knowledge which he himself had acquired. In his short connection with the Universities of Michigan and Indiana, and finally in the incompleting year at Bryn Mawr College, he gave abundant promise of a brilliant career.

In the line of work for which he had so carefully prepared himself, he was not allowed to develop owing to adverse circumstances, but his spirit and example will remain a living force in the institutions with which he was connected whether as student or instructor.

F. M. WARREN,
JOHN E. MATZKE.

The President. What disposition shall be made of the report of the committee?

The report was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSED EUROPEAN MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Prof. A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT. Last year, at Nashville, Prof. VAN DAELE suggested that it would be a pleasant thing for this Association to go over to Europe and hold a meeting there, and he thought that it would be an easy matter for me, as I frequently go over to Europe, to inquire into the affair and see how we might be accommodated over there.

I chanced to be in London during the last summer, and I made inquiry of friends of mine in regard to the subject. The whole affair has been found to be impracticable for the present.

The modern language men of England are in a peculiar condition; they are in about the same position that we held in this country before the establishment of any Association; that is, no solidarity of

feeling on unity of action. The younger members do not want to take hold of any movement of the kind because they fear that the older professors will not approve of it. Some of the older professors would like to see the Americans very much in their private homes, but they do not think it practicable to have them over there holding a convention.

They have, I may remark, a Modern Language Association in England, but that Association is almost exclusively composed of secondary teachers. They occupy themselves especially in discussing pedagogical problems. What we wish would be, not a teachers' union or a teachers' meeting, but a conference of scientific workers.

It was suggested on the part of some of the professors in England that in the future, four or five years hence, for example, when they are better organized, we should send out notices to hold a meeting either there or in Germany, perhaps better in England, and invite the Germans to come over and have an international meeting. They think in this way that the English element will fall into line more readily by having the influence of older men from the continental universities where the departments have been established longer.

The President. No definite action is necessary, I presume, on Prof. ELLIOTT's interesting report.

At the last meeting a committee was appointed on Uniform Grammatical Nomenclature for French and German, of which Prof. VAN DAELL was Chairman. He is not here, but Dr. M. D. LEARNED (Johns Hopkins) is present, and we will be glad to hear any report from him.

Dr. LEARNED. I am sorry to say that the Chairman of this committee has not consulted with the committee at all, and, so far as I can learn, no action has been taken. It seems to me that the work of that committee is important enough to justify some action in the matter.

The President. Shall the committee be continued? What action will the Association take upon the matter? As it stands, the committee was appointed to report at this meeting, and if there is no motion I suppose the committee stands discharged.

Dr. J. W. BRIGHT. I ask to offer a motion that has reference to the "List of Colleges and of their Modern Language Professors," last published as Appendix v to the "Transactions and Proceedings" of this Association for the year 1887.

The great serviceableness of this list makes important its revision at suitable intervals. Believing that another revision of it is now required, I offer the following motion:

That the persons here named be appointed a committee to revise the aforesaid list; that each member of this committee shall, in accordance with the instructions of the Chairman of the committee, revise such a portion of the list as is indicated by the following terri-

torial distribution of the work ; that the Secretary publish for the Association this complete revision before the close of the year 1892.

Committee for the revision of the "List of Colleges and of their Modern Language Teachers."

Prof. A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, Chairman.

- " Henry Johnson, for Maine.
- " Charles B. Wright, for New Hampshire and Vermont.
- " C. H. Grandgent, for Massachusetts.
- " Gustav Gruener, for Connecticut and Rhode Island.
- " D. K. Dodge, for New York and New Jersey.
- " O. B. Super, for Pennsylvania.
- " M. D. Learned, for Maryland and Delaware.
- " J. H. Gore, for the District of Columbia.
- " J. B. Henneman, for Virginia and West Virginia.
- " J. L. Armstrong, for North Carolina.
- " E. S. Joynes, for South Carolina.
- " C. P. Willcox, for Georgia, Alabama, and Florida.
- " C. W. Kent, for Tennessee and Kentucky.

Prof. Alcée Fortier, for Louisiana and Mississippi.

- " R. H. Willis, for Arkansas and Missouri.
- " W. E. Simonds, for Illinois.
- " C. Osthaus, for Indiana.
- " E. A. Eggers, for Ohio.
- " George Hempl, for Michigan.
- " A. H. Tolman, for Wisconsin.
- " G. O. Curme, for Iowa.
- " C. W. Benton, for Minnesota.
- " Morgan Callaway, Jr., for Texas.
- " W. H. Carruth, for Kansas.
- " J. R. Wightman, for Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota.
- " S. Primer, for Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana.
- " H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, for Idaho, and the Territories : Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.
- " Wm. D. Armes, for California, Nevada, Oregon, and Washington.

The President. The next head of business is the continuation of our program. The paper omitted this morning was that prepared and presented by Mr. BABBITT, on the "Preparation of modern language teachers for American institutions." I take pleasure in presenting to the audience Mr. E. H. BABBITT of Columbia College, New York.

Discussion is open for any one who wants the floor. Is there any discussion on the paper ?

Dr. M. D. LEARNED. I should like to say a word or two on one point. I think we in this country are liable to miss our opportunities. I agree with the speaker thoroughly, but it seems to me that he left out of view one very important fact.

Any native American finds, when he goes to Europe, that he has need of all the resources he can command. No student who intends to go abroad should make the mistake of putting off the practical acquisition of the language, so far as conversation and writing are concerned, until he arrives in a foreign land. In all of our larger cities there are ample opportunities for learning German and French, and it ought to be impressed upon both students and teachers, that it is very important that one should make the best use of his opportunities while at home and thus prepare the way for more efficient work while abroad. Where it is possible to create here an atmosphere of

foreign conditions it will not only save a year of study abroad, but will also lessen the expense of the trip by five hundred or a thousand dollars. Then too the student is much more efficient in whatever university study he may pursue in a foreign country.

This is a very important consideration, and I should like to emphasize it.

The President. Is there further discussion on this point?

Mr. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN. There is one point to which hardly any attention is devoted by teachers of modern languages, at least in a discussion similar to this. It is often stated that the disciplinary value of modern languages is inferior to that of ancient languages, and consequently, in respect to pedagogical efficiency, modern languages do not rise to that high point attained by the ancient languages. There is one respect in which the modern languages are superior, and one which can be used for pedagogical purposes, and is but little used, and little referred to, and that is, that we have living words in modern languages while in the dead languages they are dead. When we write Greek or Latin we are striving to write it as nearly as we can to what CÆSAR or CICERO, DEMOSTHENES or ARISTOTLE wrote, but when we strive in regard to French or German we go amongst the people; we cease to a certain extent, to be English, and we become French or German. But where is the man in all the days that we have taught Latin and Greek, at least in America, who has become a Latin or a Greek in any similar sense.

I, therefore, maintain that so far as the disciplinary value of modern languages is concerned, as a civilizer, and as an elevator, and from a metaphysical point of view, they are not merely the equals, but the superiors, of the ancient classic tongues.

You learn how English differs from Greek, you learn how it differs from Latin, because you have a catalogue of dead words, but when you deal with French, you meet with certain living forms. You say, "now that looks like our English word; that is almost like our English word; it is spelled like it; my teacher told me there was no difference between the two words. But when I get into France, I find there is a shadow of difference in the meaning of that word, of which I was utterly ignorant."

It is to these differences, I think, the teachers of modern languages should pay just a little more attention than they appear to be doing, if we are to teach modern languages as they should be taught. Prof. EARLE takes the position, that one great argument in favor of the disciplinary value of modern languages is that, while the ancient languages are to a certain extent flexible, their flexibility ceases at a fixed point, but the modern languages are flexible for ever. The French of to-day may not be the French of a hundred years ago, but the Latin of CICERO will ever be the Latin of CICERO, the Greek of ARISTOTLE the Greek of ARISTOTLE.

I think the students and teachers of modern languages have this to

congratulate themselves upon. They have in the ever varying and ever growing modern languages a means of discipline never excelled and possibly never to be excelled. I know that in the University which is my Alma Mater that view seems to be growing more and more, and there is a feeling that modern languages can be utilized in such a way as will relieve them altogether from the aspersions sometimes cast upon them, that they are inferior to the ancient languages, as a means of training the mind, and of inculcating sound principles of thought.

Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER. I desire to call Prof. BABBITT'S attention to one point. He said there was no French atmosphere in this country. I should like to invite him to come to New Orleans, to visit our city there, and I think he would find a French atmosphere in every family. In the house, at the fireside, there is a French atmosphere, and if the professor will do me the honor to call at my house I think he will find it so.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. I might have extended an invitation to the gentleman to visit Montreal or Quebec, but I forgot that.

Prof. C. SPRAGUE SMITH. I do not agree entirely with Prof. BABBITT in reference to the desirability of not admitting as teachers of modern languages those who are foreign born. It is a rule which admits of exceptions. Some of the most eminent and successful teachers whom I know are foreign born, and among those best qualified to do their work.

My conception of the way in which a language should be taught is to re-create, as far as possible, within the class-room that atmosphere which the individual, who is preparing for his work, will find abroad. It is, of course, a very imperfect re-creation—all re-creations are imperfect—but, in my opinion, that atmosphere should be re-created and from the beginning. Therein the foreign born teachers have an advantage. Where translation is introduced, there should be insistence upon exactness and the rendering of thought with elegance. But I would not lay the chief stress upon translation. I am confident that if an old Latin of the time of CICERO had come into my academical recitation room, seated himself at the desk, heard my recitation and corrected me, that my knowledge of Latin would be much more perfect than it is; for I secured it diluted through English. It was necessarily diluted in passing through English, and similarly the inspiration of Greek literature was diluted by being transmitted through English.

I recall a personal experience illustrating this point. I had read CICERO in the class-room translating, toying with it; but had formed no conception of the beauty of CICERO'S style until while living in Italy, I began to read CICERO again. I read it not as a dead, but as a living language. Then for the first time I appreciated the beauty of CICERO.

My own conviction—I am looking at this question in a certain sense as upon a field and an experience that is past—is that the most expeditious, practicable, and profitable method of instruction in modern languages is to re-create, as far as possible, the foreign atmosphere within the recitation room.

But I do not believe that a language can be mastered without building upon the grammar.

Mr. BABBITT. The last speaker has put forth ideas which are, perhaps, excellent types of the style of thinking which advocates a method of instruction in our institutions, but which I must regard as impossible. The use of the language from the outset in the class-room requires such a preponderance of personality on the part of the teacher over that of the student, that it has been found impossible, except in the case of geniuses. There may be some foreign born teachers who teach best in that way, and there are some people doubtless who can carry the weight of this kind of instruction, but they are few and far between, and the average teacher is obliged to work on a different basis.

It is a question of how much personal attention a pupil can get from his teacher as to how fast he will progress. A teacher who can get hold of the pupils one at a time and long enough at a time to do them any good, can undoubtedly produce the best results in this way, but the actual state of things does not allow enough of this kind of personal contact to produce practically any effect whatever in most cases; at least not to produce sufficient effect to make itself felt on every member of the class.

If you want to go into arithmetic on this subject, I think Prof. GRANDGENT has published something. You take a class of forty boys with ninety hours a week instruction; to how much does that entitle each one of the personal attention of the teacher?

I maintain that it is impossible to do this in our colleges as they exist. I have no doubt that the most inspiring kind of teacher is the teacher who has the gift of teaching and who is master of the language he is trying to teach, especially when it comes to the higher field. I can see, furthermore, that the higher the field the more valuable the teacher becomes if he is a native to the language which he is attempting to teach. But when you get down to the preparatory school, where boys of fourteen and so on are the subject of instruction, the weight is in favor of the other kind of men.

I will say that the art of speaking a language is a matter, in my judgment, to be given over, as largely as possible, to the field of private instruction.

Prof. C. SPRAGUE SMITH. I beg courteously to disagree with Prof. BABBITT on this point. I may be allowed to quote from a little experience, perhaps, now that I have stepped out of the ranks of teachers.

I had a class in Spanish—a small class—I suppose that the explanation of the result is partially the limitation of the number. I started them first by speaking the language to them, modifying the natural method, calling their attention to certain articles in the room and familiarizing them with the sound of the language. Then I indicated the most important rules of the grammar by dictation in Spanish and required on their part, at the next hour, a recitation of those rules (likewise) in Spanish. Gradually, as they were able to bear it, I read or recited to them extracts from the literature, which I thought would inspire and hold up before them promises of a future, explaining where they could not understand, and gradually leading them forward until after a short time I was able to put the grammar of the language into their hands and they used it as a text book.

At the end of the year of instruction, two hours a week, they had mastered the grammar, knew it thoroughly; they had read a drama of CALDERON, a modern comedy, a poem or two, etc., and not merely this, but they had gained an inspiration and a taste, to use Prof. BABBITT's words, that I had never been able to give to any other class by employing any other method.

The result of my experience would be that, in as far as possible, one should re-create that atmosphere into which one enters on visiting a foreign country, when one casts aside and forgets in every possible way the native idiom.

Dr. J. W. BRIGHT. The remark was made this morning—I did not hear the whole of the discussion—that students should be brought into the condition of forgetting, as far as possible, the English language. In connection with this paper almost the same opinion has been urged, that a foreign atmosphere should be created for the student. In an important sense it is true that a man knows no language except his own; in the same sense I believe it to be equally true, that no man knows his own language who knows another.

Prof. SMITH's 'Spanish atmosphere' method appears to me to be but another manner of teaching the practical grammar. But my point is that the teacher of modern foreign languages has to guard against doing violence to the student's vernacular. Under all conditions of linguistic study something should be done to quicken and to enrich the feeling for the native idiom. No class-room method can create a foreign atmosphere, but much can be done to vitiate the purity and destroy the power of the student's best inheritance.

Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER. Dr. BRIGHT's view seems to indicate that he believed from what I said that we wanted to be Frenchmen in Louisiana. That is not our intention in the least. In speaking of the French atmosphere, I was referring entirely to the language, as I believe we are just as good Americans as Dr. BRIGHT or any one else. Although, as I have often said, we desire to keep the French language in our families we claim that we are Americans, and we want to be so regarded by all men. There is no doubt about that.

As to a plea for English, I think Dr. BRIGHT¹ was referring to a word I said this morning. I wish to disclaim any intention of attacking English. I only wished to say that my colleagues, the professors of English, should take charge of that branch, and not the professors of Modern Languages. I know the great ability of men like Dr. BRIGHT, and I can count upon them to counteract any harm done to the English of my pupils by my desire to teach French by speaking that language in my class.

Prof. R. E. BLACKWELL. I am sure that Mr. SMITH would not try by his method to teach fifty-five pupils, the number that a gentleman from a New England University tells me he has in one class. A man must adapt himself to circumstances, should use methods that he finds produce the most satisfactory results. I should not ask Prof. FORTIER to teach as most of us do. His surroundings are peculiarly favorable, and I know he teaches in a way to make the most of them. His method would not suit us however. If we understood the conditions under which each had to teach, we should less often disagree about methods.

Prof. C. SPRAGUE SMITH. I disagree with Dr. BRIGHT very distinctly and entirely with regard to his position in connection with English. In my opinion the more thoroughly and entirely we master foreign languages, and I would almost say the more of them we master, so as to secure more points of view, the greater our gain when we come back to English. By forgetting, for the time being, English a man can master more readily a foreign idiom.

There has been no more beautiful and exact expression in English, in modern critical English, than JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL has given us. He was a master of many languages. The question of the mastery of a language is, however, a relative question. GEORGE MARSH, our minister to Italy, once asked an American, who had lived six months in Rome, whether he could read Italian without a dictionary.

The question was answered in the negative. It was then suggested that CHARLES SUMNER after a brief stay in Italy, had declared that he could read anything in Italian without a dictionary. Mr. MARSH said:

"I have devoted my whole life to the study of languages and I have not yet reached the point where I can read English without a dictionary."

If Dr. BRIGHT will excuse the comparison, to confine one's self to English, in order not to lose one's mastery of it, is like shutting one's self up as a hermit in order to lead a more perfect life.

The President. The Chair is sorry to announce that on account of the lack of time discussion on this point will have to be suspended. The next paper on the program is by Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER (Tulane University), on "The Isles of Louisiana and their Dialect."

Prof. ELLIOTT will open the discussion.

Prof. ELLIOTT. It has been my pleasure to be able, as it has been my good fortune on certain occasions, to make a few remarks in connection with Prof. FORTIER's paper before this Association. For the reason that I knew nothing about the Isleños, I suggested that he should pay them a visit and tell us something about them.

We take up the history of this colony with which Prof. FORTIER started and we find the subject is an extremely interesting one. In the first place, if we start with the present generation we have the English; going back one step, we have the Creole French. Another *étape* and we have the Spanish. Here the real problem in connection with this most interesting people begins. We wish to determine to what part of Spain the dialect belongs, hence go back from Louisiana to the Canary Islands and the time when the Isleños were imported there (1778), but when we get back to the Canary Islands we have a mixture of the French language as spoken by the Normans, who conquered the territory and presented it to the King of Castile. Hence the combination here of French and Spanish.

But when we get thus far in our investigation we have not cleared up the field in any sense of the word. Long before the Spanish and long before the French came there, the old Carthaginians occupied the islands for hundreds of years. The Spaniards came in there, and I have no doubt that when these forms that we have in Louisiana are carried back to their source, we shall find considerable influence of the old Punic speech of the early inhabitants of the Canaries. It would be perfectly natural that the Punic influence should prevail to a considerable extent throughout the whole of the islands.

From these points, then, we easily see what an immense problem the language of the handful of people in Louisiana would lead up to. It is an interesting one from a historical point of view, and from the point of view of language mixture it becomes one of very great difficulty.

The few words and specimens of the language as quoted by Prof. FORTIER do not enable me to make a suggestion with reference to what part of Spain these Isleños came.

I hope at some time Prof. FORTIER will have the opportunity to continue his investigations in this field, and give us all the material that can be collected from Isleños, so that we may be able to determine approximately where they belong.

You see from these few points on which I have touched how many problems come up in connection with this subject, and how extremely difficult and complicated these problems become as we go back. On the field to-day it seems to me it would be comparatively easy to work out the mixture with English, but when we get back on the line a little and try to test the background of the whole question it becomes a very complicated one.

The President. The next paper on the program is "Jean de Mairet. A Critical Study in the History of French Literature," by Mr. JULIUS BLUME (John Hopkins University).

Dr. F. M. WARREN. Mr. President, from a study of CORNEILLE's plays and writings I consider the date of the 'Sophonisbe' to be 1633, and in that respect I agree with Mr. BLUME. I did not know how he first arrived at that date until I had the pleasure of hearing his paper read.

I would like to call the attention of the members of the Association to the importance of papers on literary history and also on the state of the drama, which evidently, in this country, is going to be a very important part of our literature. It will be seen that Mr. BLUME's paper is the first on literary history, and the only one presented at this meeting. We go into dialect study and philological work of various kinds, but literary history has had very little share in the papers of the Association.

Now, in regard to the drama, I call the attention of members of the Association to the importance of working up the drama, for, as this paper would seem to show, the dates of some of the most important plays in the French drama have been misunderstood, and, therefore, the history of the drama has been wrongly interpreted. The whole effect of the drama of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has never been studied up, and I think, so far as we in this country are concerned, it will become a matter of national importance, inasmuch as we seem to have in America so many features of dramatic interest. It seems to me that it is a matter of great importance in our generation that the members of this Association should make a special study of the drama and try to inculcate regular rules and standard of taste.

Mr. JULIUS BLUME. I am glad to hear Dr. WARREN agrees with me as to the date of 'Sophonisbe,' especially, since he arrived at the year 1633 in a different way from that which I have followed. Dr. WARREN expresses some doubt about my date of 'Silvanire' (1629); but I hope to be able to remove this. Lately there appeared a work on CORNEILLE's 'Mélite,' by Prof. ULRICH MEIER, of Schneeberg, Saxony. I have not seen the book; but this information came to me through Dr. DANNHEISSER who, as I have stated, is the principal scholar in this question. He wrote to me about two weeks ago that through Prof. MEIER's work he had been induced to accept 1629 as the correct date for 'Silvanire.' With reference to this chronology I claim priority, as I maintained the 1629 more than half a year ago while Dr. DANNHEISSER yet advocated the year 1630. Thus I hope Prof. MEIER's work will convince others also of the correctness of the date of 'Silvanire.' For my part, I have no doubts at present on the subject.

Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER. I should like to call the attention of Mr. BLUME to the chronology of CORNEILLE and especially to the date of "Polyeucte."

Up to this time it was thought to be 1640, and Mr. PETIT DE JULLE-

VILLE, the great French author and professor, has contended it was 1643, and he has given some very good reasons for it. If the date 1643 for "Polyeucte" is correct, it would change the date of several other works of CORNEILLE.

Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER. Before adjourning I have a duty to perform—a very pleasant duty. We have been well entertained during our stay in Washington and really we have felt at home, as I suppose we ought to be in this Capital City of our Country, but, nevertheless, I think it is proper to present the following resolution :

Resolved, That the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA returns its hearty thanks to the officers and faculty of Columbian University, the Cosmos and University Clubs, Prof. BELL and all the pleasant people whom the members have met in Washington, for their kind hospitality and many favors.

The President. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The President. Members of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, the Chair feels in duty bound to acknowledge the uniform courtesy and assistance extended the present occupant of the Chair by the members of the Association, and congratulating you upon the success of the meeting, I declare the session adjourned.

APPENDIX I.

Preliminary Circular. { NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
Mod. Lang. Association.

THE Ninth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA will be held in Columbian University (15th and H Streets), Washington, D. C., on December 28-31 inclusive.

On the evening of the 28th an address of welcome will be given by President JAMES C. WELLING, LL.D., of Columbian University, and this will be followed with an address by the Hon. A. R. SPOFFORD, LL.D., Librarian of the Congressional Library, on "The Characteristics of Style."

The regular sessions of the Convention will meet on the 29, 30 and 31, when the following papers will be presented :

1. "The Gerund in Nineteenth Century English."
Prof. J. L. ARMSTRONG, *Trinity College, North Carolina.*
2. "Jean de Mairet. A Critical Study in the History of French Literature."
Mr. JULIUS BLUME, *Johns Hopkins University, Md.*
3. "Ignored Resources of French Literature for College Study."
Miss LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSEN, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
4. "Diminutives in -ing in Low German."
Mr. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, *Clark University, Mass.*
5. "Augustini Sendebrev til Cyrillus, and Jeronymi Levnet," (Gl. Kong. Saml. No. 1586, Copenhagen).
Dr. DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, *Columbia College, N. Y.*
6. "The Isleños of Louisiana and their Dialect."
Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER, *Tulane University, La.*
7. "Nathan der Weise (with special Reference to the Criticisms of KUNO FISCHER)."
Mr. GUSTAV GRUENER, *Yale University, Conn.*

8. "James Russell Lowell as a Prose Writer."
Prof. TH. W. HUNT, *Princeton College, N. J.*
9. "Indo-European Parallel Roots with and without initial *s*,
especially in the Germanic Languages."
Prof. GUSTAF KARSTEN, *Indiana University, Ind.*
10. "The Phonology of the Patois of Cachy" (*Département de la
Somme*).
Prof. THOMAS LOGIE, *Williams College, Mass.*
11. "The Law Language in England from Edward I. to Henry VIII."
Prof. B. F. O'CONNOR, *Columbia College, New York.*
12. "The Jersey Dialect" (Channel Islands).
Prof. JOSEPH S. SHEFLOE, *Womans College, Baltimore.*
12. "Philology and Literature in American Colleges and Universi-
ties."
President HENRY E. SHEPHERD, *College of Charleston, S. C.*

It is proposed by the President of the Pedagogical Section, Prof. EDW. S. JOYNES of *South Carolina College*, that the paper read by Mr. E. H. BABBITT before the Nashville Convention: "How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline" (cf. *Publications of the MOD. LANG. ASSOCIATION*, vol. vi, pp. 52-63), be brought up for discussion before the Washington meeting.

The President of the Phonetic Section, Prof. A. MELVILLE BELL (1525 Thirty-fifth St.) will give a Reception to the members interested in the work of this section.

The *American Dialect Society* will hold its Annual Meeting in Columbian University, on one of the evenings of the dates given above for the Convention of the Modern Language Association*

The Trunk Line and Southern Passenger Association have granted reduced railway rates, that is, *a fare and a third* for round trip ticket on Certificate plan. Full information will be sent later respecting the purchase of tickets under certificate rules. The following railways will make the reduction:

Trunk Line—

Addison & Pennsylvania; Allegheny Valley; Baltimore & Ohio (Parkersburg, Bellaire, and Wheeling, and east thereof); Baltimore & Potomac; Bennington & Rutland; Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburg; Camden & Atlantic; Central of New Jersey (except locally between Philadelphia and New York); Central Vermont; Chesapeake & Ohio (east of Charleston, W. Va.); Cumberland Valley; Delaware & Hudson Canal Co.; Delaware, Lackawanna & Western; Elmira, Courtland & Northern; Fall Brook Coal Co.; Fitchburg; Grand Trunk; Lehigh Valley; New York Central & Hudson River; New York, Lake Erie & Western (east of Salamanca and Buffalo); New York, Ontario & Western; New York, Philadelphia & Norfolk; Northern Central; Pennsylvania (except locally be-

*The *American Historical Association* will also hold the evening sessions of its Annual Convention in Columbian University on December 29, 30 and 31. The headquarters both of this Association and of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION will be the Arlington Hotel, H Street and Vermont Avenue.

tween Philadelphia and New York); Philadelphia & Erie; Philadelphia & Reading (except locally between Philadelphia and New York); Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore; Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg (except on Phoenix Line—between Syracuse and Oswego); Western New York & Pennsylvania; West Jersey; West Shore.

Southern Passenger—

Alabama Great Southern Railroad; Atlantic Coast Line; Atlanta & West Point Railroad; Brunswick & Western Railroad; Charleston & Savannah Railway; Central Railroad of Georgia; Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway; East Tenn., Virginia & Georgia Railway; Georgia Railroad; Georgia Pacific Railway; Illinois Central Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Railway; Louisville & Nashville Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railway; Mississippi & Tennessee Railroad; Mobile & Ohio Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Memphis & Charleston Railroad; Nashville, Chatta. & St. Louis Railway; New Orleans & Northeastern R. R.; Norfolk & Western Railroad; Pennsylvania Railroad (Lines South of Washington); Port Royal & Augusta Railway; Raleigh & Gaston Railroad; Richmond & Alleghany Railroad; Richmond & Danville Railroad; Richmond, Fredericks. & Potomac R. R.; Rome Railroad; Savannah, Florida & Western Railway; Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad; Shenandoah Valley Railroad (Lines South of Potomac River); South Carolina Railway; Vicksburg & Meridian Railroad; Western & Atlantic Railroad; Western Railway of Alabama.

Application for reduced rates has been made to other railway Associations (The Central Traffic, New England Passenger, and Western Passenger) and it is hoped that they also will join in the concession. In this case, due notice will be sent to members.

A. M. ELLIOTT,

Secretary of the M. L. A.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

FIRST SESSION.*

December 28 (MONDAY).

8 p. m.

1. Address of Welcome by JAMES C. WELLING, LL. D.,
President of Columbian University.
2. Address by the Hon. A. R. SPOFFORD, LL. D., on
"The Characteristics of Style."

SECOND SESSION.

December 29 (TUESDAY).

10 a. m.

- a.* Reading of the Secretary's and Treasurer's Reports.
 - b.* Appointment of Committees.
 - c.* Reading of Papers.
1. "James Russell Lowell as a Prose Writer."
Professor TH. W. HUNT, *Princeton College, N. J.*
 2. "Diminutives in *-ing* in Low German."
Mr. A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, *Clark University, Mass.*

THIRD SESSION.

3 p. m.

1. "Augustini Sendebrev til Cyrillus, and Jeronymi Levnet" (Gl. Kong. Saml. No. 1586, Copenhagen).
Dr. DANIEL KILHAM DODGE, *Columbia College, N. Y.*
2. "Nathan der Weise (with special Reference to the Criticisms of KUNO FISCHER)."
Mr. GUSTAV GRUENER, *Yale University, Conn.*
3. "The Jersey Dialect" (Channel Islands).
Professor JOSEPH S. SHEFLOE, *Womans Coll., Balto.*

*The attendance of Ladies at the Sessions of the Convention will be expected and welcomed.

The Annual Meeting of the **American Dialect Society** for 1891 will be held at Columbian University on Tuesday, December 29, at 7.30 p. m.

The **American Folk-Lore Society** also will hold its Annual Meeting in Washington on December 29 and 30.

FOURTH SESSION.

December 30 (WEDNESDAY).

10 a. m.

1. "A study of Lanier's Poems."
Prof. CHAS. W. KENT, *Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville.*
2. "The Gerund in Nineteenth-Century English."
Professor J. L. ARMSTRONG, *Trinity College, N.C.*
3. "The Law Language in England from Edward I. (A.D. 1274) to Henry VIII. (A.D. 1509)."
Prof. B. F. O'CONNOR, *Columbia College, New York.*

FIFTH SESSION.

3 p. m.

PHONETIC SECTION. Professor A. MELVILLE BELL, *President.*

1. "Indo-European Parallel Roots with and without initial *s*, especially in the Germanic Languages."
Prof. GUSTAF KARSTEN, *Indiana Univ., Indiana.*
2. "The Phonology of the Patois of Cachy (*Département de la Somme*).
Prof. THOMAS LOGIE, *Williams College, Mass.*

Professor A. MELVILLE BELL (1525 Thirty-fifth St.) will give a social Reception in the evening to members interested in the work of the Phonetic Section. Announcement of the hour will be made in Convention.

SIXTH SESSION.

December 31 (THURSDAY).

10 a. m.

PEDAGOGICAL SECTION. Prof. EDWARD S. JOYNES, *President.*

1. "Philology and Literature in American Colleges and Universities."
President HENRY E. SHEPHERD, *College of Charleston, S. C.*
2. "Ignored Resources of French Literature for College Study."
Miss LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSEN, *Brooklyn, N. Y.*
3. "The Preparation of Modern-Language Teachers for American Institutions."
Mr. E. H. BABBITT, *Columbia College, New York.*

It is proposed by the President of the Pedagogical Section, that the paper read by Mr. E. H. BABBITT before the Nashville Convention: "How to Use Modern Languages as a Means of Mental Discipline" (cf. *Publications of the MOD. LANG. ASSOCIATION*, vol. vi, pp. 52-63), be brought up for discussion before the Convention.

SEVENTH SESSION.

3 p. m.

a. Reports of Committees and other Business.

b. Reading of Papers.

1. "The Isleños of Louisiana and their Dialect."
Prof. ALCÉE FORTIER, *Tulane University, La.*
2. "Jean de Mairet. A Critical Study in the History of French Literature."
Mr. JULIUS BLUME, *Johns Hopkins University, Md.*

Papers presented for publication:

- "The Historical Study of English in Virginia."
Prof. JOHN B. HENNEMAN, *Hampden-Sidney Coll., Va.*

LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The place of general rendezvous for delegates to the Convention will be the Arlington Hotel, H Street and Vermont Avenue (one block from Columbian University), where rates for board and room will be \$4.00 per day. This hotel will be the headquarters also of the *American Historical Association*, which will hold the evening sessions of its Annual Convention in Columbian University, on December 29, 30 and 31.

The Trunk Line, Central traffic (**from all points except Michigan**), New England Passenger and Southern Passenger Associations have granted reduced railway rates, that is, *a fare and a third* for round trip ticket on Certificate plan. Full information will be found below respecting the purchase of tickets under certificate rules. The following railways will make the reduction:

Trunk Line—

Addison & Pennsylvania; Allegheny Valley; Baltimore & Ohio (Parkersburg, Bellaire, and Wheeling, and east thereof); Baltimore & Potomac; Bennington & Rutland; Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburg; Camden & Atlantic; Central of New Jersey (except locally between Philadelphia and New York); Central Vermont; Chesapeake & Ohio (east of Charleston, W. Va.); Cumberland Valley; Delaware & Hudson Canal Co.; Delaware, Lackawanna & Western; Elmira, Courtland & Northern; Fall Brook Coal Co.; Fitchburg; Grand Trunk; Lehigh Valley; New York Central & Hudson River; New York, Lake Erie & Western (east of Salamanca and Buffalo); New York, Ontario & Western; New York, Philadelphia & Norfolk; Northern Central; Pennsylvania (except locally between Philadelphia and New York); Philadelphia & Erie; Philadelphia & Reading (except locally between Philadelphia and New York); Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore; Rome, Watertown & Ogdensburg (except on Phoenix Line—between Syracuse and Oswego); Western New York & Pennsylvania; West Jersey; West Shore.

Central Traffic Association—

Baltimore & Ohio (West of Ohio River); Chicago & Atlantic; Chicago, St. Louis & Pittsburgh; Chicago and Grand Trunk; Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton; Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis & Chicago; Cincinnati & Muskingum Valley; Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas; Pacific, Cincinnati, Wabash & Michigan; Cincinnati, Washington & Baltimore; Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis; Cleveland, Akron & Columbus; Columbus & Cincinnati Midland; Dayton & Union; Detroit, Grand Haven & Milwaukee; Evansville & Terre Haute; Fort Wayne, Cincinnati & Louisville; Grand Rapids & Indiana; Grand Trunk (West of Toronto); Indianapolis & St. Louis; Indiana, Bloomington & Western; Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis; Lake Erie & Western; Lake Shore & Michigan Southern; Louisville & Nashville; Louisville, Evansville & St. Louis; Louisville, New Albany & Chicago; Michigan Central, New York, Pennsylvania & Ohio; Niagara Falls Short Line; Ohio & Mississippi; Pennsylvania Company; Peoria, Decatur & Evansville; Pittsburgh & Lake Erie; Pittsburgh & Western; Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis; Sciota Valley, Terre Haute & Indianapolis (Vandalia Line); Valley, Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific (East of Mississippi River); Wheeling & Lake Erie.

New England Passenger—

Boston & Albany R. R.; New York & New England R. R.; New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.; New York, Providence & Boston R. R.; Old Colony Railroad; Fall River Line; Norwich Line; Providence Line; Stonington Line.

Southern Passenger—

Alabama Great Southern Railroad; Atlantic Coast Line; Atlanta & West Point Railroad; Brunswick & Western Railroad; Charleston & Savannah Railway; Central Railroad of Georgia; Cincinnati, New Orleans & Texas Pacific Railway; East Tenn., Virginia & Georgia Railway; Georgia Railroad; Georgia Pacific Railway; Illinois Central Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Jacksonville, Tampa & Key West Railway; Louisville & Nashville Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Louisville, New Orleans & Texas Railway; Mississippi & Tennessee Railroad; Mobile & Ohio Railroad (Lines South of the Ohio River); Memphis & Charleston Railroad; Nashville, Chatta. & St. Louis Railway; New Orleans & Northeastern R. R.; Norfolk & Western Railroad; Pennsylvania Railroad (Lines South of Washington); Port Royal & Augusta Railway; Raleigh & Gaston Railroad; Richmond & Alleghany Railroad; Richmond & Danville Railroad; Richmond, Fredericks. & Potomac R. R.; Rome Railroad; Savannah, Florida & Western Railway; Seaboard & Roanoke Railroad; Shenandoah Valley Railroad (Lines South of Potomac River); South Carolina Railway; Vicksburg & Meridian Railroad; Western & Atlantic Railroad; Western Railway of Alabama.

Regulations Regarding Excursion Rates.

1. Each delegate or member desiring the excursion rate must purchase a first-class ticket, continuous passage (either limited or unlimited) to the place of meeting, for which he will pay the regular fare; and upon request, the Ticket Agent will issue a printed certificate of purchase.

2. If through tickets cannot be procured at the starting point, parties will purchase to the most convenient point where such through tickets can be obtained, and repurchase through to place of meeting, requesting a certificate from the Ticket Agent at the point where repurchase is made.

3. Tickets for the return journey will be sold by the Ticket Agents at the place of meeting *not later than three days after adjournment of Convention*, at one-third the highest limited fare, only to those holding certificates signed by the Ticket Agent at point where through ticket to place of meeting was purchased *not more than three days before the first session of Convention*, and countersigned by the

Secretary or Clerk of the Association, certifying that the holder has been in regular attendance at the meeting.

4. It is *very important* that a certificate be procured, as it will indicate that full fare has been paid for the going journey, and that the purchaser is, therefore, entitled to the excursion fare returning. It will also determine the route via which the ticket for return journey should be issued.

5. Ticket Agents will be instructed that the *excursion fares will not be available* for the return journey, unless the holders of certificates are properly identified, as provided for in the certificate.

N. B.—"No refund of the fare will be made on any account whatever because of failure of the parties to obtain Certificates."

SYLLABUS OF PAPERS.

ARMSTRONG, J. L.: i. Terms Defined—Brief Sketch of Early Use of Development of Gerund—The Situation at Beginning of Century—Dicta of Grammarians—Nature of Gerund;—ii. Usage of Nineteenth Century Writers as determining: 1. Disputed Constructions; 2. Standard of Time-Reference;—iii. *Tendez*.

BABBITT, E. H.: 1. The work of the modern language teachers: in the secondary schools; in the colleges; in the university (introductory)—2. The qualifications of the modern language teacher; he must be: *a*. A thorough *teacher*, beyond and above his specialty; *b*. A man of broad general education; *c*. A thorough master of the English language; *d*. Well-trained in the practical use of the language he teaches; *e*. Farther advanced in special philological and literary studies than his pupils—3. The training of the modern language teacher: *a*. General education should be obtained in American institutions; *b*. Practical use of a language can only be acquired when it is spoken; *c*. Relative advantages of American and foreign universities for advanced work.

BLUME, JULIUS: *a*. Chronology of Mairet—important because our dramatist is a contemporary of Corneille—formerly given according to Parfaict, but recently this author's position overthrown by the investigations of German scholars (Dannheisser and others):—A modification of the newly obtained dates suggested.—*b*. Mairet's literary position in the light of the corrected Chronology; the author of 'Silvanire' and 'Sophonisbe' neither a plagiarist

nor, on the other hand, the controlling spirit of the French drama of that time, but an author who plays a creditable part in an eventful period.

BOTH-HENDRIKSEN, LOUISE: French and Greek—1. With reference to preparation for College: grammar, history, composition, prosody, mental training, artistic beauty, source of thought;—2. With reference to courses in college and work for higher degrees.—Apparent ignorance regarding available authors: force of adverbs, use of pronouns, harmony of tenses, truth and reasoning necessary for discrimination of negatives, use of participles, force of subjunctive forms.—French lyric poetry and Greek epic.—Apparent indifference outside of college work.—Probable explanation of present attitude toward our subject.

CHAMBERLAIN, A. F.: Diminutives in general—The relations of the suffix *-ing* in English and High German, etc.—The use of diminutives in Low German.—The peculiar character of the suffix *-ing* in Plattdeutsch.—Its use by the dialect writers.—Nouns, adjectives, adverbs and imperatives in *-ing*.

DODGE, DANIEL KILHAM: An apocryphal letter from St. Augustine to Cyril, announcing the death of St. Jerome, and a short life of the latter from the Codex Regius, 1586, Royal Library of Copenhagen; a collection of Latin epistles and legends, translated into Danish in 1488 edited with introduction and glossary. References to Ms.—C. J. Brandt's extracts—Orthography, phonetics, grammatical form, obsolete words, Latin influence on the language.

FORTIER ALCÉE: Brief history of the settlement.—The manners and customs of the Isleños.—A few specimens of their language.

GRUENER, GUSTAV: i. Four elements or factors influencing Lessing in the creation of the characters: A. The plot or action of the drama; B. The sources of three kinds: *a.* literary sources; *b.* historical authorities; *c.* personal reminiscences and characteristics of Lessing himself and his friends.—C. The theological controversy with Goeze: *a.* History of the quarrel; *b.* Lessing's confessions on this point; *c.* The historical patriarch, Heraclius; *d.* External evidence to show that Lessing did satirize Goeze in the character of the patriarch.—D. The philosophical ideas and teachings of the drama: *a.* Kuno Fischer's view in his 'G. E. Lessing als Reformator des deutschen Literatur' (Part ii, pp. 88 ff.) and objections to such a view: 1. Fischer's criticism of the character of *Daya*; 2. of *Bonafides*; *b.* Objections and answer to Fischer's views; *c.* Summary; *d.* The character of the "ideas" brought out by Lessing—ii. The "sectarian" side of the characters: *a.* Did Lessing wish to attack Christianity and exalt the Mosaic or Mohammedan religions? *b.* Reasons inducing

Lessing to choose Nathan, the Jew, as the representative of toleration, and the Christian Patriarch as the representative of intolerance; *c.* Summary.

HUNT, TH. W.: Limits of the discussion.—Lowell's Prose Writings.—Leading Qualities of his Prose: 1. Clearness and Directness.—His use of English.—His fondness for Old English; 2. Grace and Ease.—Taste and Finish.—Effect of his verse on his prose.—His style, classical and academic.—His work as a Literary Critic.—His conception of criticism.—Alleged objections answered: *a.* Want of mental breadth; *b.* Literary Dogmatism; 3. Mental and literary Brightness.—Passages in point.—His popularity as a writer.—The final effect of his prose.—Ethical purity of his style. Preëminently literary in his personality and authorship.

KARSTEN, GUSTAF E.: i. Materials: A large number of parallel roots, with and without initial *s*; most of them were identified long ago by others; some new ones are added, chiefly from the Germanic languages. ii. Explanation. *a.* History of the question.—Pott, Fisk, Curtius, Osthoff, Brugmann; *b.* Result obtained from the materials: The interchange of *s*-less and *s*-forms cannot be explained satisfactorily from the point of view of *Satzphonetik*, but the *s* must be a prefix in some cases, and it can well be so regarded everywhere.

LOGIE, THOMAS: Introduction—Causes which tended to modify the Latin language in France—Influence of the Keltic—Influence of the peoples that invaded Picard territory after Roman conquest—Mode of classifying dialects—Objection to geographical mode—Connection with the Wallonian—Phonology of the Patois—EL-LUM: theories with regard to its development—Product of *ρ* in different parts of the Somme—The consonants: initial *f* changed to *b*;—*k* before *a*, causes of its retention—Mouillation in the patois—Crossing and bi-lingualism.

O'CONNOR, B. F.: Law language known to us chiefly through notes, kept by Court officers, on the legal proceedings that took place before them.—These reports are histories of cases, with short summary of proceedings giving main arguments on both sides, and reasons for judgment.—Published annually as references for lawyers and judges, hence the name, *Year-books*—Mostly in French; in earlier ones, French construction and considerable familiarity with Latin.—Notable changes in construction as series descends; English influence strongly felt, Latin less familiar.—Toward close of the series, lack of familiarity with "Ye French of Paris"; English thought clothed in French dress.—Several Year-books printed in 1490; complete edition published in 1679 (11 folio volumes).—MSS. discovered since, edited and printed by order of English government; recent volumes added to collection, translated into English.

SHEFLOE, JOSEPH S.: Historical sketch of the island of Jersey. The inhabitants, their civil and social laws and customs—A brief account of two visits to the island for the purpose of studying its dialect; material existing for such study; method of work—The Jersey-French dialect, a species of the Norman dialect; its relation to the Norman dialect on the Continent. Some of the most striking characteristics of the Jersey-French dialect. The present state of the dialect. The influence of English and Breton.

SHEPHERD, HENRY E.: Special plea for more systematic as well as broader literary training in English in our collegiate and university systems of instruction—Almost exclusive concentration of time and energy upon purely philological instruction, deprecated—Cordial sympathy avowed with philology and its pursuit, but any attainment in the sphere of stylistic grace and excellence an impossibility in our systems of university teaching.—Crochety and eccentric character of such limited instruction as is furnished in English Literature, commented on.—In all America, scarcely a single university in which English Literature as *an art* is studied and taught; finest and highest work in this regard often achieved in small and comparatively unknown colleges—Reform advocated; must come gradually, not by violent or spasmodic effort, but as the result of individual precept, example, and patient waiting for reaction.

APPENDIX III.

Supplementary Circular. { NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
Mod. Lang. Association.

At the opening of the FIFTH SESSION of the Convention, Professor A. MELVILLE BELL will read a short paper on "The Sounds of R."

The invitation to Prof. BELL's Reception (8.30 p. m., Wednesday) is cordially extended to *all members* of the Association and to the ladies accompanying them.

A Bureau of information will be established in the main university building (Corner H and Fifteenth Streets), where a Guidebook containing a map of Washington will be distributed gratis to all delegates; this book will also contain the programmes of the different Associations that meet in Washington during the Christmas holidays: The American Historical Association, The American Church History Association, The Modern Language Association of America, The American Folk-Lore Society, The American Dialect Society and The American Forestry Association. A reception of these Associations by the President of the United States will probably be arranged for Wednesday, December 30th.

The Board of Managers of the Cosmos Club of Washington, have extended the privileges of the Club to the members of the Modern Language Association, during the dates on which the Convention shall meet; the Governors of the University Club have also extended the privileges of the Club to members of the Association, for two weeks, beginning with December 21st.

First-class accommodations may be had at the Ebbitt House (near the University) for \$3.00 per day.

A. M. ELLIOTT, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX IV.

CONSTITUTION

— OF THE —

Modern Language Association of America.

I.

The name of the Society shall be THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

II.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by the payment of three dollars, and may continue a member by the payment of the same amount each year.

III.

The object of the Association shall be the advancement of the study of the Modern Languages and their Literatures.

IV.

The officers of this Association shall be a President, Secretary, Treasurer and nine members, who shall together constitute the Executive Council, and these shall be elected annually by the Association.

V.

The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Association, such as the election of members, calling of meetings, selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This Constitution may be amended by a two-third vote at any annual meeting, provided the proposed amendment has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Amendment adopted by the Baltimore Convention, Dec. 30, 1886.

1. The Executive Council shall annually elect from its own body three members who, with the President and Secretary, shall constitute the Executive Committee of the Association.

2. The three members thus elected shall be the Vice-Presidents of the Association.

3. To this Executive Committee shall be submitted, through the Secretary, at least one month in advance of meeting, all papers designed for the Association. The said Committee, or a majority thereof, shall have power to reject or accept such papers, and also among the papers thus accepted, to designate such as shall be read in full, and such as shall be read in brief, or by topics, for subsequent publication; and to prescribe a programme of proceedings, fixing the time to be allowed for each paper and for its discussion.

APPENDIX V.

OFFICERS OF **THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.**

President:

FRANCIS A. MARCH,
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APPENDIX VI.

MEMBERS OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

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Akers, Prof. J. T., Central Coll., Richmond, Ky.
Allen, Prof. Edw. A., Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
Ames, Mr. C. H., 5 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.
Anderson, Prof. M. B., Leland Stanford Jr. Univ., Palo Alto, Cal.
Anderson, Prof. E. Playfair, Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio.
Andrews, Prof. G. L., U. S. Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.
Armes, Prof. Wm. D., Univ. of Cal., Berkeley, Cal.
Armstrong, Prof. J. L., Trinity Coll., Randolph Co., N. C.
Augustin, Miss Marie J., Sophie Newcomb Memorial Coll., New Orleans, La.

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Bothum, Miss Annie, Austin, Cook Co., Ill.
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Bowen, Prof. B. L., Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio.
Boyle, Mrs. James W., 935 Calvert St., N., Balto., Md.
Bradley, Prof. C. B., Univ. of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Brandt, Prof. H. C. G., Hamilton Coll., Clinton, N. Y.

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 Brown, Prof. Calvin S., Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.
 Brown, Prof. E. M., Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.
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 Cameron, Mr. A. Guyot, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
 Canfield, Prof. A. G., Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
 Carruth, Prof. W. H., Lawrence, Kansas.
 Carter, President F., Williams Coll., Williamstown, Mass.
 Cateaux, Prof. Alph., 64 Main St., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Chamberlain, Mr. A. F., Clark Univ., Worcester, Mass.
 Chamberlain, Mr. W. R., New York City, N. Y.
 Chase, Prof. G. C., Bates Coll., Lewiston, Maine.
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 Curme, Prof. G. O., Cornell Coll., Mount Vernon, Iowa.
 Currell, Prof. W. S., Davidson Coll., Mecklenburg Co., N. C.
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Drennan, Prof. M. J., Vassar Coll., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
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Egge, Dr. A. E., Northfield, Minn.
Eggers, Prof. E. A., State Univ. of Ohio, Columbus, O.
Elliott, Prof. A. Marshall, Johns Hopkins Univ., Balto., Md.
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Epes, Mr. J. D., St. John's Coll., Annapolis, Md.
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Long, Prof. A. W., Wofford Coll., Spartanburg, S. C.

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Richardson, Prof. H. B., Amherst Coll., Amherst, Mass.
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Seybold, Prof. C. F., Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, O.

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 Tufts, Prof. J. A., Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.
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 Turnbull, Mrs. Lawrence, 1530 Park Ave., Balto., Md.
 Tutwiler, Mrs. Julia R., 706 St. Paul St., Balto., Md.

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Warren, Dr. F. M., Adelbert Coll., Cleveland, Ohio.
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- Webb, Prof. J. M., Bell Buckle, Tenn.
Weeks, Mr. Raymond, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
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Willis, Prof. R. H., Arkansas Industrial Univ., Fayetteville, Ark.
Wilson, Prof. S. T., Maryville Coll., Maryville, Tenn.
Wipprecht, Prof. R., Agricul. and Mechan. Coll., College Station, Texas.
- Wood, Dr. Henry, Johns Hopkins Univ., Balto., Md.
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Wright, Prof. C. B., Middlebury Coll., Middlebury, Vt.
- *Zdanowicz, Prof. Casimir, Vanderbilt Univ., Tenn.

[Total 363].

*Deceased.

APPENDIX VII.

PERSONS PRESENT AT THE NINTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

— OF THE —

MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 28-31, 1891.

Armstrong, Joseph L., Trinity College, Randolph Co., N. C.

Ashton, Miss M. V., Philadelphia, Pa.

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Brown, Arthur Newton, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

Brown, Edward Miles, Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bruner, J. D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Balto., Md.

Burkholder, Arthur R., Fort Dodge, Iowa.

Burton, Frank M., Johns Hopkins Univ., Balto., Md.

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Butler, J. G., Memorial Club, Washington, D. C.

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Cook, Albert S., Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
Crabbs, W. R., Shady Side Academy, Shady Side, Pittsburgh, Penn.
Craven, A. F., Oakland, Cal.

Davidson, Chas., Belmont School, Belmont, Cal.
Davis, Arthur Kyle, Southern Female Coll., Petersburg, Va.
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